MAKING MULTICULTURAL FAMILIES IN EUROPE

GENDER AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS

EDITED BY

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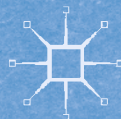
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN STUDIES IN FAMILY AND INTIMATE LIFE



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Making Multicultural Families in Europe

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Foreword

Current popular and political discourse in much of Europe and in the USA frequently constructs 'migrants' and 'natives' as living 'parallel lives'. The negative effects on social cohesion and the challenges for national security that supposedly ensue are widely lamented by the same voices, which also advocate legislation and policies targeted on 'migrant communities'. This volume is a timely reminder, however, that micro-level multi-cultural practices in traditional countries of immigration in Europe render such a discourse a myth in the case of many people. The starting point of this volume rather, is that intimate relationships are commonly forged across ethnic, national, and cultural boundaries, producing so-called 'multi-ethnic' or 'mixed' families.

How do people 'make family', especially in terms of gender and intergenerational relations, in the context of cultural plurality? How are different childrearing practices negotiated? What strategies are developed to 'manage' divergent norms around children's obligations to parents in old age? How are competing notions of the appropriate gender division of labour reconciled? Are family relationships different in these 'multi-cultural' families compared with 'mono-cultural families'? Part 1 of this book provides answers to those questions, drawing on empirically rich studies employing a range of methodologies and spanning diverse circumstances, which include: Thai women living in Belgium and married to non-Thai

men; European bi-national couples in the UK; marriage between first-generation Turkish men and third-generation Turkish women in Germany; and couples living in the UK composed of Persians and non-Persians.

In Part 2, this volume considers another type of family being made in contemporary landscapes of migration and (im)mobility, although having antecedents of various forms in previous eras. These are so-called 'transnational families', whose members are dispersed across borders as they are pushed or pulled out of homelands in search of asylum, better economic futures, or improved lifestyles. While their separation is sometimes by choice, it is often enforced by restrictive migration laws based on utilitarian principles, which may permit the entry of a worker deemed instrumental to the economic needs of the country, but not allow (all) his or her dependants entry, or impose strict conditions on their entry, which migrant workers find impossible to meet. In such cases, migrants and their families have little or no choice but to live apart.

While traditional understandings of family assumed that proximity was a pre-requisite for successful family functioning, research on transnational families has revealed the ways in which family-life can be sustained across distance. The contributions to Part 2 of this volume invite us to consider the centrality of gender and generational relations in transnational family processes in multiple contexts, and offer reflections on important questions, including: is the effect of spatial distance inevitably negative for kinship relationships?; how are gender norms and relations within families re-worked across distance?; how does family solidarity stand up over sustained periods of separation?; what new roles for children, parents, and grandparents emerge in scenarios of transnational family living?; how are 'family values' challenged and renegotiated for families situated in multi-local contexts that are characterized by different 'care regimes'?

In bringing together in one place research on multi-ethnic families and research on transnational families, the editors of this volume challenge the silo, common in UK scholarship at least, between race and ethnicity studies on the one hand and migration studies on the other hand. In

doing so, they illuminate the reflexivity that is required by different actors within families to 'make family work' in the context of both pluriculturalism and mobility. This is an important contribution with potential to inform wider debates about the reflexive skills required to forge societal solidarity in an increasingly diverse and mobile Europe.

Majella Kilkey

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Introduction: Gender and Intergenerational Relations in Multi-ethnic and Transnational Families

In a worldwide context of increasing migratory flows, international research confirms the central role that families play in the migration plans and strategies of individuals, including the decision to emigrate and which family members must or can do so. Families also take on considerable importance in defining subsequent modifications, such as the length and development of migratory projects. Emigration in turn can alter marriage and couple models, ways of living together, and forms of cohabitation. The 'migrant family' is located in a social system where roles and relationships can be partially or completely different. The settlement of individuals in the receiving country, and their changing migration plans and strategies follow multiple pathways, including family reunions, mixed marriages, correspondence brides, small-sized families, and childless couples. The experience of migration, with its cultural and emotional break-ups can redefine and reorganize networks and relational dynamics, particularly between men and women, parents, grandparents, and children.

Starting mainly from a sociological perspective, this book explores family relations in two types of 'migrant families' in Europe: multi-ethnic families, on the one hand, and transnational families, on the other hand, in order to shed light on the current state of multi-cultural families in Europe, and to start to identify the future consequences of the developments under way. Here, *multi-ethnic families* refer to inter-ethnic marriages

between two persons coming from different ethnic/national backgrounds. The contributors to this book have thus approached ‘mixed families’ through the lens of ethnicity, in order to stress cultural aspects and dynamics. Ethnic groups are considered here both in terms of ‘ethnicity’, or the objective features of ethnic belonging, such as geographic origin, language, race, and physical traits; and ‘ethnic identity’, which denotes the awareness of belonging to some given ethnic groups and the importance people place on this aspect of their identity. Because it covers a vast array of subjective aspects linked to individual belonging to a social group, ethnic identity provides a clear picture of the wide variety of mixed couples.

Transnational families designate family networks composed of members who live in two or more countries, but maintain a sense of ‘familyhood’ across distance and time, and exchange care and support, to various degrees. Transnational families are extremely diverse: they include both nuclear and extended families, and they represent a wide variety of socio-economic, educational, cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, and with extremely different levels of social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital both in their home and host societies. Of central importance to their study are the various ways in which they maintain family ties and connections across national borders, including via the use of communication technologies, the identification of the factors that facilitate or impinge this mode of living, and the tensions and transformations that may arise within and across generations because of their embeddedness in different socio-cultural contexts.

After defining and discussing multi-ethnic and transnational families in Chap. 1, the book analyzes in particular gender and intergenerational relations in each of these family types (Parts 1 and 2), and highlights key issues and theoretical insights that arise from an examination of the similarities and differences between, and across, those diverse migrant families. We invited the contributors to this book to have the following general questions in mind when writing their chapter: What are the gender and intergenerational dynamics organizing social relations within multi-ethnic/transnational families and how do they influence their migration experiences? How are family relations reorganized across national borders and what are the impacts of social remittances (ideas,

behaviours, identities, and social capital) in reshaping social relations in multi-ethnic/transnational family networks? What are the connections between negotiation processes and conflicts emerging from cultural differences in multi-ethnic/transnational families?

Based on in-depth qualitative fieldwork and/or large surveys, the authors of this book addressed this challenge by examining gender and intergenerational relations in migrant families from a variety of standpoints (female and male migrants, siblings, elders, and children), and migratory flows, including South-North migratory flows from Asia, Latin America, Far and Middle East to the EU, as well as East-West flows from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU. In their examination of family life in a migratory context, the authors of this book have largely built on, and sometimes further developed, theoretical approaches in social sciences that go beyond migration studies, such as intersectionality, the solidarity paradigm, care circulation, reflexive modernization, and gender convergence theory.

After introducing the book structure and the main content of each chapter, we will present some of the transversal themes that emerged from this collection of chapters.

Book Structure and Content

The book starts with a chapter by Meda and Crespi (Chap. 1), which frames the key issues that emerge in studies on transnational and mixed families, two family types characterized by the need to thematize differences in terms of culture, gender, and generation both within their 'borders', and vis-à-vis the outside world. Through a literature review, the two authors highlight the characteristics of these families, and the challenges and transformations that transnational and mixed families are facing in the contemporary world.

The next five chapters mainly focus on the negotiation of differences across gender and generations in multi-ethnic families (Part 1).

Fresnoza-Flot and Merla (Chap. 2) address the issue of the global householding of migrant spouses in 'mixed' families and examine gender and intergenerational dynamics in the mixed families of Thai women in Belgium. Using the 'care circulation' analytical framework, the two authors identify the way *bun khun* (a culturally defined sense of obligation

to care for one's natal family members, notably parents) influences Thai women's global householding. The study shows that, in order to avoid conjugal conflicts while striving to be 'dutiful daughters' to their parents, these women adopt three strategies: accomplishing a traditional reproductive role at home, earning their own livelihood, and tapping their family networks of solidarity. This study brings to the fore the important role that migrants' partners play in the maintenance of transnational family relations. They do not only influence the migrants' capacity to support their distant relatives but also play a key role in shaping and supporting the migrants' long-term investments in their home country (benefitting both the couple and their relatives there), as well as future possibilities of re-settlement in Thailand.

The chapter by Brahic (Chap. 3) explores some of the negotiations around gender in mixed couples. Lacking a shared cultural bedrock (of which gender is constitutive), partners in bi-national relationships face the task of assembling their own hybrid bedrock to cradle their life together. Subsequently, partners are likely to embark on an exploration of the practice of gender in their relationship leading them to reflect on gender performances, gender relations, and how they intersect with culture. This leads partners to negotiate and strategize around their practice of gender in their couple relationship. Nonetheless, whilst an increased fluidity in 'doing' gender bears the potential for more democratic relationships, deep-seated gendered practices—whereby women deliver the bulk of the emotional labour and care—still endure.

Apitzsch (Chap. 4) focuses on biographies of mixed transnational couples where the men are the subjects of marriage migration, in order to understand why well-educated and integrated women from the third generation of Turkish immigrants in Germany marry partners from their grandparents' country of origin, and why their husbands are willing to migrate. The chapter's hypothesis is that this type of marriage migration cannot be framed as re-traditionalization in the sense of the orientation of the actors at a fixed national and/or religious ethnicity. The study analyzes the daily interactions and practices of spouses who are constantly negotiating their conflicting expectations concerning ideals of marriage, child-raising issues, notions of manhood and womanhood, as well as

their different paths of socialization, in a society where they belong to a minority group.

Chapter 5 by Balaban, Kurti, and Kampmann examines the cultural factors that influence the quality of sibling relationships in multi-cultural and mono-cultural families in Germany. The authors highlight both direct and indirect relationships between societal and family values relating to parenting methods and parental roles, like individualism and collectivism, and the quality of sibling relationships. Drawing on a theoretical approach regarding the variations in family dynamics in different socio-cultural contexts, the study, which uses data from Wave 5 of the Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (PAIRFAM) (2012/2013), provides new insights on differences and similarities between mono-cultural and multi-cultural families in Germany.

Finally, Chap. 6 by Amirmoayed investigates partnering relationships across cultures, involving Persian immigrants to the UK and non-Persians. The author unpacks the intersection of generation, religion, and gender in the negotiation of practices related to a newborn child. The intersectional analysis of negotiations over the main challenges participants faced at the birth of their child shows that religion is the most significant factor that shapes practices such as choosing a name, baptizing, and circumcizing a newborn. The chapter also highlights the challenging character of intergenerational relations and negotiations with grandparents around those practices.

In Part 2, the main focus shifts to transnational families and their negotiation of care and intimate relationships at a distance. The part starts with Reisenauer's contribution (Chap. 7), where she considers transnational families and kinship networks as spatial phenomena, and highlights the significance of spatial distance for the everyday lives of these families. Narrative interviews with Turkish migrants in Germany show that families and kinship networks find it difficult to equally pursue various kinds of relationship maintenance within a transnational context. The empirical findings regarding the physical separation of family members and relatives between Germany and Turkey indicate that social proximity can exist both *despite* and *because* of spatial distance. This suggests that, when focusing on the reorganization of

family and kinship relationships over long distances and across national borders, the positive aspects provided by spatial distance should also be considered. Consequently, transnational families and kinship networks do not necessarily appear as incomplete and fragile, but can also be regarded as relationships that offer new opportunities under conditions of physical absence.

Chapter 8 by Dallemagne examines how different axes of inequality, namely gender, generation, class, and ethnicity, operate in the circulation of care in transnational Andean families in Spain and Ecuador. 'Care circulation' is used by the author as a framework for analysing women's agency in the transformation of gender norms over time within an extended family originating from a village located at the north of Quito (Ecuador), with members living in Madrid (Spain). The study focuses on the effect of intergenerational and sibling dynamics upon the organization of social relations within transnational families, including intergenerational cooperation, power relations, and their influence on managing care and the intimate at a distance. The longitudinal approach helps understand how these transformations participate in forms of social knowledge and practices, always embedded in specific situations. The chapter looks in particular at how a combination of circumstances may give rise to changes in gendered discourses and practices.

Chapter 9 by Tolstokorova studies the convergence of men and women's family functions in the transnational families of Ukrainian migrant women. The key argument of the chapter is that the combination of migrant paid work and long-distance care responsibilities leads to a certain convergence of the gender roles of migrant women and their left-behind husbands. Yet, transnational mothers who assume the roles of family breadwinners and providers are more affected by these changes, as their family obligations expand and expose them to multiple exploitations. In contrast, modifications in Ukrainian fathers' gender roles are only temporary, and do not entail tangible transformations in the institution of fatherhood in Ukraine.

The chapter by Hărăguș and Telegdi-Csetri (Chap. 10) focuses on how intergenerational solidarity is remodelled when Romanian elderly parents and their migrant adult children are separated by geographical distance and national borders. Using a qualitative methodological design, the

study investigates associational, affectual, and functional intergenerational solidarity and the ways in which support is provided in transnational families, that is, through direct provision with co-presence, direct provision at a distance, coordination, and delegation. Results show that intergenerational relations remain multidimensional and all forms of intergenerational solidarity continue to exist, even if certain dimensions are only fulfilled through direct provision, such as associational and affectual solidarity.

How the experience of migration re-defines and reorganizes the family relations of transnational families in Lithuania is a central question in Juozeliūnienė, Budginaitė, and Bielevičiūtė's contribution (Chap. 11). Building on Smart's concepts of 'imaginary', 'embeddedness', 'memory', and 'relationality', the study demonstrates how these analytical tools can be operationalized by employing several other approaches: intergenerational solidarity perspective, personal networks analysis, ideas of symbolic interactionism, and memory studies in the context of transnational family relations. The authors show that transnational life alters the relational dynamics between parents, grandparents, and children, and that newly emerging identities such as a 'guest-like-father', a 'mother-like sister', and a 'family-keeping' grandmother, all highlight how role-specific commitments are renegotiated when family members live across borders, and how commitments stemming from multiple family roles intertwine.

Isaksen and Czapka (Chap. 12) discuss how local gender regimes and public care arrangements in Norway influence Polish and Italian mothers' migration experiences. This chapter focuses on a Nordic country, Norway, where the majority population has generally accepted and internalized gender egalitarian values, and the male breadwinner model has become a contested family model. Public childcare is universal and plays an important role in parents' work-family balances, and local care and welfare regimes aim to integrate women and migrants in the labour market, and children in local communities. The chapter shows that for migrant mothers coming from European contexts dominated by the Catholic Church and gender conservative family values, developing new care strategies in Norway can cause social tensions and transnational challenges as well as individual empowerment.

Sokolowska in Chap. 13 explores how transnational migration creates changes within family structures, impacting gender roles, socialization, and family dynamics. Based on a qualitative longitudinal sociological inquiry of the intergenerational dynamics of Polish immigrant families, the author examines how migratory decisions and reunifications with those left behind are enacted and reorganized once affected by migration and separation. The findings indicate that separation exacerbates family ties, particularly for single mothers. Contemporary post-accession migration also shifts the power and changes the perception of conventional Polish gender roles towards more-visible equity. The study suggests that female migration with teenage children is still seen as an unacceptable strategy, and, lastly, that Polish transnational families show difficulties in maintaining friendships and in operationalizing transnationalism at a distance.

Finally, the chapter by König, Isengard and Szydlik (Chap. 14) explores how and if intergenerational transfers of money, time, and space are important manifestations of functional solidarity in contemporary societies for the population of foreign origin that has often been neglected or limited to a specific (ethnic) population. This chapter thus focuses on intergenerational functional solidarity patterns between migrants and natives as well as within migrant families using the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Overall, the empirical analyses prove that European families are strongly connected by different forms of functional solidarity. However, migration does matter. In addition to differences between natives and migrants, the analyses also highlight specific patterns within migrants according to household composition, duration of stay, and country of origin.

Transversal Reflections

Through the various contributions to this book, we invite you to embark in an in-depth exploration of the complementarities between two fields of studies, the transnational families and the 'mixed families' literatures, that have largely grown separately, but that can together generate a renewed and more comprehensive understanding of the interconnections between migration and family life in the EU, both within *and* across borders. We believe that this dialogue can illuminate in particular how family-migration dynamics are shaped, squeezed, and developed

across and between family cultures, multi-cultural experiences, family ties, and (trans)national contexts.

The contributions we have collected in this book reflect the large array of studies, research methods, and conceptual approaches that currently concern the study of families in migration. While not being homogeneous, these contributions bring out some cross-cutting issues, first of all the transformations of people and relationships as a result of being exposed to or immersed into a different culture. These transformations never come alone, nor take place without problems: they are often accompanied by negotiations, balancing acts, and compromise that concern all the members of either a mixed or a transnational family. The various authors in fact show how current theoretical perspectives and research findings exceed migration *per se* and the focus on migrants or mobile individuals, to include family members who remain in the country of origin, as well as native partners and their family members. This encourages scholars and policy makers to take into greater account the complexity of human mobility, but also to be prepared to challenge their definitions of families.

Intergenerational practices, relationships and solidarities were a key transversal theme in this book, and were apprehended by the authors through various lenses, including 'duties' towards older generations (Chap. 2); negotiations regarding child-raising decisions (Chaps. 5 and 6); solidarity for those 'left behind' (Chaps. 2 and 10); as mediated by various forms of co-presence and by geographical distance (Chaps. 10 and 13), and as key dynamics for family memory and identity (Chap. 11) and the transformation of gender norms (Chap. 8). Many chapters contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics and challenges of the maintenance and circulation of care relations, forms of solidarity, and resources (including cultural) in a migratory context. They show that the typically unequal distribution of the attendant tasks and obligations runs along lines of ethnicity, gender, and generation, and that migration creates new patterns of inequalities along those lines that affect power relations, and the way people renegotiate (and manage conflicts around) pre-existing and new care arrangements and the cultural assumptions underlying them.

The main results of the studies presented in this book suggest that the size, composition, and relevance of network ties in the migration process also serve to challenge or reinforce cultural forms of organization, particularly gender relations. Gendered identities, relationships, and power dynamics shape network ties, while network characteristics and macro changes brought about through migration, in turn, influence cultural expectations about gender. This circular process can reinforce gender inequalities or bring about change. Through this circular process, networks of meaningful social ties, defined by identity, obligation, and trust, can reinforce, challenge or re-shape gender inequalities (see for instance, Chaps. 9 and 12). Finally, the various case studies and testimonies presented in this book vividly illustrate the importance of taking into account the way members of transnational and/or ethnically mixed families make sense of their experience of mobility, transnational family life, and cultural plurality (Chap. 11), include them in their own biographies (Chap. 4), negotiate their generational and gender positions (Chaps. 2, 3, 7, and 8), and re-appropriate them in their daily lives. The two central dimensions of this book—gender and intergenerational relationships—prove to be strong analytical axes that allow us to see family processes in their making, and that bring to the fore the reflexive skills that families experiencing mobility and pluricultural contexts develop when confronted to change processes and identities.

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Transnational and Mixed Families: Key Issues and Emerging Trends

Stefania Giada Meda and Isabella Crespi

Introduction

The theme of migration as a family event has become pivotal in sociological literature, with the result that a number of aspects hitherto only implicit in the general interpretation of migratory trends have now emerged (Kofman 2004; Kraler et al. 2010). Family relationships are able to act as a bridge between individual migrants and their new context; conversely, they could result in a closed network of relationships that

The present contribution is the result of the joint effort of the two authors; however, paragraphs 1 to 3 were written by Stefania Giada Meda, and paragraphs 4 and 5 were authored by Isabella Crespi, while introduction and conclusions were elaborated by the two authors together.

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then may become a fortress, rather than a bridge, in which dialogue and interaction will eventually dissipate.

In this chapter, we seek to frame the key issues that emerge in studies on transnational and mixed families: two family types characterized by the need to thematize differences (culture, gender, generation) both within their borders, and vis-à-vis the outside world. Basing ourselves on literary reviews, we shall highlight the characteristics of these families, and the challenges and transformations that they are facing in the contemporary world.

The Transnational Families Perspective

While the transnational families' phenomenon is not new—throughout time there have been many different forms of human mobility and family separation—the concept of transnational family (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Carling et al. 2012) has provided, since the beginning of the last decade, a convincing interpretation of the complex intersection between family and migration. Bryceson and Vuorela define transnational families 'as families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, i.e. "familyhood", even across national borders' (2002: 3). This classical definition indicates the difficulties and opportunities of keeping together affective bonds and caregiving responsibilities while operating across different cultural and geographical worlds.

Further research-based developments of the notion of transnational families were proposed a few years later by Baldassar et al. (2007), and Baldassar and Merla (2014a, b) who were especially concerned with the concepts of transnational care and care circulation. Care, in this perspective, is seen as one of the central processes (practices and performances) maintaining and sustaining family relationships and identity, and it circulates reciprocally—though unevenly—among family members over time and distance. This lens allows us to 'capture all the actors involved in family life' (Baldassar et al. 2014: 159) as well as the full extent of family care dynamics.[1]

The care circulation perspective, moreover, helps address four broad fields of enquiry related to transnational families (Baldassar et al. 2014), such as: (1) a conceptualization of transnational families that would

minimize the ethnocentric bias of Westernized definition of the family; (2) the ways individuals and families manage their sense of 'familyhood' across space and time; (3) methodological strategies and tools that can capture the complex nature of these families; and (4) the relation between family, migration, and policy.

The transnational families' perspective intersects migration, family, and policy studies (Baldassar et al. 2014: 150). It draws on family research to encompass a broader definition of family that challenges the Western definition that is of a physically co-present heterosexual nuclear family. It takes into account the interactions between migration flows and policies in migrants' receiving countries, and as such, this approach exceeds the study of migration per se, so as to encompass both those who relocate, and those who do not, and the way they relate to each other in a broader relational and political-economical context. In particular, while referring to the idea of mobility, this perspective breaks away from the word 'migration', which tends to carry class connotations and is 'applied more readily to people that are considered economically or politically deprived and seek betterment of their circumstances' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 7). In fact, transnational are all families leading transnational lives, including those who are generally not seen as migrants, such as the élites working in the higher echelons of transnational companies and highly qualified people who move across Europe towards EU institutional, academic, or professional positions[2] (cf. the 'brain drain' phenomenon), but also along other North-North, South-North and even North-South flows (such as 'expatriates' working in 'foreign service' of various kinds, e.g. EU, UN, and development cooperation organizations).

With the transnational families' approach the focus of the analysis shifts from the individual to the family. While thematizing and dealing with family ties, meanings, roles, and identities across national borders and taking into account processes and complex relational scenarios, this approach enhances the 'meso' level, but also refers to and connects other social actors at different levels, such as the civil society and the State, and the various ways in which all these actors articulate and impact on one another (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Baldassar 2008). In fact, as recalled by Mazzucato (2013), we should consider that in some cases transnational family arrangements are the result of migration policies in receiving countries, which makes it difficult for families to migrate together.

In addition, this perspective takes into consideration time, as well as spatiality. In the literature, transnational families are sometimes referred to as multi-local or multi-sited families, or families living in spatial separation, thus giving emphasis to the experience of spatial dispersion. Yet the notion of transnational families draws attention also to the temporal dimension because 'one's emotional and material needs are strongly linked to stages of the individual life cycle albeit individuals vary in the intensity with which they experience and express these needs. Interaction with other family members directed at realizing one's own need of fulfilment and contributing to the need of fulfilment of other family members must be seen over time and in relation to the spatial distribution of transnational family members' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 14). Time impacts on the decision-making process of transnational families: often the choice to relocate (or not) is linked to a particular threshold, such as completing the children's schooling, caring for elderly parents, or planning one's career. Thus, the family life cycle heavily influences any decision made by a mobile individual or group. Even after an individual or group of family members has relocated, the questions will be if and how familial ties will be maintained between those who relocated and those who were left behind. Here the foundational axis of the family relationship—gender and generation, become important since 'the age and gender of absent members can strongly influence the nature and degree of contact that is pursued by both sides' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 14). Furthermore, as highlighted by several authors, with time—and in particular with the transition from the first to the second generation—transnational contacts weaken substantially. This might be due partly to the lack of physical daily interaction, but also to the progressive cultural distance between generations and language barriers that may arise over time. It is, indeed, with time and with the passing of the generations that the most profound changes within the transnational families are produced (Kwak 2003; Phinney et al. 2000).

Doing Family Across Geographical Distance

Living apart but maintaining a sense of unity is one of the challenges faced by transnational families. The care circulation approach has shown how people maintain a sense of 'familyhood' by providing care for each

other across different countries and even continents, with fluid patterns of mobility and more or less prolonged periods of proximity (as in the case of adult children going back to their country of origin to take care of their elderly parents during holidays, or grandparents moving in temporarily with their adult children at the birth of their grandchildren), or forms of care other than physical care (as in the case of remittances, etc.).

How these families maintain a sense of belonging and identity is also supplemented by the way people manage communications and virtual interactions (Wilding 2006). The most recent literature has explored the many ways contemporary transnational families are increasingly able to be virtually co-present on a daily basis (Baldassar 2016). Madianou and Miller's (2012) polymedia thesis and the related research have for instance 'demonstrated how mobile phones, as part of a wider environment of converging technologies, are becoming integral to the way family relationships are performed and experienced' (Madianou 2014: 668). The proliferation of information and communications technology (ICT) and different media environments impacts enormously on living-apart family members. Access, affordability and media literacy are preconditions for people to use ICT to keep up with their families across the world (Madianou 2014: 670). But transnational families are confronted with three divides—transnational, generational, and occupational (Madianou 2014)—that contribute to the diversity in the use of ICT. Some members of a transnational family might be better connected than others (as, for instance, the older generation of Filipino migrant mothers studied by Madianou 2014), but their left-behind not-so-well connected children may be more confident in the use of new technologies. Yet there is the third, occupational divide, which according to status, determines the variability with which migrants can access ICT (again, referring to the case of the Filipino families in the UK studied by Madianou (2014), live-in domestic workers had less access to ICT than Filipino migrants working as nurses).

The proliferation of new technologies, especially smartphones, gives families more chances to be co-present at least virtually ('always on') and becomes constitutive of the relationship itself, but this does not necessarily determine the success of the transnational relationships. As Madianou and Miller (2012) demonstrated for the mother-child relationship, 'three factors played a role in determining the success or not of transnational

communication: the age of the child during the parents' migration; the quality of the pre-existing relationship; and finally, the media that were available during that early period of separation' (Madianou 2014: 667). These factors remain relevant with the arrival of smartphones. In other words, ICT and converging media environments (polymedia) can enhance already existing relationships, but will not help overcome pre-existing or other relational problems.

Gender and Generations in the Light of the Transnational Families Approach

After migration, a number of changes may produce new, original configurations of social relationships and affective bonds, as well as economic and cultural exchanges. Relationships, roles, and individual identities within the family end up redefined. At the same time the presence, within the national borders of a State, of families or members of families of different ethnic and cultural origins, challenges the static notion of the modern State-nation, and is likely to have repercussions also on the receiving society, which in turn will end up transformed by the presence of migrants coming from different cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.

The concept of a transnational social field (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) indicates that subjective identities and the negotiations to build them take place within a space containing values and practices belonging to both one's nationality and the host country. When two or more different cultural and normative models are put face-to-face, as occurs with transnational multi-sited families, the possible outcomes are many and very nuanced in terms of management of cultural identity and practices: some families are likely to be influenced by the habits and values of the receiving society, while others may be less prone to cultural influences, to the extent of a total closure. In this process, it is also important to recognize the role played by different social actors, including those external to the family—such as the State, the receiving society, and so on.

Transnational families face challenges, negotiations, and changes in many domains. Some of these processes take place within the symbolic boundaries of the family, on what we may call the 'internal front', while

others occur outside those symbolic boundaries, on the 'external front' with society. Keeping this distinction as an analytical frame for studying transnational families may help shed light on some specificities of the phenomenon. In addition, this book focuses on two particular aspects: gender and intergenerational relations. Indeed, there are many topics that cut across the main theme of transnational families—such as class or religion, just to name two—but the editors decided to focus on gender and generations as they represent the two main relational axes that define a family (Donati 2006, 2013).

Several authors have focused on gender difference (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001; Pessar and Mahler 2003) with regards to family migration. Whether the migrant is male or female does indeed make a great difference in terms of reconfiguration of family roles and forms, power dynamics, and strategies put in place in order to maximize the benefits of mobility (Yeoh et al. 2005). Gender differences affect not only the migrants, but also have repercussions on the members of the family who are left behind. For instance, it may happen that a wife left behind has to go to live with her in-laws and her husband's extended family, thus setting up a new family form where roles and power dynamics are readjusted (OECD 2008). In other cases, following the migration of their husbands, women left behind start heading their households, with greater responsibilities and a higher degree of vulnerability, yet enjoying more freedom than before. Transnational marriages may alter the relationships within the couples, as discussed by Charsley (2005), regarding the husband's challenged sense of masculinity in transnational marriages, and George (2000), who shows how women find themselves overburdened with gendered expectations from their countries of origin while being the main breadwinners in the new country.

Moreover, reflections concerning gender in transnational family setups intersect necessarily the way intergenerational relations are carried out across geographical distance. Much of the earliest literature focused particularly on the mother-child relationship in relation to so-called 'care-drained' transnational family forms (Hochschild 2000; Parreñas 2005; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012; Peng and Wong 2016), where women from poor countries leave their families behind to care for children and the elderly in rich countries. Many studies focused on how left-behind children

deal with intimacy at a distance, as in the case of the Philippines (Parreñas 2005). The early findings showed that the left-behind children were often better off economically than the children of non-migrants, while transnational mothering had a negative impact on their emotional wellbeing. However, most of these studies were biased by the ethnocentric assumption that the biological mother is the main and most important caregiver, and that the Western nuclear family model was the most suitable for child development. Recent studies, thanks also to the care circulation approach, have challenged these early assumptions (Baldassar et al. 2016). They have shown that many countries from which migrants originate have different norms guiding family structures and relationships, including child fostering, where one's biological child is given for an indefinite period to be raised by another person, which is practiced in many parts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia (Mazzucato 2008, 2013).

With the emigration of the middle-aged 'sandwich' generation the focus also concerns the wellbeing of the elderly parents left behind. Again, the care circulation framing has highlighted how both men and women arrange for caregiving to their elderly in different parts of the world: Italian migrants, for instance, are more likely to exchange frequent visits and offer practical support with their kin back home, than other nationalities (Baldassar 2006; Merla and Baldassar 2011). The care circulation approach also shows that exchanges of family care are *multidirectional* across generations and between genders. A typical example is given by Baldassar when she illustrates the case of recent young Italian professional immigrants to Australia: 'given their early stage in the family life cycle (most are just married) and given the early stage in their migration process (just settled), recent Italian migrants commonly receive financial assistance from their parents to purchase expensive investments like homes and cars or to fund their visits home' (Baldassar 2006: 5), but at the same time they manage to keep up with frequent communications with their kin back in Italy, provide emotional support, and assist their parents with home maintenance during their visits. Siblings are also part of this network of care, as they, for instance, look after their migrant brothers and sisters' business in the country of origin. Interestingly, Baldassar and Merla's (2014a, b) care circulation framework offers a way of tracing or mapping the multiple and multidirectional care exchanges (plus the specific dimension of care) that

characterize transnational family relations throughout the life course. This approach is also able to identify the asymmetries and inequalities, both within and external to (context-related) transnational families, in the capacity to circulate care over time. By focusing on care, it is also possible to thematize the ambivalences embedded in family relations, as in the case of family members who interrupt communication and support to their kin because they are not able to provide for them.

In short, the greater breadth of the care circulation framework applied to the study of transnational families is particularly appropriate for capturing the vast diversity of human mobility: to rephrase Tolstoy's famous quote, Happy families are all alike; every *transnational* family is *transnational* in its own way.

Mixed Families: Between Cultures and Kinship Relationships

One of the most socially significant consequences of migration processes and the meeting of different cultures is the progressive increase in the number of *mixed marriages* (*or couples*). There are many expressions used in the literature to convey the multiple aspects of mixed families in their various forms. The complexity inherent to a description of the mixed family is evident from the emblematic use of the language; English uses various terms to refer to married and non-married mixed couples: interethnic, interfaith, bi-national, bilingual, interracial, and so on.

In the English-speaking world, the term intermarriage covers different types of mixed unions: bi-national marriages, which refer to partners coming from different countries; interfaith marriages, when partners belong to different religions; interethnic marriages, when the couple come from different ethnic backgrounds; and interracial marriages when they are each of a different race (Cottrell 1990; Luke and Luke 1998). In the French context, the idea of the mixité/métissage within the couple is given greater emphasis than the mixing per se (Tico 1998; Varro 2003).

Looking at statistical data, mixed marriages involving citizens and spouses of foreign nationality have grown significantly over the past decades. These unions have long been considered important indicators of

the social integration of immigrants, as well as potential factors of social and cultural change. However, what characteristics have we seen of this phenomenon in Europe over recent decades? Data from two EU surveys estimated the percentage of persons in mixed marriages in 30 European countries in recent years. Their findings determined that across Europe, for the period 2008–2010, on average one in twelve married persons was in a mixed marriage (Lanzieri 2012).[3]

This is due to a number of factors, as explained by Kraler et al. (2010): the diversification of European societies due to the growth of immigrant populations and intermarriage of citizens with a native-born background with partners often holding a foreign nationality; the increasing mobility among Western European populations, partly as a result of globalized educational and career trajectories, partly as a result of the rise of long-distance tourism and the growth of short-term business related travel; and finally, the proliferation of globalized marriage markets and associated institutions such as internet dating or professional marriage agencies specializing in brokering marriages between citizens of various Asian countries or Eastern Europe and citizens of industrialized countries. Couples and families from different racial/ethnic,[4] language, and faith backgrounds and their 'mixed' children are increasingly visible in the public eye in the European context (Schuh 2008; Lanzieri 2012).

Mixed couples are referred to by a vast array of expressions and categorizations reflecting an equally wide spectrum of possible unions. Sociologists and other social scientists focused on examining endogamy/exogamy in marriages (marrying within/outside one's own group) and homogamy/heterogamy (marrying with someone close/far in status) with respect to socio/economic status, religion and race/ethnicity/nationality (Kalmijn 1998). It is the intermarriage along the racial/ethnic/national divide that has particularly increased its incidence during the last century in several countries around the world (especially in those that experienced colonization in the past and migration in recent times).

In this section we aim at analyzing *mixed families* (interethnic/interracial marriages, when the two partners of the couple come from different ethnic/racial backgrounds), focusing on the concept of 'ethnic group'; this is important because it considers, on the one hand, ethnic identity and, on the other, ethnicity. In fact, while 'ethnicity' refers to the objective features of ethnic

belonging, such as geographic origin, language, race, and physical traits, 'ethnic identity' denotes the awareness of belonging to some given ethnic groups and the importance people place on this aspect of their identity.

On the basis of these considerations, it is assumed that culture, religion, race, and ethnic group are the criteria used to compare the differences between the partners of a mixed couple when these differences are perceived as socially relevant (Fenaroli and Panari 2006; Varro 2012). Thus, the personal qualities that modify the relationship of a so-called 'mixed' couple should always be considered as closely interrelated with the cultural construction of similarity and difference, which defines the degree of compatibility between different groups from a social and collective perspective (Philippe et al. 1998). This approach, however, only provides an explanation of this phenomenon from an external perspective.

We decided to use the term 'mixed', in order to make use of the fact that the specificities of the 'mixedness' have to be made clear when discussing the parents and their families in this book, rather than capturing them under one encompassing categorical qualifier. 'Mixed', while reflecting official census terminology is also in common usage among the mixed couples and individuals themselves, as well as by others (Ali 2003; Luke and Luke 1998; Filhon and Varro 2005). 'Mixing' allows us to signal the dynamic and relational processes in which all of a family's members are actively involved. Although we recognize the limitations of these terms—'mixed', 'mixing' and 'mixedness'—for now, we feel that they best denote our intentions.

Research into mixed relationships originally stemmed from the field of study interested in migration, immigration, race, and ethnicity (predating the paradigm shift brought about by the formalization of the concept of transnationalism), which has strongly influenced the research agenda, thus explaining an early dominant focus on ethnicity, integration, and race relations (Cottrell 1990; Caballero et al. 2007; Voas 2008).

A mixed couple can be considered the union of two people in which the partners have different cultural/ethnic backgrounds (Guyaux et al. 1992; Tico 1998). When a mixed couple gets together, both partners 'virtually travel' from their countries of origin in order to enter a relationship with someone from another country and, most importantly, another culture. In most cases, looking at European data, one partner has physi-

cally left his/her country of origin while the other partner is a citizen of the hosting country (Phoenix and Owen 2000; Schuh 2008).

Being in a mixed couple, in fact, involves the awareness of being permeated with difference. This means keeping one's own cultural identity while acknowledging that the other partner comes from a different historical, ethnic, and cultural background, and this needs to be valued; it entails the possibility of incorporating different cultural models without eliminating the differences.

Mixing Cultures in Families: Negotiating the Differences

From a social viewpoint, these unions encounter a variety of reactions and attitudes. Some people consider them an example of integration, the sign of a multicultural society's increasing receptiveness to foreigners; others focus on the flexible identities of those engaging on this path and their ability to establish bonds with people from different cultural universes.

The partners in a mixed couple try to find a space where differences can be reconciled by continual symbolic construction and redefinition of their identity. In order to do this, each partner is invited by the other (more or less implicitly) to symbolically 'migrate' from their culture of origin in order to establish ties with a person who 'comes' from a different cultural background. This process may (or may not) be shared, and becomes conflictual if one of the two refuses to accept/does not understand the other's culture.

Therefore, according to Bertolani (2002), on the whole, negotiation means implementing four different strategies:

- Expansion of the possible. This process implies a conscious departure from personal habits and traditions, which does not mean abandoning one's cultural standards but assigning them a relative importance. The partners' cultural universes are considered as a source of enrichment, something that makes their relationship more dynamic and encourages them to be more open and receptive to each other. Choices are

made by selecting the best cultural opportunities that may give the couple a certain degree of comfort.

- Mediation. Openness to dialogue, respect, and receptivity to difference are the typical elements of this strategy. The individual or the whole family, in agreement with the other partner, chooses certain behaviours as they go along. Both partners, regarding their relationship as paramount, give up their own positions to find a middle ground; sometimes, family decisions may prove to be a halfway compromise between the partner's cultural preferences and one's own.
- Cultural affirmation. This technique leads partners to uphold totally the distinctive traits of their own cultures, as they are considered essential principles of their own history and identity. Within this framework, cultural differences might cause tensions, contrasts, conflict, and antagonism or, contrarily, produce a clear distribution of power where one culture unquestionably dominates the other and where the yielding partner does not use any retaliatory mechanism in order to preserve the relationship.
- Assimilation. In this case, there is the presumption that culture is based on some precise ideas, meanings, and behaviours, with a tendency to minimize complexity. One partner's aim is to penetrate the culture of the other, that being the culture of the social context in which they live, in order to alleviate the sense of 'diversity' and prevent any form of discrimination against the family.

Negotiating differences within intercultural couples appears to be the outcome of a strong and continuous commitment to finding new rules and definitions. Negotiation is synonymous with compromise, awareness of possible conflicts, and openness to dialogue, even when partners have completely opposing ideas. Cultural differences may be successfully negotiated by developing a mutual awareness of the deep meaning of each other's cultures, thus helping to achieve a certain neutrality and do away with the underlying complexity that hinders problem solving.

Therefore, living in a mixed family is a challenge that implies that the couple, the families of origin, and the broadest social context should find a way to combine differences and negotiate cultural aspects. Mixed families seem to be a micro example of what it means to live in a multicultural

society nowadays at the macro level. Differences and similarities are played out every day in the life course of the couple and their families, requiring the entire family group (including previous generations) to redefine the overall arrangement of their cultural balance: it becomes necessary to rethink relational dynamics (Scabini and Rossi 2008; Therrien and Le Gall 2012), but especially to reconsider the hierarchies of values, both at an individual and at a family level, due to the different cultural belonging of the partners (Crespi 2016).

This aspect is particularly effective with the birth of a child. If a couple's relationship is related to the interpersonal sphere, the partners can still gloss over the importance of the difference between some particular cultural and ethnic aspects. The birth of a child causes the reshaping of the family's organization and the definition of new dynamics with regards to those differences that both partners had already mediated within their relationship, such as language and religion (Phoenix and Owen 2000; Arweck and Nesbitt 2010). The ability to deal with cultural differences can thus turn into a challenge for the couple. In order to deal with and make sense of their differences with respect to their children, partners are required to bring their negotiation strategy back into play (Phoenix and Husain 2007). In this way, they will guarantee their children access to their respective cultures and provide them with the support they need to build their own identity.

The dynamics of mixed families are based on a continuous negotiation of the partners' historical and cultural differences (Caballero et al. 2007; Barn and Harman 2006). Success could be considered as the ability to base family relationships on dialogue, exchange, respect for the other, and negotiation of interethnic differences. They also require the creation of a new family culture, able to turn difference into a valuable asset, which helps promote open minds and acceptance of the other. This regards the choice of their children's upbringing and the values to be transmitted to future generations. The negotiation of differences between internal and external requirements in mixed families is the outcome of a redefinition of the partners' identity and relationships so that both can jointly work out new rules and specific paradigms for their family.

Conclusions

In conclusion, what we have taken into consideration here are relocated and mixed families together, as they both can be framed in the transnational households' perspective. One interesting analytical distinction resides in the front on which these two types of families have to manage cultural diversity.

The challenges and negotiations that take place on the internal front include the need (or opportunity) to redefine traditional roles of the nuclear or extended family, which may result in changes or 'contamination' with respect to gender or generations. In the transnational perspective, these processes not only involve relocated members (or the non-native partner in the case of mixed couples), but also those left behind (or the native partner in the case of mixed couples), who have to reorganize family configurations, roles, and tasks, with particular regard to identities, power dynamics, and exchange of care.

Challenges and negotiations, however, also necessarily take place externally; that is, in the ways relocated and mixed families interact with the receiving society. The interactions and necessary adjustments on the external side (with the receiving society) also have repercussions on the inside of the intra-family relations. Think, for example, of those situations where school-age children master the language of the adopted society better than their parents, and are therefore called to be the family's interpreters and mediators, especially vis-à-vis the local institutions and services.

In particular, mixed families are characterized by cultural differences within their borders, and their members are called to manage these differences and give meaning to their own experience as a couple and as a family. This is particularly the case with the birth of the children; that is, when the dimension of the future must be (re)connected with the past (the origins, the different lineages from which the parents come). Also, transnational families are faced with two fronts where differences must be handled simultaneously: the external front of constant negotiation with the receiving society for those who relocated, but also a front which is internal to the domestic sphere (family identity) because of the inevitable

exposure to cultural difference imposed by mobility, or the absence of certain family figures, that can transform gender and generation roles, practices, and expectations.

Notes

1. Drawing on Finch and Mason's (1993) model of family support, five aspects of care are considered: financial and material, practical, emotional and moral, personal care, and accommodation.
2. Being a EU citizen or not has a strong impact and influence on the existence and formation of transnational families. EU citizens can enjoy freedom to cross borders within the EU (restrictions may be incurred, however, with Brexit) but this limits the possibility of keeping records and assessing how many transnational families are currently present in Europe. For non-EU citizens, there is a number of conditions that influence choices and ways in which transnational families live their family life.
3. In this report, mixed marriages are defined as those in which one partner is a native-born and the other was born abroad. Thus, marriages between foreign-born persons from different countries are not considered as mixed here. Further, by focusing on marriages, unmarried partnerships are not included.
4. We would like to remind the reader that in the US context the term 'race' is used in literature while in the European framework the term race is not anymore used for historical and political reasons. We do not want to enter the debate and use both terms considering the mainstreaming literature across the two continents.

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Part 1

Multi-ethnic Families: Negotiating Differences Across Gender and Generations

2

'Global Householding' in Mixed Families: The Case of Thai Migrant Women in Belgium

Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot and Laura Merla

Introduction

Research on labour migration has shown how migrants form and maintain households in different societies. Studies focusing on this 'global householding' (Douglass 2010) usually adopt a transnational perspective paying close attention to migrants' cross-border practices and their socio-economic, political, ethnic, and familial ties. However, although marriage migration is on the rise, the global householding of migrant spouses in 'mixed couples', that is, with partners of 'different nationalities and/or ethnicities' (De Hart et al. 2013), remains inexplicably understudied. In what way do these migrants simultaneously 'do family' 'here' (with their

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nuclear family) and 'there' (with their natal family)? How does their global householding affect their lives?

In this chapter, we address these questions through a case study of Thai women in Belgium, who mostly migrate to this country for the purpose of family formation or family reunification. These women's migration is part of the 'foreign husband (*phua farang*) phenomenon' (Sunanta 2009) in Thailand, which mainly concerns women from the north-eastern region of the country called *Isan*. Thai women migrants in Belgium are concentrated in Flanders (the Flemish-speaking region of the country) and in Brussels (the capital). They usually meet their Belgian partners through the Internet, when their partner goes to Thailand for travels, or through the matchmaking efforts of one of their family members already living in Belgium (Heyse et al. 2007). Many Thai women marry Belgian men for overlapping reasons such as falling in love or desiring to improve the economic condition of their natal family in Thailand (Fresnoza-Flot 2017). In 2013, there were 3505 Thai nationals in Belgium, and 84 per cent of them were women (DEMO and CGKR 2013).

To understand the gender and intergenerational dynamics in the mixed families of these migrants, we examine their global householding using Baldassar and Merla's (2014) 'care circulation' analytical framework. This framework refers to 'the reciprocal, multidirectional and asymmetrical exchange of care that fluctuates over the life course within transnational family networks subject to the political, economic, cultural and social contexts of both sending and receiving societies' (p. 25). Working on care relations between adult migrants and their 'left-behind' elderly relatives, these authors found that various forms of support (practical, emotional, material, and physical) flow across distances and national borders, both inter- and intra-generationally. This 'care circulation' plays a key role in the maintenance of 'familyhood' and cultural belonging in transnational families, binding together kin members in reciprocal, multidirectional, and asymmetrical care relations. Their form and intensity largely results from a dialectical relationship between the capacity of family members to contribute to these flows, their culturally defined sense of obligation to care for their relatives, and their family relations history over time (Baldassar et al. 2007). By using the care circulation framework, we highlight in this chapter the solidarity, tensions, power relations, and negotiations within mixed families that characterize their transnational lives.

In the following sections, we review previous studies on global householding in mixed families to illuminate this chapter's originality and empirical contributions. We also provide a short background about the culturally defined filial duties in Thailand to understand the dynamics of care circulation within the large family circle of Thai women. We then explain our methodology and present our sample. After this, we examine Thai migrant women's major strategies for global householding and its effects on their lives as spouses 'here' and daughters 'there'. We conclude by identifying the key contributions of our chapter in the field of transnational family and care studies.

Theoretical Background: Care Circulation in Mixed Families

The dynamics surrounding the maintenance of intergenerational solidarities and filial duties in a migratory context are central to the care circulation framework. This analytical lens largely contributed to embedding nuclear family relations and mother-child dyads (a key focus of the global care chains literature) into a vast array of care relations within transnational family networks (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2015), making more visible the active contribution of children, men, and elders in care dynamics. It also highlights how cultural differences between home and host societies influence the way family members care for (and about) each other in a transnational context (Tronto 2015). Although this literature specifically aims at covering a vast range of family situations and migratory statuses, the care circulation dynamics and negotiations within mixed couples with one migrant member remain incompletely studied.

A few studies on mixed couples demonstrate how migrant spouses try to meet the various expectations of their newly founded family and of their natal family back home. Striking a balance in fulfilling these expectations can be challenging. For example, Malagasy women married to French men attempt it by securing their own source of income and by negotiating with their husbands (Cole 2014). Filipino women of working-class background in bi-national unions in France also take up paid

employment and try to convince their husbands of the importance of supporting their family back home (Fresnoza-Flot 2017). Finally, Vietnamese women in Taiwan send remittances back home and invite their relatives to visit them in Taiwan for short periods of time (Iwai 2013). In these studies, the capacity of migrant spouses to carry out global householding appears to depend on their family situation (whether they are mothers or not) and on their ability to negotiate with their husbands and to earn their own livelihood (Bélanger et al. 2011). Those who are not able to satisfy their obligations towards their natal family experience degraded social status in their country of origin (Yea 2008). Unresolved issues over the remittances sent by migrant spouses to their kin back home result in conjugal conflicts (Yea 2008). However, all these studies were conducted outside the care circulation framework and did not consider the role of other family members (husbands, parents, siblings) in the global householding of migrant spouses. In our chapter, we will attempt to fill this gap by taking into account the way in which care circulates within the large family circle of migrant women.

Methodology

The data presented in this chapter come from a larger research project (2012–2015) conducted by Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot (AFF) on children of Filipino-Belgian and Thai-Belgian couples in Belgium. This study adopted several complementary and mainly qualitative data-gathering methods such as semi-structured interviews, ethnographic observations, informal conversations, children drawings, photographs, small-scale surveys, and documentary research (including websites of Filipino and Thai migrants).

AFF's 2-year fieldwork in Belgium, Thailand, and the Philippines resulted in 143 semi-structured interviews. The present chapter specifically analyses the data concerning Thai migrant women, which comprised 19 interviews and observation notes gathered during fieldwork in Belgium and in Thailand. To supplement these data, we also draw from interviews with five Belgian men married to Thai women. All these respondents were met through snowball sampling with the assistance of key informants: a leader of a Thai association in Belgium and two Thai

Buddhist monks. Observations were conducted in two Thai Buddhist temples in Belgium. AFF also conducted observations during homestays in two mixed families of Thai migrant women to analyse the interactions and way of life of these families.

Of the Thai respondents, 17 had children, in six cases from their previous relationship with a Thai man. Most of the women interviewed were in their forties and had tertiary-level education. Sixteen lived with their Belgian partner and the rest were separated or divorced. At the time of their interviews, the respondents had resided in the country for an average of 19 years. All of them had a regular migration status and 17 had acquired Belgian nationality. Throughout this chapter, we use pseudonyms to protect the anonymity and privacy of these respondents and their Belgian spouses. Due to space constraints, we will build here more specifically on three case studies to illustrate our major findings.

Results and Discussion: Thai Women's Strategies, Couple Negotiations and Larger Family Dynamics in the Context of the *bun khun*

Thai women's culturally defined sense of obligation to care for their native family members can best be understood through the cultural concept of *bun khun*, a 'system of moral indebtedness on which Thai parents rely for support and care in their old age' (Redmond 2002, p. 234).

Bun khun emphasizes children's duty to repay their parents' kindness, care, and love. A son can repay his moral debts to his parents by entering the monastic order for a short period of time or by becoming a monk, whereas a daughter can do so only through 'physical and material' support to her parents (Mills 2008). This explains why the socialization of children in Thai families differs along gender lines: for example, daughters learn to perform household chores and care for younger siblings. By taking care of their parents' well-being and insuring their good health, children get *bun* (merit) in return (Rice 1991). However, if children neglect their parents, this 'results in sickness' for the latter and '*bab* (demerit)' for the former (Rice 1991).

In the context of migration, fulfilling one's filial duties to ones' parents by providing them direct material and physical support represents a challenge. Maintaining households 'here' and 'there' is a potential cause of conflicts in conjugal relations and is therefore the subject of intense negotiations between Thai women and their husbands. Hence, it is important for these women to obtain the agreement of their Belgian husbands in order to successfully fulfil their daughter role in Thailand. To satisfy their husband's expectations regarding their 'local' role as mothers and wives, the women interviewed developed three strategies: accomplishing a traditional reproductive role at home, earning their own livelihood, and tapping their family networks of solidarity.

Engaging in a Traditional Division of Productive/ Reproductive Labour

> Mai (43 years old) arrived in Belgium in 2001 and got married to Marc (44 years old), whom she had met through her sister and her Belgian brother-in-law. Both Mai and Marc were divorced and each had children from a previous relationship. In 2002, Marc helped Mai reunite with her son in Belgium. Mai came from a family of four, two sisters and two brothers. Her sister and she were the only ones in their family to migrate and live abroad. Mai's two brothers worked in the Thai army and had a comfortable life in Thailand. At the time of the interview, Mai's parents were already in their 80s. On the other hand, Marc had a brother and a sister in Belgium, and his parents lived independently from them. Learning from his past experience with his former wife, Marc wished that Mai would stay at home and be a full-time housewife. This was a source of tensions in their relationship, as Mai wanted to fulfil her filial obligations by engaging in paid work to provide financial support to her aging mother. Mai told Marc that she would accept to stay at home only if he committed to take care of her mother. So, the couple came up with an agreement: Mai would not work, but it would be Marc who would be sending financial support to Mai's parent. Although Marc does not see his natal family very often and does not provide financially for them, he understands his wife's viewpoint: 'I immediately did [fulfil my part] because the positive feeling 'she's staying home for me' was stronger than my reluctance to help'. Mai seems happy

> with her life: 'some people want more. That's not me. I'm happy with what I have'. Marc too appears satisfied with his life with Mai: 'I like [that] she stays home and I work'.

The case of Mai and Marc illustrates a largely tension-free participation in the circulation of care, secured by the common decision to engage in a traditional male-breadwinner/female-caretaker model (Lewis 2001), considered by both as a win-win situation since it allows them to combine their respective expectations (and obligations) in terms of local and transnational care-giving. During the interview, the couple expressed their contentment with their blended, mixed, and transnational family life. However, their story appears exceptional in this study: the other Thai respondents generally rely on themselves to fulfil their daughter role transnationally, either because their husband refuses to support their transnational duties or because they want to be economically independent from him. In fact, sending remittances to Thailand was a major cause of conjugal conflicts in the mixed families that participated in this study because of each partner's normative beliefs and practices concerning marriage and the family. The Belgian husbands in this study usually expected their Thai wives to entirely focus their attention on their own local nuclear family (either on a full-time basis or in combination with paid work) and struggled to accept the fact that their nuclear family's economic situation could be negatively affected by the sending of remittances to Thailand. Their Thai wives, on the other hand, felt the need to support their parents, who expect them to possess the material capabilities to fulfil their *bun khun* obligations thanks to their migration to an economically developed country.

The financial expectations linked with filial piety weighs heavy when Thai women depend completely or partially on their Belgian husband's economic support. Like Mai, these women must negotiate their participation in transnational care circulation with their husband. Those who cannot reach a consensus compensate for not sending remittances by maintaining regular communication with their parents through the Internet or telephone. Some of them also borrow money from other Thai migrants before a visit back home, using this money to portray themselves

as 'successful migrants' to their friends and family in Thailand. Suksomboon (2007) also observes such behaviour among Thai migrant women in the Netherlands who 'generally do not tell their parents and relatives in Thailand about the reality and the hardship of their life' in their receiving country to 'save face' (p. 7). Visits back home also offer Thai women opportunities to buy a piece of land and/or start building a new house. Interestingly, these projects are mostly financed by their Belgian husbands who, even if refusing to send remittances to Thailand, enjoy holidays in this country and consider moving there permanently after retirement.

Thai migrants who engage in transnational care practices with the moral and financial support of their husbands strive to give something back in return to their partners, by providing various forms of care to their husbands' relatives. For example, Farung (43 years old) took care of her husband's aged parents by cooking for them and by regularly visiting them at their place. Nin (44 years old) drives her aged parents-in-law to the hospital or the shopping mall when necessary. Other women strongly encourage their husbands to participate in important family gatherings (birthdays, wedding of a relative, etc.) with their Belgian relatives. These women's efforts to return the favour to their husbands seem indispensable to reach a certain 'balance' within their large family circle, between their transnational and local care practices. Women who had difficulties getting their husbands' agreement over sending remittance to Thailand, who did not want to rely on them, resort to other strategies as we will see in the following sections.

Securing Care Circulation Through Paid Work: Earning and Using One's Own Money

Within our sample, several women tried to meet gendered expectations and familial obligations 'here' and 'there' via paid work, a situation that was an important source of tensions with their husbands.

Jean: 'I always understand it [sending remittance], but I found it a bit…'

Kanya: 'I never asked you to pay. I was always the one who took charge.'
Jean: 'but in the end, the demand [for money] comes from them [Kanya's mother and son]. No matter, no matter if it is you or [me], you let the household money go'
Kanya: 'no, it's my money that I earned and that I send them. I never … we can't mix it, because there is the money of the husband who works, [and there is] that of the wife'.

The dialogue above illustrates the tension around remittances that often arises in Thai-Belgian couples. Kanya (43 years old) used to sell Thai dishes, and her earnings went to Thailand to support the needs of her mother and of her son from a previous relationship. Her husband did not agree with this because her mother had a history of misusing the remittances she received from her daughter. Kanya explained: 'My son was very small at that time, and so she [her mother] had always money and everything. Instead of doing something [good] with the money, she spent without thinking, incurred debts and everything, and it was me who paid'. Kanya explained her behaviour by emphasizing that she used the 'money that [she] earned' and not that of her husband to fulfil her family obligations. By differentiating her 'husband's money' from hers, she tried to reduce the tension in her couple. This strategy allows many Thai women like Kanya to maintain their conjugal relations while being 'good daughters' to their parents back home.

Among the 19 Thai respondents, 12 were employed part-time or full-time. The amount of money remitted depends on their kin's needs and their level of income in Belgium. One woman sent 200 euros per month to cover her sick father's medical expenses. Divorced respondents who worked part-time and/or did not receive financial support from their ex-partner tended to send only a few times per year like Nom (37 years old): 'I try twice a year, 1000 euros something, at the beginning of the year and at the end of the year'. The sending of remittances usually stops when Thai women's 'left-behind' children reunite with them in Belgium or when their parents pass away.

Paid work also allows some Thai respondents to invest in Thailand, most often with the husband's financial contribution as explained in the previous section. For example, Kanya's husband bought a house in

Thailand to house her mother and son. Farung and her husband bought land in Bangkok to build a family house. Seven other respondents bought either a piece of land or a house in Thailand. These properties are taken care of by the migrants' siblings and often become the residence of the parents or a sibling caretaker. These family members also receive financial support from the Thai migrant, notably in times of sickness and during special events like Mother's Day or New Year. Remittances and investments bring positive reactions from relatives in Thailand, who highly regard both the Thai migrant and her husband.

Relying on One's Family Networks of Solidarity to Become a 'Good Wife' and a 'Pious Daughter'

Thai respondents who have limited income rely on their natal family network to save their face and fulfil their *bun khun* duties back home. This network of solidarity partly alleviates these women's care obligations.

> Piti (50 years old) arrived in Belgium when she was 23 years old after marrying her first Belgian husband whom she met in Thailand. She was a full-time housewife at that time and could not send any financial help to her parents: 'Before, I wasn't working. It was very difficult. I didn't send [money] because they [her parents] understood my situation.' During this period, Piti mainly looked after the child she had with her Belgian husband. When she found a job in a nursing home, her income was insufficient to send remittances. When her marriage broke down, Piti shared child custody with her ex-husband, but did not receive any food allowances from him and struggled financially. Piti did not conceal her situation to her parents, which facilitated her life: 'my father always says, "did you have enough money to eat? Do you have something?" [This is] because he thinks so much about me'. Piti compensated by maintaining regular communication with them. She was partly relieved from the obligation to provide for her ageing parents thanks to her sister who lived in Thailand and was married to a Norwegian man, and who provided their parents a comfortable life in Thailand. According to Piti's husband, Robert (51 years old): 'now it's easy. The Norwegian guy, he's very rich and he takes care of the

family in Thailand, and I take care of the family here'. Another sister of Piti who was working in Sweden also provided financial assistance to their parents. Piti regularly communicated with her sisters about the matters affecting their parents.

Networks of family members living in different places and having stable financial resources offer women like Piti a possibility to become 'good daughters', even indirectly. As Kilkey and Merla (2014) note, the transnational circulation of care does not only take the form of direct provision of various forms of support (either physically or from afar), but also consists in coordinating the provision of support from a distance, or delegating this provision to other members of the network. In many ways, Piti fulfilled her filial duties 'by proxy', via the active participation of other family members who may, in some instances, act in her name and represent her.

Some aging parents also participate in the circulation of care by bequeathing land to their children: as Piti confided '[we bought a house] in December, then we bought a land in June, and I inherited [a piece of] land from my parents. […] We don't have money in Thailand, but we have a lot of land'. If the eldest brother or sister has insufficient resources, other siblings volunteer to take care of aging parents. Sometimes, birth order determines family obligations. For example, Pim (45 years old) who was the youngest of six children explained that her eldest siblings 'have more responsibilities. They have to answer to the [needs of] the family, but I don't have that'. When all siblings have good economic resources, they tend to all take a share of family obligations, as the following case illustrates.

Ruang (43 years old) has a youngest sister in Germany who got married to a German; their only brother died long ago. As their parents are divorced and their mother remarried a Belgian man, they agree that when their mother will become frail, Ruang will look after her given their residential proximity. On the other hand, her sister helped their father reunite with her in Germany and takes care of him there. The absence of natal family members in Thailand prompted Ruang and her Belgian husband to reinforce their ties with Ruang's kin. When the couple bought a house in Thailand, they asked Ruang's aunt to look after it.

The closely-knit kin networks in Thailand facilitate care circulation within migrants' large family circle. Belgian spouses appreciate this aspect, notably when their communal properties in Thailand are well looked after by their Thai wives' kin. This motivates them to continuously support their wives' efforts to care for their family and also to invest in Thailand. Farung and Andrei (49 years old), for instance, bought another piece of land in Thailand for their Belgian aging parents. They also maintain communication with Farung's family, as Andrei explained: 'I speak English with her [sister], we try to keep contact [via Skype]'.

Many Thai respondents reported that their husbands had almost no contact with their kin and were not emotionally close with their siblings. Among the Belgian husbands interviewed, three had regular contact with their natal family members and cared for them together with their Thai wives. For instance, Andrei and Farung lived near his parents, which facilitated their everyday interactions. When Andrei's father fell sick, the couple easily managed to divide their time between their son and his parents. Later when Andrei's father was hospitalized, the couple regularly visited him in the hospital. Likewise, Julien and his wife Ratree (both 42 years old) resided near his parents, who looked after the couple's children when necessary. Julien helped his father manage their family business, and this later became his full-time employment. Jean and Kanya also actively participated in the care circulation dynamics within their 'Belgian' kin circle. They regularly attended family gatherings and Jean's mother and sister kept constant phone communication with them. These cases show that some Belgian husbands are also involved in care flows, both locally (with their own relatives) and transnationally (by taking part in their wives' global householding).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to contribute to one of the major topics of this book, that is, the gender and intergenerational dynamics organizing social relations within multi-ethnic/transnational families, and their influence on migration experiences. We have done this by focusing on the situation of female migrants who face the difficult challenge of trying to be 'good daughters' for their ageing parents back home without com-

promising their couple relationships with their non-migrant spouse. In this conclusion, we would like to raise four important points.

First, our results partly echo a long tradition of feminist thought that identifies marriage as a site of exploitation for women, particularly when these either struggle to access the labour market and/or are strongly expected to fulfil a traditional gender role within their household (Delphy 1998). Many Thai women in our sample are located in a system that makes them financially dependent on their husbands, and that weights heavy on their capacity to accomplish their filial duties by reducing both their financial capacity to support their parents from a distance and their bargaining power for negotiating the allocation of the households' budget with their husbands.

Second, this study brings to the fore the important role that migrants' partners play in the maintenance of transnational family relations. They do not only influence the migrant's capacity to support her distant relatives but also play a key role in shaping and supporting the migrant's long-term investments in her home country (benefitting both the couple and its relatives there), as well as future possibilities of re-settlement in Thailand.

Third, the various strategies of Thai women to combine their local and transnational family lives show that these women, even when in an extremely disadvantaged position within their mixed household in Belgium, still play an active role and try to overcome the obstacles they face by negotiating their local and transnational engagements and duties with their husbands. When these negotiations fail, these women resort to various strategies (seeking financial autonomy, drawing a clear distinction between their income and the household budget, tapping their transnational networks of solidarities) to 'save face' and partly fulfil their *bun khun*.

Finally, this study underscores the need to further develop our theoretical and empirical knowledge on the inter-connections between the various circuits of care in which migrants are simultaneously involved. In this particular case, women (and their husbands, to various extents) are involved both in a circuit of care with their 'native' extended transnational family network and in another circuit of care with their husbands' relatives. The fact that some Thai women feel the need to thank their husbands for supporting their transnational care practices suggests that

these two forms of engagements (local and transnational) do not function autonomously and separately, but are instead inter-connected.

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3

'Doing Gender' Across Cultures: Gender Negotiations in European Bi-national Couple Relationships

Benedicte Brahic

Introduction

Formed by two individuals of different European nationalities in which at least one partner is an intra-European migrant, the number of European bi-national couples is on the rise (Gaspar 2012). These couples tend to be relatively invisible in their countries of residence, and, despite their role in pioneering processes of Europeanization from below (through notably the development of new family forms and practices, see also Recchi et al. 2006), they remain little studied. Furthermore, and in contrast to mono-national relationships/'non-mixed' couples for which gender is a central theme of study, it is noticeable that the study of bi-national/mixed relationships has focused on questions of ethnicity and ethnic identity somewhat leaving gender aside.

Building on these observations, this chapter aims to explore some of the gender negotiations at play in bi-national relationships. The research questions discussed in the chapter concern more specifically the question

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of gender and how it intersects with the bi-national/cultural component in bi-national relationships. This chapter is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with 32 European bi-national couples living in Manchester (UK). The study area, Manchester, lies at the heart of the Greater Manchester built-up area which is the second most populous conurbation in the UK, after Greater London. Manchester is a major national and European pole of human activity attracting both internal and transnational migrants. In 2013, 25.7 per cent of Manchester's residents were born outside the UK. Of these, 26.45 per cent were EU-born (Office for National Statistics 2013). European-born migrants living in Britain have hitherto benefited from free movement and relaxed rights of abode in their country of residence, however, the UK vote to leave the EU (often referred to as 'Brexit', June 2016) created new uncertainties and anxieties for European-born migrants living in the UK—therefore heightening the necessity for researchers and policy makers to gain a better understanding of the needs, opportunities, and challenges these sometimes deemed 'invisible' migrants may encounter.

This chapter is structured as follows: the next section reviews selected contributions relevant to the case study and the topic under scrutiny pointing out gaps in the knowledge this chapter seeks to address. The following section introduces details of the methodological approach chosen. The data collected are analyzed and discussed in the final section before final remarks conclude the chapter.

Theoretical Framework

Bi-national Couple Relationships at the Crossroads of Two Separate Fields of Investigation: Bringing 'Culture' in the Study of Relationships, Bringing 'Gender' in the Study of Mixed Couples

Although still in its infancy, the study of bi-national relationships—and more generally mixed couples—is developing as the number of mixed dyads increases (Kofman 2004). Research in mixed relationships has originally stemmed from the field of investigation interested in migration,

immigration, race, and ethnicity (predating the paradigm shift brought by the formalization of the concept of transnationalism), which has strongly influenced its research agenda, thus explaining an early dominant focus on ethnicity, integration, and race relations (Brahic 2013). It is interesting to note here that interethnic (particularly couples involving Western and non-Western partners, see Cottrell 1990; Caballero et al. 2008) and interreligion couples have attracted greater scholarly attention than other types of mixed couples and particularly those that are European and bi-national, despite their number having significantly increased in the EU (Gaspar 2012). This relative oversight may also be explained by the fact that the latter are deemed unproblematic from a legal perspective (as they benefit from free movement and relaxed rights of residence) and tend to be invisible to wider society (by contrast to some other ethnic migrants).

The shift in paradigm in the study of migration which was brought about by the formalization of the concept of transnationalism has participated in both the renewal and the dilution of the study of mixed couples. The call for 'bringing gender in' (Kofman 2000; Mahler and Pessar 2001; Pessar and Mahler 2003) has urged transnational studies to take a reflexive turn and has resulted in 'bringing the family in' too. This has contributed to draw attention to transnational family forms/practices (a significant number of which are articulated around mixed couples) while diluting the attention given to the 'mixed component' in the couple relationship itself in favour of a focus on transnationalism and the family. Goulbourne et al. (2010) point out that new research is needed on mixed families in the context of transnational migration, and more specifically on the cultural and social capital they generate rather than the constraints and challenges they face.

Learning from some of the debates articulating the study of relationships, personal life, and the transformations of intimacy may enable researchers to step away from a focus on challenges and constraints to consider the 'powerful advantages of mixedness' (Goulbourne et al. 2010: 175); it may also allow for a more individual-centric/subjective understanding of mixed-couple relationships. The present chapter mainly draws from on-going debates concerned with, on one hand, the role of romantic love, self-disclosure, and reflexivity (see Giddens' concept of the

'pure relationship' 1992) and, on the other hand, the role of love and care, the significance of intersecting categories of differences and external factors structuring couple relationships (for example gender, class, race, sexuality, see Jamieson 1998; Klesse 2007).

Though bodies of research on transnational families and family studies have developed separately, Heath et al. (2011) suggest these parallel literatures would benefit from entering in conversation and learn from each other. A similar observation could be made regarding the current study of mixed relationships which would arguably benefit from continuing to build upon the research interested in transnational migration while drawing from the research interested in the study of relationships, personal life, and the transformations of intimacy. Drawing from the literature on relationships and the transformation of intimacy offers additional means to understand the construction of otherness in mixed relationships as not solely based on national and ethnic boundaries but on a range of intersecting variables such as gender, class, age, sexuality, and health. Furthermore, incorporating debates on romantic love, solidarity, and the role of reflexivity, which are at the core of the study of intimacy and relationships but relatively absent in the study of mixed relationships would allow researchers to reflect about some of the complexities at the heart of mixed couples' lives.

Contextual Background: Manchester, a Hitherto Attractive Hub for European Migrants

The study area, Manchester, is the second biggest conurbation in the UK. Over the past two decades, Manchester has successfully attracted companies and businesses involved in the knowledge-based economy (with a growth in banking, finance, health, higher education, information technology (IT), insurance, and law). Housing one of Europe's largest student populations, the three universities have played a major part in this economic reconversion powered by innovation and IT. Meanwhile, investing in programmes of urban regeneration and promoting its cultural and creative industries, Manchester has been eager to discard its tradi-

tional industrial reputation and build itself instead a modern 'buzzing' city image. Peck and Ward (2002) note that the city mixes both decline and transformation where successes such as the airport, the redeveloped city centre or the culture-economy are juxtaposed to deprivation, low-paid jobs, and political and social alienation. Since the advent of free movement across the EU and supported by the growth of the British economy (up until the recent economic downturn), Manchester has attracted an increasing number of European migrants. Incidentally, their presence in cities other than national capitals (such as London) has received limited scholarly attention.

More affordable than London, yet economically dynamic and cosmopolitan, Manchester has been an attractive hub for a growing number of European migrants. Recchi et al. (2003) describe the typical European mover to the UK as young, male or female, middle-class, educated, and qualified. If many middle-class young Europeans tend to regard moving overseas as 'a shortcut to capital accumulation' (Recchi 2006: 76), a significant fraction of them seek a chance to live a nomadic and globalizing lifestyle (Favell 2006). The four most recurrent motives of European movers to the UK are as follows: family/love (29.7 per cent), work opportunities (25.2 per cent), quality of life (24 per cent) and study (7 per cent) (Recchi et al. 2006). Interestingly, while they benefit from rights of free movement, foreign European residents experience hidden barriers in their access to social and economic participation in everyday aspects of life in the city, such as the housing market, education, welfare institutions, consumer services, and political representation, rendering permanent settlement difficult (Favell 2003). Middle-class movers tend to experience 'a lingering sense of dislocation from the normal patterns of social and family life' (Favell 2003: 29)—which may be both bettered and exacerbated by the fact that intra-European migrations take place over short distances which can be bridged easily and at a relatively accessible cost. European transnationalism—constituted, among other things, by transnational families and bi-national couples, is a social reality for a growing number of individuals, yet, little is known about the lives, experiences, opportunities, and challenges of these 'pioneers' of Europeanization from below (Favell and Recchi 2009).

Description of Data and Research Methods

This chapter is based on a qualitative study exploring the creation, negotiation, and sustainment of transnational relationships formed by middle-class European bi-national couples living in Manchester, UK. The data analyzed in this chapter were collected using in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with 42 participants (representing 32 couples[1]) involved in a bi-national couple relationship in which partners are of different European nationalities—with at least one of them having migrated to the UK as an adult.

All the 28 female and 14 male respondents were recruited through purposive and snowballing sampling methods. All lived in Manchester, held a university degree, were in paid employment, and regarded themselves as middle-class. Forty respondents were involved in heterosexual monogamous relationships and two in same-sex monogamous relationships. Out of the 32 couples interviewed, two were separated, five were living under different roofs—none of the couples in this group had children. Seventeen couples were married and 12 were raising children together. British nationals accounted for a quarter of the sample in which another 15 European nationalities are represented. All 32 non-British respondents spoke fluent English. Interviewing both migrant and non-migrant partners was a deliberate strategy aimed at giving a voice to non-migrant members of bi-national families whose experience remains relatively understudied.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Subjective Perspectives on Gender Relations: From the Vanguard of Gender Equality to the Remains of 'Old-Fashioned Gallantry'[2]

This section explores aspects of the subjective experience of gender in European bi-national relationships. Beyond cross-cultural reflexivity, individuals involved in bi-national relationships engage in a reflexive journey on gender relations, gender performance, and the impact they

may have on personal relationships. While mono-national couples typically rely on a shared cultural bedrock to build their relationship, bi-national couples face the task of assembling their own hybrid bedrock to cradle their life together (Beck-Gernsheim 1999). Gender (as a social structure and a source of identity that varies across time, spaces, and cultures) is constitutive of that bedrock; conscious aspects of partners' experience/performance of gender first need to be deconstructed and evaluated, then picked and mixed/negotiated in order to assemble a hybrid bedrock in which both partners recognize themselves: 'we found a mid-way through our cultures.' (Chiara, female, Italian with a British male partner). 'Bi-nationality "(it) meant that we had to create our own references between ourselves… (…) That was another thing we did not have in common"'. (Laurent, male French with a British female partner). Respondents unanimously valued this reflexive process which they understood as an inherent part of their bi-national/mixed relationships; they indeed felt it supported their personal development and arguably contributed to develop the democratic character of their relationships (see Weeks 1999). Furthermore, the testimonies gathered also suggest that individuals involved in these couples devised strategies for themselves and/or to negotiate their couple relationship using their experiential/reflexive learning on the interplay of gender and culture.

The perceived state of gender relations was discussed at length by the couples interviewed and particularly female respondents. The majority of female participants expressed opinions concerning the quality of gender relations within a comparative framework. Female respondents originating from southern and eastern parts of Europe felt migrating to the UK and being in a relationship with a foreigner had worked in their favour in terms of gender relations. Consuelo (female, Spanish with a British male partner) praises herself for being in an equal relationship, which she felt, would not have been possible had she stayed in Spain.

> The big difference between British men and Spanish men it is that here, it is equal. And I'm afraid that in Spain it is not totally equal yet. My generation, men of my generation, they will do things in the house but occasionally but it is not because they do have to do it equally. They can do it, they probably

> could do it but only if they have to. That's not a given. I am very determined to have an equal relationship. I go to work, he goes to work. We come back home, I do one thing and he is doing the other. […] It has to be equal.

With her British partner, Consuelo values the fact that tasks are shared equally both within and outside the household. Chiara (female, Italian with a British male partner) made a similar observation regarding (her perception of) gender relations in the UK. She felt British men were more independent than Italian men. The self-reliance shown by her husband was part of her initial attraction towards him.

> I think men in England are a lot more independent than they are in Italy. If they want to, they can cook, they can put a load of washing on, they can do the washing up. In my previous relationships in Italy, this was not the case at all. It was just the woman that should do this and that. I don't know I just liked his open-mindedness really… I found that he was very independent.

As a result, 'freed' from the duties related to caring for men, women could pursue personal goals outside the household. Throughout the interview, Chiara compared her situation with her female friends living in Italy and emphasized how an equal division of tasks (and more generally stepping out of traditional gender roles) benefited her and her career.

Respondents originating from countries where gender relations remain in their eyes more traditional than the UK relished the opportunity to evolve in a society which they regarded as striving for gender equality and democratic relationships. However, these female respondents were envisaging their current situation through the prism prevalent in their country of origin. Their comparative approach meant that years after they had migrated these women did not take gender equality for granted and still described themselves as privileged. As suggested by Ilona's testimony (female, Hungarian with a British male partner), some female migrants had ambivalent attitudes regarding this issue. Despite valuing the better level of gender equality achieved in the UK, they reproduced traditional patterns of gender inequalities within their household.

> I think Eastern European girls—Hungarian girls—are different to British girls. I don't know in what way, or how to explain. In the UK, they have

> been brought up to have equal rights and all, in Hungary it is the same but it is normal that the woman cooks and the man works. That is what I see from my parents. […] I think I spoil him a bit. I do more the cleaning and he does the washing up: well, he fills the dishwasher. He goes shopping sometimes for food. Cleaning, not very often but he does different things. He manages the mortgage and financial things. […] You know he gives me security. I always wanted a partner I can look up to.

As underlined in Ilona's interview, the division of tasks and roles in her current relationship matches that of her parents, with one difference: she reproduces a traditional division of domestic labour in a context where there exists a stronger cultural expectation of gender equality. Her and her partner's expectations and experience are discrepant. Drawing from her experience, Ilona suggests that because Eastern European female migrants are more 'docile' and provide more than what is expected of them, they have a comparative advantage over their British counterparts[3] in the UK matrimonial market.

At the other end of the spectrum, British women involved with foreign partners originating from countries where gender relations are organized differently to the UK reported other types of difficulties. Generally, these women expected more independence in their relationship with their partner than he was used to 'grant'. Elisabeth (female, British with a French male partner) and her partner both lived in France and in the UK. This enabled her to compare and contrast the state of gender relations in the two countries and the divergent expectations between herself and her former partner.

> Having experienced so many guys or having been just like a weekend girlfriend, I was much more independent, I was used to be doing my own things during the week, I was having my own friends, my own activities, my own way of doing things… almost like having a separate life, but it's normal to me. That is what I have always done in my previous relationships. You cannot rely on an English guy and I think English girls are a bit more like 'I don't need you to support me' whereas I got the impression from his friends (French friends or couples) like the girl was sort of undertone, whereas the boy was the one who was like… I don't know it is strange. Like the girl is the rock in the French relationship and the man is

> like the show. Like the public thing you know, it was like that with his mother… in public, she is very quiet but in private, she sets all the rules. His best friend and his wife are the same, she was really like laying down the rules. But then down at the pub, she barely spoke, and the guy was funny. For me, it was really strange. It's a more equal thing in my head. I think it irritated him sometimes that I was as forceful as him, especially in front of his friends. I think he wanted me to be a little bit more passive and a little bit more feminine. He used to say 'you're so feminist' and it really pissed him off I think. He wanted me to be calmer, happy and protected by him. Sometimes it was good, but sometimes I just felt so claustrophobic. I couldn't breathe and I just felt spiteful.

Like Elisabeth, women involved in a relationship with a foreigner originating from a country they perceive as less gender egalitarian than the UK did not want to 'lower their standards' to match their partner's expectations, which in turn generated recurrent tensions in their couple.

Some men made comments mirroring Elisabeth's testimony on the state of gender relations in the UK. Jacques (male, Belgian with a British female partner), who moved to Britain in his late forties, was at first worried about the cultural differences between Belgium and the UK. After a few months in Manchester, he realized that he had not anticipated the difference in gender relations, which, in his view, was the most unsettling aspect of his new life: 'It is more macho. Men and women keep separate… (…) Men go out with men only. The same goes for women. In Belgium, men and women socialize a lot more together. For me, that is strange'. Jacques echoes Elisabeth's testimony but gives a different interpretation. Rather than reading gender seclusion as a means to enable greater independence for both sexes, Jacques envisages it as a form of segregation increasing the distance between sexes.

By contrast with the experiences highlighted earlier, female respondents from Northern European countries did not comment as much on the state of gender relations in the UK. The few who did drew a completely different picture of the state of gender relations in the UK. From their perspective, gender relations in the UK revolved around traditional notions of 'gallantry' which they read as undermining the equality between genders. Frederike (female, Danish with a British male partner)

remembers opposing the gallantry of her partner who allegedly thought she would appreciate his attention.

> He always refers back to this… when he opened the door for me, I thought it was stupid. I am perfectly capable of opening the door myself and he obviously did that to be polite. We had a few altercations: 'Can you please stop opening the door? I can do that. I am not feeble you know, I can manage!'

Other women like Solveig (female, Norwegian with a British male partner) acknowledged the obsolescence and the ambivalence of gallantry. However, they consciously and purposefully read it as a cultural trait and a sign of appreciation by their British partner which renders it enjoyable.

> I think my husband compared to men I know in Norway, not as partners, they are more sort of gentlemen like, they will take you out for dinner, hold the door for you, not necessarily those things but those kind of actions but I think that's part of the cultural aspects of things. […] In England, it is much more traditional than in Norway, I am not saying you don't buy flowers in Norway but maybe you'll… but because Scandinavian countries are holding on about equality… if you go out to eat, it's not necessarily appropriate for the man to pay. Both are supposed to pay. Then, you'll do other things, I think it's more common in Scandinavia that your male partner will do more at home, cook dinner, will hang out the washing, vacuum the lounge, things like that which, on the surface, doesn't seem very romantic but can be. […] I think I grew up in a society where sharing these burdens so to speak are part of showing your appreciation of the relationship, for instance.

Several British men such as James (male, British with a German female partner) felt very positive about their partner's alternative conception of gender relations which, in his view, had liberating repercussions on their everyday life.

> I found *[Sabine, his partner]* different, because she is different to girls I know, to women in this country. There are some expectations here. Generalizing in many ways, we are very traditional in Britain in terms of relationship and expecting the man to do certain things and the women to

> do things. *[Sabine]* was not like that. Many women seem very insecure or even put on this insecurity to make the man feel better about himself, and she never did that and I found that really interesting.

During his interview, Brian (male, British with German female partner) made similar comments and repeatedly praised his wife for not being 'a typical woman': Katrin honestly spoke her mind and never sent mixed messages. Whereas he interpreted this issue as a gender issue, his wife read this directness as a typical trait of the German character. Katrin's and Brian's testimony highlights the way in which/the basis on which 'otherness' in bi-national relationships is constructed and evolves throughout the couple relationship. Typically starting from a construction of otherness markedly based on their different cultural and national identities, partners engage in a process of normalization of the bi-national element in their relationship to transition towards a construction of their partner's otherness based on gender and/or individual personality (which is perhaps more akin to mono-national couples) of which culture and national differences are understood as one of many intersecting components (Brahic 2013). This evolution/reformulation of the terms of the construction of otherness tends to be celebrated by couples themselves as sign of intimacy/closeness but can meet resistance and be challenged by family members, friends and different groups in society.

Conclusion

The data collected suggest that the way in which partners 'do' gender (their performance of gender, attitudes towards and practices of gender relations) is constitutive (among other elements such as ethnic and cultural identity) of the sense of otherness experienced by partners in bi-national relationships. This chapter explored some of the negotiations around aspects of gender in mixed couples. Lacking a shared cultural bedrock (of which gender is constitutive), partners in bi-national relationships face the task of assembling their own hybrid bedrock to cradle their life together. Consequently, partners in bi-national relationships engage in an ad hoc exploration of the practice of gender in their relationship in

which they appear to interrogate gender performances, gender relations and gender roles, and how they intersect with culture.

The evidence gathered suggests that the learning occurring as part of this exploration process often becomes an asset respondents use to devise strategies and negotiate their relationship with their partner. Respondents valued the reflexive journey they engaged in as part of their relationship, highlighting the democratic potential that often came with it. However, while evidence gathered with bi-national couples point to more negotiated/fluid gender roles/narratives and potentially more democratic relationships, they also suggest the resilience of deep-seated gendered practices whereby women still deliver the bulk of inter-generational care.

Notes

1. The total number of participants (42) is greater than the number of couples represented in the sample (32) as, in 10 instances, respondents unexpectedly joined the interview initially set up with their partner. Simultaneous interviews typically occurred when respondents requested to be interviewed in their home and/or in the evening.
2. Gallantry is understood here as the polite attentiveness, 'the gentlemanliness' some men show towards some women.
3. In this quote, Ilona endorses the widespread Western European stereotype of 'Eastern European girls/women' (Giabiconi 2005). Rather than challenging its truthfulness, she uses it to demonstrate the assets of female Eastern European migrants on the matrimonial market in the UK.

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4

Reversal of the Gender Order? Male Marriage Migration to Germany by Turkish Men: New Forms of Gendered Transnationalization of Migrant Offsprings in Germany

Ursula Apitzsch

Introduction

This chapter focuses on biographies of transnational couples where the men are the subjects of marriage migration. It tries to explain why well-educated and integrated women from the third generation of Turkish immigrants in Germany marry partners from their grandparents' country of origin and asks why their husbands are willing to migrate. My hypothesis is that this type of marriage migration does not necessarily have a traditional background in the sense of the orientation of the actors at a fixed

The related empirical research project has addressed not only Turkish, but also Moroccan men. The outcomes for both groups were very similar. For the analysis of some Moroccan case studies see Apitzsch 2014a and Al-Rebholz 2016.

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(national and/or religious) ethnicity (Apitzsch and Gündüz 2012). Instead, I want to show that 'tradition building' is being conceived of by the interview partners as a biographical achievement.[1] The transnational couples' differentiated search for belonging in the receiving society is connected with biographical work performed in order to construct a common symbolic space of traditionality, which creates the possibility of defining one's own position concerning both societies (Apitzsch 2003: 91).

I first will give a short insight into the discussion of transnational marriage migration with reference to the topic of 'imported husbands'. Then, I explain the methodology of the own empirical study in Germany. I then discuss some outcomes of the project. Finally, I will give concluding remarks concerning the question whether the investigated transnationalization of marriage and family life will lead to problems and difficulties for both spouses, especially for the men who are being exposed to drastic challenges regarding their perception of manhood in the host country. Conflicts might also emerge for the children because of the different biographical experiences of their parents in the country of arrival.

The Research Question Discussed on the Background of a Literature Review

It is a frequent and not exceptional phenomenon that ethnic minorities who are settled in immigration countries in Europe continue to prefer to marry a partner from their country of origin.[2] The German family sociologist Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim writes that 'most of the non-European, non-Christian migrants in Europe marry someone from their country of origin' (Beck-Gernsheim 2007: 271). This holds true even for migrants in the second and third generation, and it constitutes a puzzling phenomenon which is still to be explained. 'As family networks offer the last possible gateway, they come to be the main anchoring points for migration plans and ambitions. (…) For those who live at the periphery, many hopes focus on a spouse from the metropolitan centre: marriage figures as an entry ticket and immigration strategy.' (Beck-Gernsheim 2007: 278).

Most studies in this field focus on brides who migrate to join their husbands. In general, it can be stated that much has been written about

men's expectations in relation to a bride from their parents' country of origin, while we find less about the women's expectations when they bring a spouse from Turkey or North Africa to their country of residence. The men who 'import' partners from the country of origin are said to tend to have more traditional ideals and expectations about their female partners, and hope that 'women from the country of origin will easily adjust to a traditional marriage ideal, since they are less emancipated, more obedient, and more "pure" than women from the own ethnic minority group' (Eeckhaut et al. 2011: 275). Thus, studies of marriage migration published in recent years have focused on women as migrating subjects.[3] Although these studies also notice that men as well as women are migrating, there is no study focusing on migrating men in the context of marriage (as claims also Beck-Gernsheim).

Very little academic research has been done so far on the phenomenon of well-educated young women from the third generation of immigrants in Germany who, on their own initiative (and to an increasing degree via the internet), look for marriage partners from their grandparents' country of origin. There are, however, a few studies where the issue is at least mentioned. In a study published in 2007, Ayla Cankaya-Aydin estimates that approximately 50 per cent of women in this category in Germany marry partners from Turkey (Cankaya-Aydin 2007; 21). Young Turkish women of marriageable age have quite different options in relation to marriage and the choice of partners than those that were available to their parents (Straßburger 2003; 27). 'Love' is considered to be the dominant motive.

Many studies on marriage migration take for granted that, through marriage migration, the partner imported from the country of origin gains access to greater economic and social opportunities, such as getting a job, a better standard of living, and improved consumption possibilities and security (Nauck 2001). Through our project, however, we could show that this is often not the case. What we will be able to confirm through our empirical findings is the fact of the shifting power balance in gender relations in both the host and the sending country through transnational marriages (as expected by Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Kofman 2004; Lievens 1999). Similar cases have been observed in London for young British women of Bangladeshi origin (Gavron 1996). But this shift in the power balance in gender relations turns out to have different outcomes

for the different sexes. For men, marrying a woman from the country of origin might mean a strategy to secure that the accustomed traditional gender roles will not be challenged by the liberal culture of the host country, and they can maintain their traditional (patriarchal) superior position vis-à-vis their wives; for women, importing a partner from the country of origin carries the hope of acquiring more freedom and power in their marriage, and in some cases it even means a prospect of emancipation.

On the other hand, the imported husbands might encounter severe problems and difficulties because of being exposed to drastic challenges regarding their perception of manhood in the host country.

This chapter deals with male marriage migration in relation to the female descendants of Muslim migrant communities from Turkey living in Germany, and asks why these young women decide to look for a husband from abroad. What are the consequences of this decision for role patterns, sex relations, and orientations of marriage and family, and how do these orientations change over time compared to the orientations of the parents' generation? What internal familial and power dynamics are activated through marriage migration?

The Methodology: Analysis of Biographical Narratives

By means of the biographical analysis of narrative interviews with male marriage migrants from Turkey and their spouses, the related research project at Frankfurt University (2011–2016) is dealing with debates about problems of language and integration into the labour market, gender relations, and dynamics within the migrant family.[4]

The qualitative biographical study has been conducted parallel to a quantitative study of the German Federal Office of Migration Studies (BAMF) in 2013–2014 with 2000 standardized interviews that showed the quantitative impact of the studied phenomenon.[5] The qualitative study financed by the Ministry of Science of the Land Hessen consists of a sample of 20 couples (n = 40) in rural areas and 20 couples (n = 40) in the Metropolitan Region of Frankfurt and Rhein-Main, all together 80 case studies. Additionally, two contrastive interviews with still unmarried

female students with Turkish and Moroccan background were conducted in order to find out whether the search for a husband from abroad was intentional from the start and before any concrete pre-marriage partnership had been established (one is the interview with Dilara quoted later). The interviews with the Turkish husbands have been conducted mostly in the Turkish language and then translated. The core of the methodology of the project was the comparative analysis of narrative interviews collected (in a process of theoretical sampling) in order to reveal the impact of biographical processes on migratory projects of male marriage migrants and their spouses. The interviewees (both women and men of the age between 25 and 45) were asked for a broad narrative of life-events in relation to their experiences of migration, especially experiences of legislation, family life in the country of arrival, cultural and job participation, and future prospects. Thus, the biographical interviews shed light on the complex structure of individual migration strategies as well as the role of institutions and social services. We regard social interaction in male marriage migration from countries outside the EU to female spouses in Germany who belong to the second and third generation of former guest worker families as embedded in and interrelated with biographical processes. Such an approach will enable us to reconstruct not only the intended, but also the unintended impacts of the migration project, as well as to reconstruct the consequences of absences of specific policies (cf. Apitzsch and Siouti 2007).

Discussion of Findings

Most of the studies published to date on the subject of marriage among Turkish immigrants assume that parental acceptance of the chosen partner still remains an important criterion. On the basis of the biographical material collected in the course of our project, however, we have been able to develop an alternative or additional way of interpreting the phenomenon of the transnational marriages of well-integrated women from the third generation. Women of the second or third generation of well-integrated migrant families within Western EU countries are hoping for a realistic chance of starting a family and bringing up children by marrying

a partner from the country of origin of their parents or grandparents, while they continue to work and remain the breadwinners in the country of immigration and thus strengthen their autonomy (while their husbands wait for work permits and/or job opportunities and meanwhile have to take over care obligations within the family).

These women, who are between 25 and 35 years old, objectively have a major problem that they share with young German women of the same age[6]: the problem of how to find partners from the same age cohort who take a responsible attitude to starting a family. This claim is supported by many interviews. As an example, I am quoting from the interview with Dilara (the name has been changed), a 24-year-old unmarried student at a German university. She is about to complete her degree in social affairs. With regard to relationships to young men she confesses:

> ….I think I would rather have something more serious, not the common sort of children's play or just something to pass the time but something real that makes me feel satisfied, someone for my whole life rather than just something that's fun or to pass the time or just for enjoyment. Something that isn't… In the last two years I have been able to imagine meeting someone. I have known a couple of boys, but they weren't right for me…[7]

In present-day Germany starting a relationship no longer needs to take place within the legal framework of marriage, and it is not the case that every relationship—including relationships between immigrants of the same third generation—is associated with the prospect of starting a family. Female members of immigrant families in the third generation are therefore making use of transnational options in their search for partners in cases where they are hoping to start a family because, as a rule, young men from their grandparents' society of origin still share this goal. These young women describe, in very similar ways, how they have certainly had both friendships and intimate relationships with young German men and with members of Turkish immigrant families born in Germany. But none of these relationships 'led to anything' (see quotation above). What the interviews reveal is that for emancipated immigrant women who are successful in Germany the generational transmission will not necessarily be characterized by an irreversible separation from the society of their grandparents. On the one hand, they hold on their own claim to autonomy; on

the other hand, they are converting changing gender norms into a transnational orientation.

In the following, I will give insights into three case studies. The case of the still unmarried student Dilara (section 'The Dream of a Reliable Life Partner: The Case of Dilara') shows the dream of a reliable partner for the founding of a family by means of shared religious convictions that serve as a pledge of love. The case studies of the two couples Erol and Aylin (section 'The Career Advancement of Both Partners: The Case of Erol and Aylin'), on the one hand, and Idris and Zeynep (section 'Career Advancement Only on the Woman's Side: The Case of Idris and Zeynep'), on the other hand, are confronting difficult but successful, and difficult but tragic biographical trajectories.

The Dream of a Reliable Life Partner (Dilara)

It was very interesting for us to see whether this transnational orientation was something that just happened occasionally or whether it was imagined before, when these young women were still unmarried.

Dilara was by no means forced by her family to make up her mind. Her parents are supportive and liberal. She has developed her normative view on relationships out of her own volition.

> I have friends who are atheists, and we get along very well, but when I think about the level of relationships for myself, I think… if I… I'm someone who would like to have children some time, you know what I mean? And then I don't want to have that sort of disagreement where he says 'I don't share your faith'. Or if he says 'I want to live according to this culture and these moral ideas', and I say no, I want my child to live according to this culture, these customs, and these moral ideas… And I think that when you bring up a child together, these conflicts are bound to arise from time to time. I think that perhaps as long as you don't have any children it will be ok, but as soon as you have a child, someone who is part of both of you, and where both of you together have just as much right to decide… No, I think… perhaps I'll meet someone in Turkey who is waiting for me there [she laughs]… You never know.

This, then, is a case of a successful female student who was born in Germany and who has good professional prospects there, but who—despite

all this—would like to marry a Turkish man in Turkey. How can this be explained? Her desire for a transnational marriage with a man from Turkey is structurally associated with her desire to start a family. Another central issue is the problem of combining work and family. She explained during the interview that her profession is very important to her, but that she would also like to have children and start a relationship that, as she says, will be 'more serious', not 'the sort of thing children get up to' or just something to pass the time.

This possibility is a realistic perspective for many Turkish women who live in Germany and are married to men from their grandparents' country of origin. They are not forced into marriage, but look for their partners themselves. They marry for love, but at the same time they achieve what one might call an exchange of resources: they offer the resource of secure residential status and possible career advancement for the husband, and what they receive in return is the pledge that they will be able to continue their own career while starting a family. In this marriage, the partners' origins and shared religious convictions serve as a pledge of love.[8]

The Career Advancement of Both Partners: The Case of Erol and Aylin

If one compares the narrative of the yet unmarried Dilara with interviews of men and women who have decided to enter into transnational marriages and describe how they got to know each other, it is noticeable that this is a completely new, hybrid form in which romantic love is mingled with the reciprocal securing of resources brought into the marriage by the partner and in which the woman has achieved a more powerful position in the family. It is not the woman who leaves her own family to become, as a daughter-in-law, an inferior member of her husband's family, but it is the husband who follows his wife into the new family and the new culture. In a way that runs counter to tradition, the wife can maintain her ties with her original family, especially with her mother and sisters, and in this way she can to some degree alleviate the difficulties involved in combining work and family. Usually, both partners are very well aware of this.

Erol came to Germany a number of years ago. His wife Aylin told us:

> And then of course, the question was bound to come up of… where are we going to live after we get married, here or in Turkey? It was clear from the outset that if he came here he would have to start again from scratch, because of the question of education… And I must say that it was very, very difficult for him.[9]

It is obvious that conflicts are going to arise in situations like this. In particular, it is very hard for many male marriage migrants to take care for the family and to look after the children while their wife is out at work, at a time when they are in a phase of enforced unemployment and living through disillusioning experiences in German environments, for example the new language courses. Very often, trajectories of suffering (Riemann and Schütze 1991) are threatening the young family. However, in the case of Erol and Aylin the marriage project went well. In Turkey, Erol had worked as a professional, a very successful tax advisor. Erol describes the encounter with Aylin (when she was holidaying in Turkey) as occasional, but at the same time as a 'coup de foudre', the famous 'flash' that makes people fall in love when seeing each other for the first time. Erol quit his job and came as a tourist to Germany in order to marry Aylin because she did not want to come to Turkey for this purpose. After the wedding in Germany, Erol had—after a phase of unemployment—the chance to take up a job at a construction site, under 'terrible' working conditions.

> After the wedding… when Aylin went out of the house I was alone. It was very annoying. We did not have a car… Yes, I did the cooking. Much better than Aylin did. The only thing she was able to cook were fried eggs. Don't tell her that I told you this [laughing]… At first, I had a working permission only for 3 months. Afterwards it was extended by one year. Fortunately, I did not remain unemployed for a long time. Oh, but this work was slaves' work. It was terrible. Twelve hours every day. There were not windows, and it was cold. But you were dependent on that work. I thought what sort of a person had I become? But you were responsible. For your wife and later on also for the children. I worked like that as a shift worker for two years, but after that I became shift leader, and working conditions improved.

He supports Aylin to continue with her career and to make her master craftswoman's diploma in order to set up her own hairdressing saloon.

Aylin continues to work with her own clientele, and Erol is able to set up his own construction site. He successfully builds houses in the rural environment of his wife's little town, one also for his own family. After ten years of marriage, they have three well educated children and make plans for their further education. Every year, they return to Turkey during the holidays and show to their children different parts of the country. They hope that their children one day will study in Turkey and eventually settle down there, so that the whole family will be able to live in both countries.

Career Advancement Only on the Woman's Side: The Case of Idris and Zeynep

In Turkey, Idris has been a physicist with a university diploma. He had wanted to become a teacher at a grammar school when he met Zeynep. Idris encountered Zeynep during her holiday in Turkey. They came to an engagement, but after that were separated for more than three years, while Zeynep continued her education in Germany in order to become a dental technician. When Zeynep found him a job as a temporary worker and a flat for both of them in Frankfurt, he decided to join her. They married, and he tried to find a job in his original profession as a teacher in physics and mathematics. In order to achieve this, he participated in costly language courses, but to pay them he also had to continue to work in badly paid temporary jobs.

> The costs for the good language courses were about 10,000–15,000 Euros a year. We could not afford that. I asked the officer at the job centre whether he could send me to good language courses instead of the integration courses that I had to visit and that brought me nothing. However, he said: 'Go and work, then you can afford language courses.' And I could not learn at home. I had not German colleagues or friends in order to communicate and train the language with them.

After Zeynep gave birth to a daughter, she continued to work, and Idris took care of the child and of all other care work for the family. Zeynep has been the family breadwinner since then. Idris is content with

that, but he is depressive about his loneliness and own future. He does not see a way out to get a job in his original profession.

> I regret so much that I cannot work in my profession for which I have studied. In Turkey, I would be able to work as a teacher in physics.

In general, one can learn from our case studies that the success enjoyed by the women is bound up with major challenges in relation to the traditional gender roles of their husbands. Very well educated fathers (we interviewed physicists and former tax consultants, teachers and opera singers) feel humiliated if they remain unemployed for a long time or have to take menial jobs. They feel especially humiliated if they have the repeated experience of being unable to help their children with their homework because their language skills are inadequate, even though one of the reasons why they came to Germany was that they thought their, at that time unborn, children would have better educational prospects in Germany. The worst problem for these men is the loneliness they experience if their wives are out at work and they themselves are unable to find a circle of friends that will satisfy their needs of communication where they now live. There are many cases in which this kind of disillusionment leads to depression, and even for non-believers a connection with the local mosque, where they can speak their own language with other men, seems to offer a way out. In the 1960s, the guest workers always had the possibility of an equal, organized relationship with others in the trade unions, but today's male marriage migrants who have come to Germany for the purpose of family unification mostly do not have this option—and the difficult initial period is when they would need it.

Concluding Remarks: Transnationalization, Not Re-traditionalization of the Third Generation

In our project, we were able to analyse daily interactions, practices, and biographical policy evaluations of the spouses. Both partners were constantly negotiating their expectations concerning ideals of marriage, issues of child-raising, notions of manhood and womanhood, and their different

paths of socialization. All this is taking place in the context of a society where they belong to a minority group. The main finding with respect to policies is the almost total lack of adequate language training for the immigrating partners and of places where they can communicate with other men and share their experiences. Furthermore, we have had the opportunity to see what is happening in transnational marriages with respect to cultural traditions. The transnational family emerges as a social site where several re-negotiation processes about what is modern and what is traditional take place on a daily basis of familial interaction. What is taken for granted, accustomed ways of behaviour and thinking, beliefs, and convictions regarding gender roles and the gender order have been permanently questioned and challenged in the context of marriage migration.

We found out that these marriages did not represent cases of more or less successful assimilation over a period of several generations, and not phenomena of re-traditionalization either. Rather, these can be understood as experiments where Karl Mannheim's fundamental problem of social 'transmission' in societies can be studied. Women and men involved in migration processes are trying out alternative possibilities of emancipation in which inter-generational relations, too, are being completely restructured in hybrid ways. To say it in the words of Karl Mannheim:

> This means, in the first place, that our culture is developed by individuals who come into contact anew with the accumulated heritage… The phenomenon of 'fresh contact' is, incidentally, of great significance in many social contexts; the problem of generations is only one among those upon which it has a bearing. Fresh contacts play an important part in the life of the individual when he is forced by events to leave his own social group and enter a new one—when, for example, an adolescent leaves home, or a peasant the countryside for the town, or when an emigrant changes his home. (Mannheim 1952: 293)

We have established that among the young women from the third generation we have interviewed there is agreement with important norms of the receiving society, especially in relation to the expectation that career advancement should be compatible with starting a family. But this expectation is frequently put into practice transnationally and not exclusively within the receiving society. These women increase their autonomy in the receiving society by means of professional advancement, but they

try at the same time to realise the compatibility of work and family by bringing an element of re-formulated traditions into their own family through their transnational marriage.

The problem of understanding these processes in the society of arrival lies in the fact that up until now, marriage migration to Germany has been discussed almost exclusively as something that leads to the formation of 'parallel societies' and not as a possible source of modernization. However, there is the need to identify institutions and policies that recognize the biographical efforts made by women and men who bring transnational ways of living into nationally organized societies, and who do this in order to promote non-traditional aims such as the re-definition of the relationship between family work and the pursuit of a profession. As has been said earlier, the language and communication problem of the husbands from abroad are neither recognized nor resolved with adequate policies. New conflicts, but also new transformations are taking place in a Europe that finds itself in the process of becoming transnationalized.

Notes

1. See Apitzsch "Migration und Traditionsbildung" (1999); "Religious Traditionality in Multicultural Europe" (2003).
2. Eeckhaut et al. (2011: 273–274), Gonzalez-Ferrer (2006: 173), Lievens (1999).
3. Woman as migrating subjects moving from Turkey to Germany are the subject of analysis in the studies by Toprak (2007), Straßburger (2003) and Wolbert (1984). All the cases presented in these works follow the pattern of men with a Turkish cultural background settled in Germany, who marry migrating wives from Turkey.
4. Reversal of the Gender Order? Male Marriage Migration to Germany by North African and Turkish Men: Consequences for Family Life, Work and the Socialization of the Next Generation. Project funded by the Ministry of Science and Arts of the Land Hessen, directed by the author together with Anil Al-Rebholz. The interviews were realized by Anil Al-Rebholz, Nergis Demirtas, and Ariane Schleicher. The latter two researchers conducted them in the framework of their PhD studies.
5. The quantitative study has been conducted by Anja Stichs, Christian Babka von Gostomski, and Tobias Büttner (2014).

6. Surveys inquiring into the reasons for the long time declining birth rate in Germany, (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/familie/kinderwunsch-studie-der-bevoelkerungsforschung-13493239.html) especially among well-educated women, have found that one of the main reasons is the absence of a suitable partner. This might be even more important than the availability of nursery schools.
7. This interview was conducted and transcribed by Anil Al-Rebholz.
8. For the analysis of similar cases see Apitzsch (2014b: 204–214).
9. This interview was conducted and transcribed by Nergis Demirtas.

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5

Comparing Sibling Ties in Inter-ethnic and Intra-ethnic Families in Germany

Ebru Balaban, Dafina Kurti, and Jara Kampmann

Introduction

The relationship between siblings can be described as potentially life's longest lasting; however, the sibling relationship is one of the most understudied in sociological research. Certain similarities and differences in sibling ties across families can on the one hand be explained by societal and cultural factors. On the other hand, family factors, such as parenting style and parental behaviour, also play an important role in the socialization of children and the evolving variation in sibling ties (Milevsky et al. 2011). Accounting for culture as a dimension of family values and parenting helps to answer some migration-relevant questions: How do cultural beliefs and values related to sibling dynamics organize social relations within multi-cultural families? What are the connections between parenting processes and conflicts emerging from cultural differences in multi-cultural families?

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In the present research, we primarily focus on investigating the link between cultural background and the quality of sibling relationships. In a Western European country with a long immigration tradition, such as Germany, in which an increasing number of multi-cultural relationships and individualization and pluralization processes are taking place, the sibling relationship is growing in importance. Cicirelli (1994), a researcher on siblings, studied the role of culture and culturally acquired value systems in sibling relationships by comparing industrialized and non-industrialized social contexts. However, beyond this research, relatively little is known about the nature of sibling ties in multi-cultural families.

This chapter aims to fill the gap in sociological research by studying the quality of sibling relationships in different cultural contexts by distinguishing between individualistic, collectivistic, and multi-cultural family backgrounds in the case of Germany. The main question we aim to answer is how do cultural differences in multi-cultural families affect the relationship between siblings? The cultural context on which we focus refers to (a) societal value orientation and (b) family values and parenting. Based on the cultural differences between individualistic and collectivistic factors, we will apply warmth and conflict dimensions, as well as frequency of contact, as measurement indicators to assess the differences in sibling relations. To test our hypotheses, we use secondary data from the Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (pairfam), which is a large-scale study that allows for an analysis of intimate relationships and family dynamics (Brüderl et al. 2016a, b). We will utilize linear regression with clustered standard errors as the method of analysis.

This chapter continues in the next section with a brief literature review of the role of sibling ties in relation to cultural differences. After that, we introduce the cultural factors that are known to influence the differences in the quality of sibling relationships and from which we derive our hypotheses. We then explain the societal-value orientation by placing an emphasis on the differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultural contexts and the role of family values and parenting styles that also influence the sibling relationship. In the next section, we describe our data and method and summarize the findings. We end our chapter with a discussion on the limitations of the analysis and the improvements required to engage in further research.

Literature Review

As one of the most enduring relationships in the course of a person's life, the sibling relationship represents a unique context that is important for the cognitive, social, and emotional development of an individual. Cross-cultural studies from the fields of developmental psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology focus on four specific dimensions of sibling relationships: companionship and interdependence, roles and functions of siblings, emotional intensity of the relationship, and structural characteristics. As companions in daily activities in childhood and adolescence, siblings form a significant part of an individual's life. There are differences, however, in sibling roles and their relationship dynamics between cultures. In most non-Western societies, it is a principal norm for siblings to be interdependent (Nuckolls 1993) and provide support to each other, such as elder siblings assuming the role of caregiver to their younger siblings (Cicirelli 1994). In Western cultures, the parent-child bond is the primary family relationship whereas sibling ties have a rather independent and autonomous character (Weisner 1993). However, most of comparative studies have investigated the link between culturally established norms and values and sibling relationships across cultures. By contrast, little sociological research includes examples from immigrant or ethnic minority families when exploring the nature of sibling relationships (McHale et al. 2007; Pyke 2005; Voorpostel and Schans 2011).

The quality of the sibling relationship can differ between families and cultures as a result of its emotional intensity, which is determined by a combination of warm (positive) and hostile (negative) behaviour in sibling interactions (e.g. Noller 2005). For example, McHale et al. (2007) have found evidence for both positive (a high level of warmth and a low level of conflict) and negative (a low level of warmth and a high level of conflict) relationships among siblings in African-American families in the USA. A similar relationship quality pattern was evident among siblings with Mexican origin in the USA (Updegraff et al. 2010). European-American and Australian siblings, on the other hand, tend to have uninvolved relationships that are characterized by low emotional intensity of warmth and hostility (McHale et al. 2007). Sociological literature assigns

an important role to structural characteristics such as birth order, gender constellation, and age spacing in siblings' relationship dynamics. The effect of sibling structure is primarily mediated by parenting behaviour that may vary in different cultures. For example, in terms of birth order, Leyendecker (2003) has shown that siblings in immigrant families from collectivistic backgrounds—which are typical of the origins of immigrant families in Germany—reveal patterns of asymmetrical relationships characterized mainly by strong traditional and respectful behaviour toward older siblings. By contrast, in families of German ethnic origin, sibling relationships are more symmetric in terms of children's age difference. While a large age gap in families with individualistic value orientations may lead to less involvement between siblings and more conflict (e.g. Voorpostel and Schans 2011), and a small age gap is associated with a good sibling relationship quality, especially in childhood, in migrant families a small age gap is a major factor affecting the sibling relationship. In such cases, the eldest child is assigned a more mature and competent role than the younger one, so that the older child may be exposed to a risk of 'overexploitation and neglect' (Uslucan 2010).

Research has yet to be conducted in any of the abovementioned dimensions to explore sibling relationships within a multi-cultural family context. In this research, we consider different family systems, that is, family relations and role expectations embedded in multiple cultural contexts, and their effects on the quality of sibling relationships.

Theoretical Background

Societal Values

Cultural influences on sibling ties, related to socio-culturally transmitted value systems, have been examined in the contexts of industrialized and non-industrialized societies, with the latter also being known as collectivistic societies. It is argued that sibling relationships in industrialized societies tend to be rather discretionary, whereas in collectivistic societies they are rather obligatory (Cicirelli 1994). Individuals from non-Western and collectivistic backgrounds are more likely to maintain close personal

relationships with family members. Kinship ties are very important (see also Nauck 2007). A collectivist family context represents a system that is grounded in the interdependence between siblings. They are committed to supporting and helping each other for the duration of their lives. In contrast, industrialized Western societies are characterized by independent family ties and higher levels of individualism. Sibling ties in these individualistic cultures are likely to be characterized by less contact and activity (Cicirelli 1994). In Germany, the largest immigrant groups come from collectivist cultures[1] such as Turkey, Poland, Russia, Italy,[2] Greece and the former Yugoslavia (BMBF 2009), but ethnic German families are characterized by individualistic and autonomous family ties. Drawing on the assumption that sibling relationships in families with collectivistic values are more strongly associated with high contact frequency and supportive behaviour than those in families with individualistic values, we predict a higher level of emotional warmth between siblings in immigrant families from collectivistic backgrounds in comparison to sibling relationships in native German families (H1a). Since sibling ties are related to more involvement and interdependence in families with a migration history and collectivist value orientation, we assume that there is more opportunity for conflictual behaviour. Accordingly, we predict a more frequent contact but also a higher level of conflict between siblings from immigrant backgrounds than between native German siblings (H1b).

Family Values and Parenting Roles

It is widely accepted that parents and the quality of family relationships play highly relevant roles in children's socialization and in their acquisition and internalization of social and moral values (e.g. Dette-Hagenmeyer and Reichle 2015). Normative family values and their related role expectations are influenced by the cultural beliefs that prevail in the society in which individuals have been socialized (Inglehart and Baker 2000). These family values are transmitted to children through parenting, whereby different parenting strategies may affect the socialzsation of a child differently. An optimal parenting style must consider

the influences on children that come from cultural, community, and family relationships.

Culture-related differences in sibling relationships between immigrant or ethnic minority families and native families in Germany can be explained by value systems of collectivism and individualism. Good examples of cultural variations in parenting styles are Turkish or Moroccan parents with migrant backgrounds contrasted with German and Dutch parents. Characterized by collectivistic family values, Turkish and Moroccan parents are both likely to use authoritarian parenting techniques that are associated with high emotional attachment and closeness (Leyendecker 2003; Uslucan 2010; Van de Pol and van Tubergen 2014). The same parents tend to teach their children to behave respectfully towards all family members, especially their elders, and to attach particular value to them (Alamdar-Niemann 1992; Durgel and Van de Vijver 2015; Uslucan 2010). Parents from an individualistic background tend to practise a non-authoritarian parenting style and in terms of gender, treat their children to be equally self-controlled, whereas in collectivistic families, girls and boys are assigned traditional gender-specific roles (El-Mafaalani and Toprak 2011). Since parenting is culturally influenced, we assume that cultural beliefs and values, which are internalized in the family, are reliable predictors for the quality of sibling ties (e.g. Milevsky et al. 2011; Voorpostel and Schans 2011).

In a multi-cultural family context, we deal with inter-ethnic families who face the challenge of colliding cultural worlds. In these families, parents struggle to maintain a sense of their own identities and of certainty regarding parental roles and childrearing. Distinct family values and beliefs that dominate in multi-cultural families can lead to conflictual family relationships, especially when parents come from different societal contexts (collectivistic or individualistic). A failure to share cultural views and parental styles can lead to conflicts between parents, which affect their social development and manifest itself in problematic behaviour (Buehler et al. 1997). Parental conflict can also be transmitted to the parent-child relationship through the so-called spillover model (Krishnakumar and Buehler 2000) and influence child's behaviour.

Drawing on the reviewed theoretical concepts and empirical findings, we assume that parenting has a crucial role to play in children's socializa-

tion and consequently in shaping sibling relationships as well. We believe that in families with parents from the same cultural background, common parenting methods exist. Conflicts resulting from differences in family values and norms are reflected in the quality of the sibling relationship, particularly in families composed of different cultural backgrounds in which one parent comes from a culture exhibiting collectivistic tendencies when the other comes from a culture that emphasizes individualism. Accordingly, we predict that in multi-cultural families, sibling relationships are characterized by a lower level of warmth and a higher level of conflict than in families in which both parents come from either collectivistic or individualistic cultures (H2a). Based on what we know about the extent of family coherence, we assume that siblings in multicultural families have less contact than those in collectivistic families, but more contact than their counterparts in individualistic families (H2b).

Data and Method

To test our hypotheses, we apply a secondary data analysis to the quantitative data taken from the pairfam,[3] which is a representative large-scale panel study of family relationships and dynamics in Germany. In general, quantitative secondary data analysis allows for the analysis of a great number of individuals, thereby providing results that are generalizable to society as a whole. Pairfam data are professionally prepared and extensively documented. It contains information on more than 12,000 individuals in the root-sample—the so-called anchor persons—and it includes the anchors' relationships with each sibling, which is crucial for the aim of our research. We use the fifth wave of the pairfam panel (2012/2013) as it is the first wave in which information on siblings was collected. Moreover, Wave 5 is less affected by panel attrition than later waves, meaning that information on more individuals is available.

Pairfam has a multi-actor panel design, i.e. interviews are conducted with anchors as well as their partners, parents and children in each wave of the survey. The structure of the data is complex as the information is provided separately for each wave and respondent group, resulting in several datasets of different formats. We applied a stacking procedure, that

is, the systematic nesting and matching of information that produces unique anchor-sibling dyads.[4]

Measures

Dependent Variables Based on Furman and Buhrmester's (1985) concept of the dimensions of sibling relationships, we defined two dimensions to measure the quality of sibling ties: 'warmth' and 'conflict'. *Warmth* between siblings was measured by the item: 'How close do you feel to [name of sibling] today?' The answer categories ranged from 1 'not close at all' to 5 'very close'. Perceived sibling *conflict* was measured by the items of the subscales of the Network of Relationship Inventory (NRI) developed by Furman and Buhrmester (1985). In pairfam, sibling conflict is assessed by two item scales: '[b]eing angry at each other' and '[a] rgue with each other'. Respondents rated the frequency of being angry at and having arguments with their sibling on a 5-point scale from 1 'never' to 5 'always'. We included *contact* as the third dependent variable in the model for measuring the frequency of contact between siblings by asking: 'How often do you have contact with [name of sibling] if you count visits, letters, phone calls, etc.?' The inverted variable for contact frequency ranged from 1 'never' to 7 'daily'.[5]

Independent Variables *Individualistic* vs. *collectivistic* cultural backgrounds are based on the parents' countries of birth.[6] Variable *indi* distinguishes between parents born in countries with a collectivistic culture (value 0), those with individualistic cultural backgrounds (value 1),[7] and those with multi-cultural backgrounds (value 2), i.e. one parent is born in an individualistic country and the other in a country with collectivistic societal values. Deduced from this base variable, several dummy variables were computed to adapt to the methodological necessities for testing the hypothesis. The variable indicating *family values* is an item that measures the attitudes of parents toward family and family life. Using a 5-point scale, the parent should rate to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement 'Parents and children should support each other mutually for a

lifetime'. *Family roles* is a mean index including three items on the role of parents: 'Usually I am willing to sacrifice my own desires for those of my child/children', 'I would endure anything for the sake of my child/children', and 'Often, I put everything else aside in order to support my child/children'. Here again, parents rated on a 5-point scale how strongly each of the mentioned parental roles apply to them. For both the family values and parental role variables, we generated a mean variable reflecting the mean value of both parents. Furthermore, a distance measure was computed to indicate the differences in the responses between parents in terms of family values and parental roles. The lowest value (0) of both distance measures indicates no difference between parents, while the highest value (4) means that the responses of the parents differ by four scale points.

Control Variables We control for the anchor's age and the structural characteristics of siblings, that is, the number of siblings and their gender mix (just brothers, just sisters or a mixture of the two) in the family.

From the total number of 7246 anchors, we excluded those without siblings and those with more than nine siblings. For the remaining 6387 anchors, information on their parents' countries of birth was used to compute the 'culture' variable referring to individualistic/collectivistic backgrounds. Fifty-seven per cent (mean percentage of both parents) of anchors' biological parents come from West Germany and a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) has an East German background. The remaining 18 per cent of parental backgrounds differ ethnically. The largest ethnic group was composed of Turkish parents with ca. 3 per cent of the overall sample, followed by Polish (2.4 per cent), and Russian (ca. 2.3 per cent). Parents born in West and East Germany, North, West, or Central Europe, and North America are assigned to the individualistic culture group. All other families with migrant backgrounds are considered to have come from collectivistic cultures. The anchors sample was transformed via stacking into 12,837 anchor-sibling dyads, referred to as sibling relations. We excluded relations without any information concerning the parents' countries of birth or with information for only one parent. Likewise, we excluded sibling relations with adoptive and stepsiblings and performed

listwise deletion on all the variables. These modifications led to a final sample consisting of 10,674 sibling relations.

Method

For our analyses, we apply generalized linear regression models (GLMs) with clustered standard errors. As our data have a complex structure with sibling relations clustered in anchor persons, one of the main assumptions for standard OLS is violated. The independence assumption —that the covariance of residuals is zero—does not hold for clustered data. This problem can be fixed by applying clustered standard errors (e.g. Wooldridge 2010; Petersen 2009). The models were calculated with data weighted by a design weight provided in the dataset which corrects for the disproportionate sampling across birth cohorts (Data Manual, pairfam Release 7.0. 2016).

Results and Discussion

Before estimating the influence of the societal values context on the three dimensions (H1a and H1b), we ran correlation analyses[8] to test the theoretical presumption that the strength of family values and parental roles is higher in collectivistic families than it is in individualistic families. As can be seen in Table 5.1, mean family values (Model 1) and mean parental roles (Model 2) are significantly negatively correlated with a variable distinguishing between collectivistic and individualistic families, that is, in collectivistic families, family values and parental roles are stronger than they are in individualistic families.

As displayed in Table 5.2, regression coefficients for individualistic cultural backgrounds (highlighted in bold) are significant and negative for all three dimensions of sibling relations. First, that means that sibling relations in families of individualistic cultural backgrounds, which in our sample mainly consists of native German families, are less emotionally warm than they are in immigrant families with collectivistic cultural backgrounds ($b = -0.47$). This finding supports our hypothesis H1a.

Table 5.1 Correlation of family values with differences between collectivistic and individualistic families

	Model 1	Model 2
	Mean parent values* Collectivistic/individualistic	Mean parent role* Collectivistic/individualistic
Coeff.	−0.099***	−0.039***
N Collectivistic	192	187
N Individualistic	3437	3401
N Total	3629	3588

Significance levels: *** p≤.001 ** p≤.01 * p≤.05

Table 5.2 The influence of sociocultural values context on sibling ties in contact, warmth, and conflict dimension

	Contact			Warmth			Conflict		
	b (s.e.)			b (s.e.)			b (s.e.)		
Intercept	5.834	(0.075)	***	4.085	(0.051)	***	2.393	(0.040)	***
Collectivistic				Reference category					
Individualistic	**−0.670**	**(0.057)**	***	**−0.465**	**(0.040)**	***	**−0.117**	**(0.032)**	***
Multucultural	−0.934	(0.119)	***	−0.480	(0.075)	***	−0.120	(0.058)	*
Age	−0.084	(0.002)	***	−0.021	(0.002)	***	−0.025	(0.001)	***
Brother siblings				Reference category					
Sister siblings	0.171	(0.050)	***	0.223	(0.035)	***	0.188	(0.027)	***
Diff-sex sibling	−0.232	(0.043)	***	−0.094	(0.029)	***	−0.015	(0.023)	***
Number of siblings	−0.180	(0.015)	***	−0.101	(0.011)	***	−0.112	(0.007)	***
N	10,674			10,674			10,674		
R^2	0.23			0.07			0.11		

Beta (b) unstandardized regression coefficient, *s.e.* standard errors, *N* sample size during parameter estimation, *R-squared* (R^2) explained vaiation/total variation. Significance levels: *** p≤.001 ** p≤.01 * p≤.05

Second, individualistic siblings demonstrate a lower level of conflict behaviour than siblings from collectivistic backgrounds (b = −0.12) and have less contact with their siblings (b = −0.67), providing evidence for our hypothesis H1b.

The results shown in Table 5.2 confirm the assumption that siblings with migrant backgrounds from collectivist societies tend to be more connected and involved and therefore their relationships are character-

ized by more frequent contact than those in the individualistic context. Moreover, although they are warmer, sibling relationships in collectivistic families are also more conflictual than in individualistic families. The straightforward explanation for this result would be that collectivist cultures are based on group or community values in which family and kinship are more important than they are in individualistic cultures.

However, the variation in the sibling dynamics between these two cultures may be a direct result of internalized societal values or/and a by-product of family values in terms of parenting styles exhibited in different family contexts. For example, conflictual behaviour among siblings is more likely to be specifically an outcome of authoritative parenting, with its more detached and less emotionally warm parent-child relationship, than a general attribute of families with individualistic cultural backgrounds. We test the theoretical presumption that the distance between parents' family values and their parenting roles, respectively, is significantly larger in multi-cultural families than it is in families with parents from the same cultural background.

The results of the correlation analysis between family values and parenting roles and parents' different cultural backgrounds are displayed in Table 5.3. Model 1 shows that there is no significant difference between multi-cultural families and families from the same cultural background concerning the distance between parents' family values and parenting

Table 5.3 Correlation of value distances between parents with multi-cultural family context

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Same-culture/ multi-cultural Context		Collectivistic/ multi-cultural Context		Individualistic/ multi-cultural Context	
	Parent values	Parent role	Parent values	Parent role	Parent values	Parent role
Coeff.	−0.105	−0.008	0.122	0.047	−0.044	−0.010
N Multi-cultural	93	91	93	91	93	91
N Same	2287	2262				
N Collectivistic			99	98		
N Individualistic					2188	2164
N Total	2380	2353	192	189	2281	2255

Significance levels: *** p≤.001 ** p≤.01 * p≤.05

roles. This would contradict the theoretical presumption. However, an explanation for this statistical insignificance could be that the effects for the sub-groups of families from the same cultural background, that is only individualistic or only collectivistic families, work in opposite directions and consequently offset each other. Therefore, in Models 2 and 3, we distinguished between multi-cultural and individualistic as well as multi-cultural and collectivistic backgrounds (where a multi-cultural family is coded 1). Indeed we find, on the one hand, a positive correlation between the distance of parental family values as well as parental roles and multi-cultural background, in comparison to collectivistic background (model 2). On the other hand, the relation between parental distances and multi-cultural family composition in comparison to individualistic backgrounds is negative (model 3). However, the coefficients in both models are still insignificant. Nonetheless, one should keep in mind that these descriptive analyses are based on comparatively small sub-samples.

In the second part of the regression analysis, we examine the influence of a family's cultural constellation on the three dimensions of sibling relations (H2a and H2b). We first describe the differences between multi-cultural and collectivistic backgrounds and then the differences between multi-cultural and individualistic backgrounds (both highlighted in bold). As displayed in Table 5.4, regression coefficients for collectivistic cultural backgrounds are significant and positive for all three dimensions of sibling relations. First, that means that sibling relations in families with multi-cultural backgrounds are less emotionally warm than they are in collectivistic families (b = 0.48), which supports H2a. Second, multi-cultural siblings demonstrate lower levels of conflict behaviour than siblings of collectivistic backgrounds (b = 0.12), which contradicts H2a. However, siblings of multi-cultural backgrounds do not differ from siblings of individualistic backgrounds with regard to emotional warmth and conflict behaviour, which contradicts H2a. Third, siblings of multi-cultural backgrounds have less contact than those from collectivistic backgrounds (b = 0.93), therefore providing evidence for H2b. Turning to the differences between multi-cultural and individualistic backgrounds, we find only a significant positive coefficient for contact. That means that

Table 5.4 The influence of cultural constellation of family on sibling ties in contact, warmth, and conflict dimension

	Contact			Warmth			Conflict		
	b (s.e.)			b (s.e.)			b (s.e.)		
Intercept	4.900	(0.109)	***	3.605	(0.073)	***	2.273	(0.055)	***
Collectivistic	**0.934**	**(0.119)**	***	**0.480**	**(0.075)**	***	**0.120**	**(0.058)**	*
Individualistic	**0.265**	**(0.108)**	*	**0.015**	**(0.067)**		**0.002**	**(0.051)**	
Multi-cultural	Reference category								
Age	−0.084	(0.002)	***	−0.021	(0.002)	***	−0.025	(0.001)	***
Brother siblings	Reference category								
Sister siblings	0.171	(0.050)	***	0.223	(0.035)	***	0.188	(0.027)	***
Diff-sex sibling	−0.232	(0.043)	***	−0.094	(0.029)	***	−0.015	(0.023)	
Number of siblings	−0.180	(0.015)	***	−0.101	(0.011)	***	−0.112	(0.007)	***
N	10,674			10,674			10,674		
R^2	0.23			0.07			0.11		

Beta (b) unstandardized regression coefficient, *s.e.* standard errors, *N* sample size during parameter estimation, *R-squared* (R^2) explained variation/total variation. Significance levels: *** p≤.001 ** p≤.01 * p≤.05

siblings from multi-cultural backgrounds have less contact than those from individualistic backgrounds (b = 0.27) and thus contradicts H2b.

Following these results, we can conclude that although siblings in multi-cultural families have the lowest contact frequency, the quality of their sibling relationship is not necessarily worse than that of siblings socialized in a family with mono-cultural background. They have fewer conflicts than siblings from collectivistic backgrounds and have similar levels of emotional warmth and conflict behaviour as siblings from individualistic backgrounds. In terms of warmth and conflict, similarity in the relations of siblings from multi-cultural and individualistic families—in contrast with multi-cultural and collectivistic families—might be explained by the fact that in our data, almost all families of multi-cultural backgrounds are half-German. In these mixed families, German individualistic values might influence the sibling relations more strongly than the collectivistic ones due to their greater exposure to individualistic German culture in everyday life.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this study was to fill a significant gap in the literature on sibling relationships by paying attention to the cultural backgrounds of families and parental values and roles. Previous studies have simply shown that families with immigrant backgrounds tend to be more collectivistic in their orientation, which can be characterized by more warmth and higher frequency of contact than individualistic families. These cultural factors can predict the quality of sibling relationships. However, since little is known about sibling relationships in multi-cultural families, the present analysis tries to explain the differences between siblings from multi-cultural and mono-cultural backgrounds based on indicators like societal and family value orientation. Our findings suggest that the cultural context of the family does matter for sibling relationships. In multi-cultural families, the lack of frequent contact does not necessarily mean that the sibling relationships in these families are weaker than the ties between siblings socialized in mono-cultural families.

The results highlight both indirect and direct relationships between family values with regard to parenting styles and the quality of sibling relationships. We can conclude that multi-cultural families, which are predominantly half-German, and individualistic families are more similar than multi-cultural families and collectivistic families with regard to warmth and conflict. The influence of the individualistic values of German culture on family and society could explain the approximation of multi-cultural and individualistic families.

Finally, there are some limitations in our study. There are many questions that remain to be explored and answered when investigating sibling relationships in the future. In this context, it would be interesting to examine whether there are cultural differences regarding gender roles and functions due to the age of the siblings. Additional research that focuses on sibling age and position would also be necessary because there is causality between age and the quality of the sibling relationship according to cultural background, as briefly mentioned in the theory section. Further research is also needed to investigate in-depth the relevance of religious and cultural values to different parental behaviours/methods and different sibling types (like half-siblings and stepsiblings) and their impact on the

quality of sibling relationships. Moreover, due to the small group size in this study, we were not able to differentiate between ethnic groups when considering sibling ties in immigrant populations in contrast with native German families. The length of residence of the parent with the immigrant and collectivistic background in an individualistic-oriented host country could be a factor explaining the similarities between multicultural and individualistic families. If parents have spent more time living in an individualistic country, then perhaps we can expect there to be an overlap of collectivistic and individualistic societal and family values. Likewise, it would be desirable for the variables to include different cultural orientations, like national identity or opinions on family values.

In light of the recent migration situation in Europe, it would be interesting to know whether family and sibling dynamics are shaped by the refugee status of a person or family. Are there any systematic differences in family values and role expectations between recent refugees and more established immigrant families in the country? In this light, prospective research should place a special focus on sibling relationships in a transnational context.

Notes

1. The argument is based on the country clusters defined in the GLOBE Study (House et al. 2004) according to the level of cultural similarity among societies. Collectivist societies are countries that score high on cultural dimension Collectivism II (In-Group) which refers to the degree to which individuals in the respective society express pride, loyalty and cohesiveness in their organizations or families.
2. According to the scores of the cultural clusters in the In-Group Collectivism dimension, Italy (as part of the 'Latin Europe' cluster) is positioned in the middle (mid-score cluster), meaning that its mean score is not significantly different from the rest (Javidan et al. 2006: 71). For this reason, we assigned Italian-origin respondents to the collectivist cultural cluster in order to maintain the dichotomy of the dimension.
3. http://www.pairfam.de/en/
4. All data modifications done in the course of data merging, cleaning and coding as well as the analyses are documented in SPSS syntax files, which

are freely accessible for comprehension and/or replication at the data repository *datorium,* www.datorium.gesis.org (Kampmann 2017).

5. Contact correlates strongly with both warmth and conflict (Stocker et al. 1997; Lee et al. 1990). Since there are no theoretical implications for the direction of the causality, we prefer to include contact frequency between siblings in the regression model as explanandum rather than explanans.
6. The countries of birth of parents and stepparents, respectively, are used as a reference for coding the cultural background of an anchor. The migration status of parents was not considered. To check for the influence of the host culture on the value orientations of the next generation, we ran a correlation analysis on individualistic/collectivistic backgrounds and family values.
7. Generated individualistic and collectivistic culture variables are based on the Society Cluster Samples in the GLOBE study (House et al. 2004), to which parents' countries of birth were assigned.
8. The correlation analysis was facilitated by an SPSS analysis procedure for complex/clustered samples (http://www-01.ibm.com/support/docview.wss?uid=swg21481014).

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6

Intercultural Negotiations Over a Newborn: The Case of Persians in the United Kingdom

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Introduction

The focus of studies on immigrant families in the UK has been on the intergroup partnering relationships of those who arrived in the country *en masse* since the 1950s, following the colonial era and world wars (Benson 1981; Young 1995). Previous studies in the UK have focused on South Asians (see a volume of Global Network edited by Shaw and Charsley 2006a, b; Becher 2008; Charsley 2013) and black immigrants of African or American descent (see Pasura 2008; Phoenix and Owen 2000), most likely because they constitute much higher numbers of immigrants and are more visible. The Persian immigrants[1] in the UK are relatively few and, therefore, they have been under-represented in the literature. However, the unique history of immigration and cultural characteristics of these people make research on their family practices valuable. More especially, their religious background (i.e. Shia Islam) differs from what the majority of Muslim communities in the UK (i.e. Sunnis) adhere to. We know very little

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about the conditions of their family lives, in general; or about their intercultural partnering relationships, in particular.

This chapter is based on research that investigated partnering relationships across cultures, involving Persian immigrants to the UK and non-Persians. The study examined intercultural partnering practices to derive a clearer picture of the intersection of cultural differences such as gender, religion, language, life course, and generation that shape partnering practices in multicultural societies. I interviewed 36 Persians who had experienced at least one partnering relationship with a member of a non-Persian social group. In the following paragraphs I unpack the intersection of generation, religion, and gender in matters related to a newborn highlighted by most participants. I first explore the theoretical and methodological background of the chapter. This chapter is based on a critical account of the reflexive modernization theory. An intersectional analysis of negotiations over the main challenges participants faced at the birth of a child are provided next. I argue that religion is the most significant factor that shapes practices such as choosing a name, baptizing, and circumcising a newborn. These negotiations are intergenerational, so I indicate that grandparental interventions were challenging in these unions. At the end of the chapter I return to the broader question of how these relationships may operate under the conditions of detraditionalization and individualization, the two main components of reflexive modernization theory. In this sense, I consider Smart and Shipman's (2004) argument that traditions are subject to change and alteration, but the process of negotiations regarding traditional practices and values and their readjustment is occurring across generations.

Theoretical Background

This research was driven by the reflexive modernization theory that has been the salient grand theory most discussed in the existing British literature on sociologies of families and relationships (for the original theoretical discussion see Giddens 1991, 1992; Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002, 2014; Beck et al. 1994, 2003; Beck-Gernsheim 2002). I adopt a critical approach toward the theory's two

core notions of individualization and detraditionalization. My approach is based on earlier critiques that tradition remains distinctively important in defining people's everyday lives (Smart and Shipman 2004; Gross 2005; Smart 2007), and individuals' biographies are still extensively bound by economic and socio-political structures (Jamieson 1998, 1999). Most critiques do not entirely reject all claims of reflexive modernization; however, they argue that it exaggerates the extent of social change in late modernity. Nevertheless, the theory provides important sociological ideas, such as indicating the way in which people negotiate their family and personal relationships, which should not be divorced from the field.

Criticizing reflexive modernization theory, Smart and Shipman (2004), who investigated marital obligations within minority Irish, Indian, and Pakistani communities in the UK, suggest that the traditional values of immigrant families in the UK operate through constant negotiation and adjustment. Furthermore, they point out that, because of the immigration experience and geographical boundaries, the traditions of immigrant families may have different extents of significance. Hence, they argue that the members of immigrant families may embrace some traditions while breaking others. Nevertheless, Smart and Shipman (2004) conclude that immigrants are committed to both holding onto their traditions and alert them. They argue that this manner must be perceived regarding generational relationships, and as a process of negotiation and change across immigrant cohorts. Thus, they suggest that the culture, context, and complexity of the social group under observation must be considered. I find this perspective of the reflexive modernization useful in analysing the practices related to the newborns in our study.

The analysis is also informed by the idea of intersectionality and the assumption that the intersection of generation as a source of cultural differences, as well as gender and religion, can shape the practices related to a newborn. The core idea of the intersectional approach is that centring feminist scholarship and wider practices on one category, such as gender, produces a simplistic and overgeneralized understanding of inequalities, discriminations, and/or oppressions against women. Thus, in response, a multidimensional analysis of axes of social division was suggested. The theory argues ways that different categories of social divisions operate in parallel and reinforce each other (Andersen 2005). These categories

inform each other and may produce different meanings in different contexts, circumstances, or historical moments (see Smooth 2010; Risman 2004). The concept of intersectionality offers a richer and more complex understanding of social divisions than approaches that focus on one form of social differences per study. Arguably, the one-category approach fails to capture the reality of life and thus cannot truly grasp how multiple sources of difference may produce both advantages and disadvantages for a certain group of people at the same time. Through this theory's lens, it is possible to understand the importance of and investigate the interplay of categories of differences in the construction of practices related to a newborn.

Methodology

I interviewed 36 Persians who had experienced at least one partnering relationship with those who they considered as non-Persians. Because my goal was to obtain deeper insights into the construction of intercultural partnering practices, I used qualitative interviewing. I conducted semi-structured interviews as this method could allow me to guide the interview process and ask relevant questions that were conceptually related to the objectives of the research while remaining flexible in listening to the participants' narratives about their partnering experiences. It could be argued that semi-structured interviewing gave participants the freedom to explain their personal experiences and understandings of their practices and to talk about what was important to them.

In line with my analytical approach, my sampling strategy was theoretically informed and was based on components of Persian cultural identity, including gender and religion. The primary reason for theoretical sampling was to select participants who would provide data that would help to advance theoretical propositions. In this sense, the range of interviewees selected was adequate to the type of social explanation I aimed to develop.

It is evidenced that the number of Persian women in the UK is about one-third the number of Persian men (see Spellman 2004 and Kyambi 2005). This ratio is represented in my sample size. The women who

agreed to participate, made important contributions about their experiences and the average length of the interviews with the women was 100 minutes (about 20 minutes longer than the average length of the interviews with the men). Thus, not only does the number empirically reflect the gender ratio of the target population; it is adequate in the context of qualitative research in order to theoretically represent the overall target population.

Religion was assumed to be a major cultural component that could be significant to shaping people's lives. However, conceptualizing the extent of religious attachment is complicated. Religiosity can be multidimensional and its dimensions can interact in numerous ways. Moreover, religiosity can vary across one's life course. Many scholars have attempted to conceptualize and measure types or modes of religiosity—for recent conceptual developments, see Whitehouse (2002) and Atkinson and Whitehouse (2011), who provide socio-political and cross-cultural analyses of religiosity. Considering these dimensions, an individual could be a believer but not practice; on the other hand, an individual could practice, but have little sense of connectedness to the religion or feel strongly about it. My interest was investigating the ways that various partnering practices could be informed and shaped by religious teachings. In this sense, I chose three categories of religiosity to examine in the study: (1) religious participants who were practicing; (2) non-religious participants who self-identified as non-believers but were born into Shia families, and (3) partially religious participants, those who were in between, most of whom believed in the core ideas of Shiaism but did not practice most of the religious rituals.

My sampling strategy was to recruit equal numbers of these three categories of religiosity to obtain a clear picture of the influence of religion on partnering practices. Although religious participants were one-third of my sample, all the non-religious and partially religious participants had something to say about religious practices. They talked about the influence of religious values and teachings on their partnering experiences and provide reasons as to why they did not observe certain rituals. In this sense, religion did play a part in shaping their partnering practices at least to some extent.

Intersectional Analysis of Data

It could be argued that cultures advocate certain rituals upon the birth of a child. Some do not have tangible consequences and/or require long-term commitments. In the case of this research, the intercultural partners did not usually oppose these rituals strongly. For instance, there is an Islamic tradition of saying *Shahadatain* (the two testimonials that declares 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah') in an infant's ear. This performance did not raise a major objection among the couples studied, because according to the participants it did not cost anything, or have tangible consequences. However, some cultural practices upon the birth of a child do have physical and/or long-term implications. Three of them were subject to massive negotiations between the couples and their relatives in this study. These include the naming, baptizing, and circumcising of a child, which will be explained below.

Naming of a Child

The initial practice that present challenges for the couple studied was naming a newborn. Within these unions, the discussion around naming a child was intensive and could lead to tension, because a child's name could potentially carry some cultural meanings that concern the parents, grandparents, and their wider family and community members. In this sense, the naming of a child had to be negotiated across generations, and required compromise. According to the data, the participants' gender identity did not meaningfully affect the ways in which they chose to name their newborns, however, their commitment to the religion shaped their decisions so that negotiations were needed.

The participants sometimes chose two names as the first and middle names, one in Persian, and the other in the native language of the other parent. In other cases, however, partners had to negotiate a resolution. They first had to choose a name that could be pronounced easily by both Persians and those who spoke in the partners' native language, because it was important for both families that they could pronounce the name of their child. Some said that they chose a Persian name because a foreign

name was a fantasy or luxury for their partners. Some made a safe choice by choosing an interculturally popular name such as Rose or Elizabeth (also related names such as Isabel, Isabella, and Isabelle). Alternatively, names that had good meanings in both languages were chosen. For example, Dara is a given name in both Persian and Irish, and also is mentioned in the Old Testament, or Arman is a Persian derivative of the name Herman in Dutch and English.

For some religious participants, the solution was to find a name that was respected in Abrahamic religions, namely biblical names such as Josef and David, which are known and appreciated in both Islam and Christianity. For those religious participants, whose partners had converted to Islam or already had a Muslim background, Islamic names were agreed on in their Arabic forms, namely those names mentioned in the Quran.

Infant Baptism

Infant baptism is a Christian tradition which is often performed in order to welcome a baby into their religion. Those participants who had partners with a Christian background often faced the issue of baptism—it appeared to be vital when one partner had a Catholic background. Both partners' level of commitments to their religion were important in negotiating the matter. If the Persian party were religious, their opposition to the idea of baptizing was stronger as they could not stand that their newborn was welcomed to a religion other than their own. To the lesser extent, many argued that they did not do the practice, or they refused their partners' request to baptize their children, because they did not want to force their children into a religion, but preferred that their children decide for themselves what religion, if any, they wanted to follow later in life. Some of the non-religious participants said that they did let their partners baptize their child, because it did not cost them anything, and, as one said 'it was like taking a day off from work and going to a picnic or restaurant' (M10[2]; partially religious—age 53—had two sons).

On the other hand, if the partners' Christian identities were strong, their insistence on performing the practice was stronger. In some cases, a

partner baptized their child without their Persian partner's consent. Some couples did not baptize their children because the religious attachment of both parties was not so strong that they wanted to insist on doing the practice.

More interestingly however, few participants argued that they baptized their first child, but not their later children. This was because of their or their partners' shifting religious identity. Moreover, doing the practice was not all about adhering to their religious beliefs. Sometimes it was essential that the practice being displayed to the wider family and community members. In this sense, the Christian grandparents usually pushed for the ritual to be practiced and displayed. The gender identity of participants does not seem to be an important factor in this regard.

Circumcision

Circumcision is widely considered a traditional religious practice.[3] Arguably, the decision to circumcise a boy was the hardest decision the partners under observation had to make about a child because it was an irrevocable decision. The decision often required extensive negotiations between parents and grandparents as to if, when and how they would want to do the practice. Almost all participants, regardless of their commitment to religion, had the issue of circumcision lingering in their minds.

Data show that all religious participants circumcised their male children, no matter what their partners' religious backgrounds were. Partners of religious participants either were Muslim before meeting the participants, or had converted to Islam at the time of marriage.[4] In either case, they agreed with their Persian partners that the Islamic tradition of circumcision should be practiced. That said, agreement on the practice was still reached by negotiation and providing justifications to convince their partners that circumcision was a right and beneficial undertaking. Participants' most often mentioned that their justification was the hygienic benefits of circumcision. They argued that it would be easier for a boy to clean a circumcised penis, which then would reduce the risk of him becoming infected later in life. For instance, M31 argued:

> My son was circumcised when he was about 22 days old. I had a long argument with my wife over the matter. She was disagreeing, because she believed that he would suffer pain. I told her that the older he gets, the more difficulties he would face. Cleaning himself was another matter; he wouldn't be able to do it right himself. She disagreed, but I insisted and took him to a clinic and had him circumcised. It was very difficult during the first two weeks, 'cos my son did cry a lot from the pain and she kept saying that this was all my fault. I told her not to worry and that he'll be fine. After all the hassle was ended, she told me that I did the right thing. I said to her that our son would suffer a little for two weeks or so, but would be comfortable for the rest of his life. I didn't want to say, we circumcised him because of religious beliefs, just in case that she would pick on it and nag me about my religion, so I just said this way is cleaner and more hygienic. (M31, religious—age 35—had two daughters and a son)

Although it is believed that circumcision is a religious undertaking, it was also widely practiced among partially religious or non-religious participants. This group of participants said that they had mixed feelings about the practice, and could not figure out how they reached their decision at the time. Most of them argued that they did not know if their decision had been based on observing a religious tenet or due to the social pressures on them, so that they concluded it had been based on a mixture of these factors. Some argued that they still did not know the real reason they had agreed to the practice. The following excerpt by M17 (partially religious—age 57—had two sons and a daughter) exemplifies this uncertain position:

> M17: Both my sons were circumcised. There was no quarrel about it with my wife either. I mean, I believed it to be the right thing to do. Those days I was perhaps more religious and more Iranian and believed it's better that way. I consulted with one of my relatives who was a university professor and he said that this was optional. We then decided it would be better to circumcise both.
>
> Ali: Now, do you think this was for religious reasons or something else?
>
> M17: Mr. Ali, I don't really know. It was a mixed thing. I still don't know the real reason. At the time, that's how we decided.

According to the data, this group of participants still had to provide some justifications to convince their partners. The most often mentioned

justification by both males and females of partially religious or non-religious participants was again hygienic. Some of the male participants also claimed that they did not like the appearance of an uncircumcised penis, and made their decision on this basis.

The liquid nature of cultural identity of some participants led them to have had their first son circumcised because of their cultural backgrounds, but did not have their later sons circumcised because of their recent cultural position. M10 (partially religious—age 53—had two sons) explains why he and his wife did not have their second son circumcised:

> One of my sons was circumcised but the other wasn't. But I didn't have my first son circumcised because of religious beliefs, but rather because of my social background. However, with my second son, I later realized that this wasn't my decision to make. After some time, we realized that we didn't want to circumcise him and put him through the pain that our first son went through simply because of social opinions and things like that. For this, we didn't circumcise our second son. (M10, partially religious—age 53—had two sons)

A number of non-religious participants had sons that had not been circumcised. They either said that they could not bring themselves to have their sons circumcised because it was a hard decision to make, or they could not face it because it would be painful for their sons. They said that they did not even discuss it with their partners. Some of them believed that a modified penis could possibly affect their son's social and private life, and present problems in terms of their son's social acceptance both at school and in their sexual lives. This opinion was based on their own bad experiences. One of the male participants said that because he had had a circumcised penis he had suffered bullying at college before and after sport sessions in the changing room, so he decided not to have his son circumcised.

It could be argued that participants' attitudes towards circumcision were not gender based. There was not a meaningful difference between male and female responses. However, it should be acknowledged that some of the female participants said that they were more considerate about the well-being and health of their sons than their husbands were. Some said that they also were more concerned about the pain their son might

suffer. The account of F24 is an example of non-religious or partially religious female participants:

> We didn't circumcise our son. To be honest, at the beginning I didn't care about such a matter. I do remember that I had a very serious discussion with one of my friends over this matter and they had a son too. She was trying to convince me that it was better to circumcise my son, and I was thinking that there was no must what so ever in that. But, when it comes to health and things like that, one may get worried a bit. I was actually thinking about it today, because it seems better to do it earlier. It makes sense. But my husband says 'millions of people in Europe don't do it! Do we come cross any problems?' Anyway, on the other hand, I'm a mother and think that the kid may face a lot of problems and this is not easy at all. I say, I've not experienced manhood to know how it is. When I think about it, if there is anything, one should look after the kid and teach him how to clean himself until he grows. This is then up to him. I'm frankly not a type of person to enter the things as to circumcising is right or wrong. For this reason, for now, I have accepted what my husband says. (F24, non-religious—age 42—had a son)

This quote indicates that convincing a non-Muslim partner to allow circumcision was difficult for those female participants who had a European partner, because their partners had argued that there was nothing wrong with themselves and there was no basis for arguing that the practice was necessary. The only case among those female participants who had a son with a non-Muslim partner but did not negotiate the decision of circumcision was a non-religious female participant who married an American. Arguably, circumcision is a more common practice in the USA than in Europe (see Denniston et al. 2010), and this American husband had himself been circumcised. Thus, the decision of whether to circumcise a boy is also based on partners' own social and sexual experiences.

Discussion

This chapter explore negotiations over newborns to the intercultural unions studied. It considered how generation, religion, and gender intersect in shaping practices related to a newborn. Issues such as naming a

child, infant baptism, and circumcision were of vital importance for the couples in this study and were subject to massive negotiations between intercultural partners and their parents. As discussed, the most important factor in these practices was religious background and the less one was gender identity. This chapter also highlights the intersection of generation as a source of cultural differences in that the grandparents involved intended to pass down their cultural heritages to their intercultural grandchildren through practices such as naming, baptizing, and circumcising a newborn. Their interventions were usually motivated by their commitment to traditional rituals, and more particularly by their religious beliefs. As some participants explained, their parents believed they had certain rights over their grandchildren.

The findings presented here challenge two core notions of reflexive modernization theory as they showcase how different forms of traditions shape people's practices related to a newborn. As mentioned, religious traditions appeared to be a defining factor in these intergenerational undertakings. For religious participants or their parents, the most important aspects of their identity that had to be passed down to their (grand)children were their religious values in the forms of naming, baptizing, or circumcising a child. It appeared from the data that the religious practices were also significant for non-religious or partially religious participants. This was especially so regarding circumcision that was the most difficult and irreversible decision to make. In this sense, some participants conducted bargaining, to convince their partners to perform these practices. For instance, in order to have their sons circumcised they allowed their partners to have their children baptized. This occurred even though neither party in the relationship claimed to be religious. This indicates the importance of displaying these traditional rituals to the wider family and community members for the couple involved.

Although the findings presented here illustrate the significance of religion as a form of traditions that still guides people's family lives and shapes the ways in which they conduct their partnering practices, these religious traditions were negotiated, and subject to change and amendment. Moreover, these kinds of religious expectations caused intergenerational clashes that often required extensive negotiations to resolve. This finding is consistent with Smart and Shipman (2004), who argue that the

detraditionalization theory has exaggerated the process of social change, because traditions remain significant, but they are readjusted and altered through negotiations. Similar to Smart and Shipman's empirical findings and analysis, this research shows that the process of readjusting the traditional is negotiated across generations. These negotiations could be understood through the process of individualization because individuals were constantly defining and redefining their own biographies, according to their current situation. However, the ways in which they made their choices in regard to intergenerational practices was limited by their prescribed traditional values. Considering the above discussion, it could be argued that detraditionalization is in progress and that individuals may not slavishly follow the traditional customs and beliefs; however, some forms of traditions remain distinctive and important in modern societies. Therefore, the significance of traditions as intrinsic features of modern societies must still be considered.

Although, the examples in this research show that the most important factor in negotiating practices related to a newborn was the participants' attachment to their religion, the degree of that attachment was fluid and shifting. This was more apparent in cases when some participants circumcised or baptized their first child, but not their later children. Perhaps such participants had been more religious in the early stages of their partnering, and then had weakened their religiosity over the course of time. Therefore, the timing of the birth of their child in their life course was important. Likewise, the age of participants and the length of time they had spent in the UK directly affected their decisions as to whether or not, and the extent to which, they followed the traditions. Moreover, their decisions were based on their own earlier personal experiences, such as having been subjected to bullying at college or dis/liking the appearance of a circumcised penis explained earlier. These factors could be considered as sources of difference in forthcoming studies.

Notes

1. By 'Persian', I refer to the research participants' cultural identity rather than their nationality (which may or may not be Iranian) or their ethnic identity.

2. In this chapter, instead of pseudonyms I use the number of the interviewee and M/F to indicate gender. Pseudonyms might confuse a reader who is not familiar with Persian names and cannot distinguish the gender of each participant.
3. This practice is advocated in both Islam and Judaism. In Shia Islam it is widely believed that the practice is mandatory, but it does not make the circumcised person a Muslim, nor is it required to become a Muslim, so the practice cannot be considered as Muslimizing, comparable to christening, or equal to infant baptism.
4. It should be reminded here that it was not possible to verify whether or not they only pretended to change their religion to get the official Iranian marriage certificate, or if they truly became believers.

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Part 2

Transnational Families: Managing Care and Intimate Relationships at a Distance

7

Distant Relationships in Transnational Families and Kinship Networks: The Case of Turkish Migrants in Germany

Eveline Reisenauer

Introduction

As a result of migration from one nation state to another, migrants are separated from the family members and relatives whom they leave behind in the emigration country. Some of these separations last for only a limited period of time until national borders are crossed again in one direction or the other, as, for example, in the case of family reunification in the immigration country or of reverse migration to the emigration country. In other cases, however, migrants who have emigrated may spend the rest of their lives in a country other than that of their significant others. Regardless of whether the separation between migrants in the immigration country and their families in the emigration country is temporary or permanent,[1] migration processes can involve both mobility and immobility, proximity and distance, and presence and absence.

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Therefore, migration contexts provide an ideal framework for analyzing distant relationships. Transnational studies in migration research[2] show quite clearly that migration processes have resulted in new socio-spatial formations, such as 'transnational families' (see Bryceson and Vuorela 2002a; Baldassar and Merla 2014c). With the recognition of transnational families, the concept of kinship ties as characterized by the crossing of national borders became a matter of interest. The spatial distribution of family members does not necessarily lead to the break-up of family relations; rather, families separated by migration have to bridge national borders by organizing their common lives. Thus, transnationality constitutes a characteristic of the respective family members and of the family as a whole. '"Transnational families" are defined here as families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely "familyhood", even across national borders' (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002b: 3). The persistence of family intimacy over geographical distances and across national borders can be attributed to the fact that family responsibilities do not disappear in the face of migration.[3] As shown in studies of transnational families, the continuation of family responsibilities is reflected in two kinds of cross-border practices in particular: financial remittances (Guarnizo 2003: 671) and transnational assistance and care (see Baldassar and Merla 2014c). However, family and kinship relationships and practices must be modified according to transnational circumstances.[4]

While transnationally oriented research on migration processes has provided evidence of transnational families, the specific role of spatial distance in family and kinship relationships has rarely been analyzed. The goal here is to take a closer look at the interconnectedness of sociality and spatiality within transnational families and kinship networks. In the section that follows ('Evidence of Distant Relationships'), I discuss in general terms the model of the unilocal nuclear family as it is conceptualized in the traditional sociological view of the family. By including the alternative living arrangements found in transnational contexts, I argue that migration processes break up the unit of social and spatial proximity. This conclusion is based on insights gained from narrative interviews that were conducted with Turkish migrants in Germany as part of the

TRANS-NET project (see section 'Researching Spatial Distance in Family and Kinship Relationships'). I use the collected empirical material to explore the spatial dimension of transnational families and kinship networks further, and I show that the physical presence and absence of family members and relatives have a particular impact on relationship management (section 'Presence and Absence of Family and Kinship Members'). In the concluding section ('Conclusion'), I present my findings regarding the interconnectedness of sociality and spatiality under conditions of migration.

Evidence of Distant Relationships

Drawing from the influential work of Émile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, family theorists and researchers have argued that the unilocal nuclear family represents the main family type in modern society. According to this premise, the family construct is based on two conditions: (1) the nuclear family is composed of two generations—at most, parents and their dependent children; and (2) the members of the nuclear family share the same household. Even if this construct of the unilocal nuclear family still exists in mainstream sociological theory and research, the presence of both these elements is increasingly being questioned in light of new approaches to the study of families, with a particular emphasis on the contingent manifestations of the family in migration contexts (see Landolt and Da 2005: 647; Kofman et al. 2011: 33; Baldassar and Merla 2014a: 9).

One argument against the narrow focus on the nuclear family within the field of family sociology is based on evidence of other manifestations of partnership and familial arrangements. In addition to the conjugal couple with children, alternative family structures have been identified, such as non-marital family situations, single-parent families, patchwork families, and homosexual parenting partners. Besides the nuclear family, the extended family also continues to play a significant role in such arrangements. Relationships between parents and their adult children, grandparents and their grandchildren, and siblings continue to be relevant today, but there has been an obvious increase in the diversity of

living arrangements. Nevertheless, the key studies in transnational research are concerned with parent–child relationships, mainly between mothers and their children (see, e.g., Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Parreñas 2001) and increasingly between fathers and their children (Nobles 2011; Fresnoza-Flot 2014). In addition, other types of relationships are brought into focus, such as those between adult children and their left-behind aging parents (Baldassar and Baldock 2000; Zechner 2008) or between grandparents and their grandchildren living abroad (Vullnetari and King 2008). However, there is still need to further extend the research on transnational personal relationships (see Reisenauer 2016),[5] such as the cross-border relationships between same-sex parents, adult siblings, or cousins. Not only does such an extension enrich transnational research by including the entire spectrum of migrant life forms (Baldassar and Merla 2014a), but it also offers an opportunity to compare different types of relationships in terms of the respective social practices maintained across national borders.

Criticism has also been levelled at the tradition of defining the nuclear family on the basis of domestic cohabitation, something that is of particular interest for my purposes. In sociology, the general orientation towards conditions of proximity for characterizing 'the social' (Schroer 2006: 26), among other things, becomes evident in studies of the family. The equation of family and household is characteristic of this view, as can be seen, for example, in the overview provided by Liz Steel, Warren Kidd, and Anne Brown: 'The *nuclear* family comprises mother, father and children […] living together in the same household' (Steel et al. 2012: 19; emphasis in original). According to this understanding, the family unit is defined not only in terms of specific family members but also by the fact that they live under one roof.[6] Consequently, the physical mobility of family and kinship members is assumed to lead to a breaking off of existing relationships. 'A family's network will become more loose-knit if either the family or the other members of the network move away physically […] so that contact is decreased and new relations are established' (Bott 1971: 106). Even if there is some evidence for the fragility of distant relationships owing to the costs involved (see van der Poel 1993: 31–32), the simplified representation of the connection between social and physical distance has been increasingly questioned.

Family constellations under conditions of spatial distance have increasingly attracted the attention of researchers in the area of family sociology. In considering 'long-distance relationships' (Schneider 2009), 'multilocal multi-generation families' (Bertram 2002), and 'world families' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2011), relationship patterns characterized by neither a joint household nor settlement in the immediate proximity have become the focus of interest. But even when family relationships are widely dispersed geographically, especially in the face of globalization processes, they are characterized by a certain stability. Empirical research on distant relationships points to the continued importance of family ties and responsibilities. As shown earlier, this is also the case for transnational families, where exchange between family members is provided 'across and despite the distance that separates them' (Baldassar and Merla 2014a: 6). In the following section, I discuss some insights gained from research on transnational families to explore the interconnectedness of sociality and spatiality in a transnational migration context, with a special focus on Turkish migrants in Germany.

Researching Spatial Distance in Family and Kinship Relationships

The findings presented in this chapter draw on narrative interviews that were conducted with Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany as part of the German TRANS-NET survey. The research project, entitled 'Transnationalization, Migration and Transformation: Multi-Level Analysis of Migrant Transnationalism',[7] was carried out from 2008 through 2011 and involved partners from eight countries, which were grouped into four pairs: Estonia–Finland, India–United Kingdom, Morocco–France and Turkey–Germany. The project's primary research question was, how do cross-border practices of migrants emerge, function, and change? (see Pitkänen 2012: 5). The focus of the German survey was to investigate the transnational practices of migrants from Turkey and their descendants living in Germany (see Gerdes et al. 2012). A total of 73 qualitative interviews were conducted with former guest-worker

migrants, marriage migrants, family-based migrants, German-born children of Turkish migrants, asylum seekers, international students, and high-skilled labour migrants.[8]

The Turkish–German migration context offers a good opportunity to investigate transnational families and kinship networks, because the course of this migration history has revealed various types of distant relationships. First, within the framework of the guest-worker migration to Germany that began in the 1960s, Turkish workers generally migrated alone and were therefore separated from their left-behind family members, such as spouses, children, and parents. Second, since the end of the 1970s, family-related migration has become a significant mode of entry into Germany, with spouses and children in particular arriving to join the primary migrants. Even though such movements made it possible for previously separated partners and families to be reunited in Germany, the new migrants continue to be spatially disconnected from significant others (e.g. siblings or uncles) who are left behind in Turkey. Third, after living and working in Germany for several years, a proportion of the former Turkish labour migrants return to Turkey upon their retirement yet their children and grandchildren have often become settled and remain in Germany, resulting in another type of geographical separation between family members.[9]

This brief summation of the Turkish–German migration processes that have taken place since the 1960s illustrates that spatial separations of family and kinship members between these two countries involve a variety of social relationships. Moreover, the family and kinship constellations that are created across borders are manifest in different and changing ways. In considering the lived experiences of families and relatives across national borders, this investigation was able to examine the spatial distance in transnational families and kinship networks and its role for the Turkish migrants who were interviewed.

Within the framework of the TRANS-NET project, the processes of transnationalization in the political, economic, socio-cultural, and educational spheres were analyzed more generally (Pitkänen et al. 2012). An evaluation of the data from the German study indicates that the intensity of transnational practices varies considerably from sphere to sphere (Gerdes et al. 2012), which makes evident the particular relevance of

family and personal life across national borders. Nearly all the respondents in this study maintained personal relationships with significant others in Turkey.[10] These connections were at first described as marginal, despite the fact that family and kinship members abroad were mentioned in almost every narrative; the respondents would provide greater details only when requested to do so by the interviewers. At first the interviewers assumed that the Turkish migrants were simply reluctant to discuss their personal lives,[11] but it soon became apparent that these relationships were such a routine part of their daily lives that they considered them commonplace and inconsequential (Reisenauer 2016: 103 ff.). With encouragement from the researchers, the interviewees became quite eager to provide detailed descriptions of even their most personal relationships.

The following section reviews the main findings of the German survey with regard to the distant relationships of Turkish migrants.

Presence and Absence of Family and Kinship Members

From the integration and assimilation perspective, cross-border social ties are regarded as transitory phenomena, ending with the length of stay in the immigration country or because of integration processes. In contrast, the interviews conducted with Turkish migrants in Germany indicated that previously existing orientations, relations, and practices with respect to the emigration country do not necessarily become any less important as a result of migration processes. Family and kinship relationships in particular maintain a certain stability in the individual life courses of Turkish migrants and over the course of generations.[12] Although transnational families are not a new phenomenon,[13] transformations in transportation and communication technologies have increased connectivity within families and between relatives who are physically distant from one another. Nevertheless, these advances have not rendered spatiality irrelevant for personal relationships; rather, the fact that family and kinship are located in two or more countries plays a crucial role in the social life of Turkish migrants. This arrangement raises questions about the influence

of physical presence and absence on personal relationships. As formulated by Jennifer Mason, one must ask 'which elements of kinship require people physically to get together by travelling *across distances*, and which can be conducted *at a distance* (for example over the phone, email, text messaging, internet, and by proxy as with internet shipping, and so on)' (Mason 2004: 422; emphasis in original).

Although research on transnational families has provided evidence that migrants maintain long-distance and cross-border relationships, the aspect of spatial distance itself needs to be elaborated on further. For this purpose, in this section, the respective relevance of spatial distance is identified for different kinds of relationship maintenance within transnational families and kinships.[14] It is now possible to demonstrate that various elements of relationships cannot be pursued equally across geographical distance and national borders (see also Reisenauer 2016: 146 ff.)—that is, (1) the management of certain relationships requires physical proximity, and (2) other elements of relationships can be maintained in the same way while the parties are living apart, such as by means of communication technology. Although these two aspects have already been suggested in previous transnational studies, the available empirical material on Turkish migrants reveals a third aspect: the requirement of physical absence. Geographical distance is not a hurdle for all kinds of relationship maintenance; rather, the physical location of family members and relatives in two or more countries goes hand in hand with specific benefits within relationships.

Requirement of Physical Presence For the Turkish migrants from Germany, a temporary presence in Turkey, mainly during their annual leave, offers the only possibility to be in physical proximity to their family members and relatives who live apart. Accordingly, their stays abroad are perceived as intensive periods of being together. For example, Sinan meets his extended family in Turkey every year:

> In my home village, the whole family comes together on holiday, which is just nice. […] We've a house in Turkey—well, the house of my parents. In the same street, my grandfather lives in a house, next to him my uncle, and

> opposite live a few other uncles. During school vacations, all of them return home. […] Then everything is done together, eating together, having a barbecue together, celebrating and talking until late into the night. (Sinan, No. 29, lines 76 ff.)[15]

As this passage illustrates, migrants' place of origin in Turkey serves as a meeting point where the whole family comes together, spends time together, and shares everyday routines, such as eating together. Moreover, their shared presence offers an opportunity for meaningful events, such as the common celebration of baptisms, weddings, and funerals.[16] Being in the same place enables family members to organize their time and their common activities, and this option would be much less likely to present itself if they were physically distant from one another.

The requirement of physical presence becomes even more urgent when it comes to household and caregiving services within families. Even if certain individual demands can be met from a distance, such as emotional and material support (see later), the need for practical assistance on a daily basis might have to be addressed. For example, child care and care of the sick and the elderly involve activities that require physical presence.[17] Şengül became aware of this when a family member in Turkey became ill:

> But in the end, one is here and can't be there. And it's impossible to intensify the relationship completely; in physical terms, one is not there for the other person and vice versa. (Şengül, No. 20, line 32)

The interviewees frequently emphasized what it means to be unable to provide reliable support for their family members in Turkey. In order to meet the needs of their significant others abroad, Turkish migrants must either travel if necessary or delegate the responsibility of practical help to people on site.[18] In conclusion, for certain elements of relationships, physical presence is essential (Baldassar and Merla 2014b: 48). Thus, Turkish migrants who live far from their family and kinship face restrictions when it comes to participating in family events and meeting the specific requirements of social support.[19]

Substitution for Physical Presence Not all types of relationship maintenance require spatial availability; rather, certain elements of relationships can also be identified that are characterized by independence from a specific location.[20] In particular, communication technologies have increased the scope of reachability, so that reciprocal physical attendance is not a necessary condition for relationships.[21] Many of the interviewees are in close contact with various generations within their transnational family and kinship through telephone calls, e-mail or Skype. These exchanges contribute to the establishment of strong emotional bonds among geographically separated family members and relatives. In addition to conversations about the weather, personal matters, mutual acquaintances, and events in the respective countries, critical life events are a reason for such contact under conditions of physical absence, as can be seen in the following narrative by İnan:

> My uncle was seriously ill, so you call and ask for details; you call a few times—more often than you've done before. He is in Turkey, so of course one can't visit him, but you can call frequently. When my father died, they also called us, and my uncle came from Berlin. In such situations, the family holds together, that's for sure, naturally. We call one another; one comforts and consoles those in need, tries to give mutual support in suffering. (İnan, No. 46, line 69)

Even if it is not possible for family members and relatives to be physically present in specific life situations, they are at least emotionally there for one another.[22] Thus, distant communication contributes to the well-being of those involved. Similar to emotional support, material remittances in the form of money and goods can also easily be provided from a distance (see Guarnizo 2003). Especially during the guest-worker migration from Turkey to Germany, financial remittances contributed to the maintenance of the families left behind (see Faist 2000: 214–218). One of the interviewees who provided this kind of family support is Ogün, a former labour migrant:

> I've sent a great deal of money to Turkey, you know? Yes, 300 or 500 Deutschmarks every month, you know? For example, when my daughter wrote to me, 'Baba, I want to go to school and need 500 Marks for that', I sent more money. (Ogün, No. 44, line 70)

Since the end of the guest-worker programme, the practice of transferring income earned in Germany has decreased over time. Nevertheless, the distribution of money within transnational families still plays an important role, especially when underage children and elderly parents live abroad. Moreover, goods continue to be transferred to family members and relatives in Turkey, including food, clothes, everyday things, and medical aid. Such emotional and material support shows that distant relationships can be maintained not only through the mobility of individuals but also through communication and the transfer of money and goods across the border (see, e.g., Baldassar and Merla 2014c).

Requirement of Physical Absence The descriptions above highlight the separating effect of geographical distance, which can be overcome by physical mobility or mediatized communication. However, the interview narratives showed that specific relationship management is also based on the existence of spatial distance between closely related individuals. This is particularly true if social capital (Levitt 2001: 62 f.) provides access to resources in the respective other country. In this context, research has addressed the importance of cross-border social networks for chain migration (see Faist 2000). However, relationships with family members and relatives in the respective other country are beneficial not only for migration processes and to resolve geographical distance. A permanent spatial distribution can also promote, among other things, transnational entrepreneurship between Germany and Turkey. This is especially true in the case of Özlem (see also Faist et al. 2013: 35 ff.). Depending on her country of residence during her life, she has maintained business relations with the respective other country. Currently living in Germany, Özlem sells evening and wedding dresses produced in Turkey. Since it is not always possible for her to travel to Turkey to conduct business on site, she describes her relationships there as follows:

> I have my stepfather there [in Turkey], and he brings the cheques there. […] One enlists all people. Or he has two people, or my partner has his people, and we ask, 'Can you quickly go to the airport? Someone is bringing samples.' Or, 'Can you quickly go to the airport? You have to send that.' That's how it works. One has to [be ready], and we have enough people. (Özlem, No. 49, line 89)

In addition to supporting transnational occupational and entrepreneurial activities, social capital located abroad is also useful with regard to immovable property in Turkey. Because migrants themselves do not live in the houses and apartments they own in Turkey, it is a common practice to rent the property to family members and relatives, sometimes even free of charge. This form of support is possible only because the migrated homeowners are physically absent. In other cases, the houses and apartments they own in Turkey are not inhabited by others but are used by the migrants themselves as holiday residences. However, with the owners being absent, continuous cleaning and maintenance work are necessary, which requires the physical availability of others on site. Thus, migrants fall back on the support of family members and relatives in Turkey for a variety of chores, such as gardening or ensuring that the houses are ventilated. The following passage from the interview with Çiçek illustrates how this works:

> During the renovation of our building, pipes were cracked. We received the information immediately and my grandmother was frantic. But they had already told us, 'Don't worry, we'll do that the next day.' If we are in Germany, we can't just fly to Turkey to do that. Therefore, help is given to us. (Çiçek, No. 69, line 230)

Taken together, these examples of transnational entrepreneurship and homeownership show that the geographical location of the family and of kinship networks in different countries means diverse support that would not be available under conditions of cohabitation. In particular, if the migrants cannot physically travel to manage their affairs abroad, family members and relatives living in Turkey will be present to replace them. Thus, it is not that only spatial proximity provides special benefits for transnational families and kinship networks, but distance and the related physical absence in relationships do as well.

Conclusion

In considering the contingent manifestations of transnational families and kinship networks and the associated spectrum of transnational relationship management, the previous investigations offer a complex picture

of the interconnectedness of sociality and spatiality under conditions of migration. Driven by the insights offered by transnational family studies, I questioned the sweeping assumption made by traditional family sociology and migration researchers that spatial distance necessarily presents an obstacle to social proximity, or at least a hurdle. By distinguishing three patterns of transnational relationship management, I sought to highlight that not all elements of relationships can be provided equally over geographical distance and across national borders. Although the requirement of and substitution for physical presence are aspects that have already been stressed in studies of transnational families, less attention has been given to the third aspect: the requirement of physical absence for special kinds of relationship maintenance.

The empirical findings regarding the physical separation of family members and relatives between Germany and Turkey indicate that both these phenomena exist in migration contexts: social proximity *despite* spatial distance, but also social proximity *due to* spatial distance. This suggests that, when focusing on the reorganization of family and kinship relationships over long distances and across national borders, the positive aspects provided by spatial distance should also be considered. As a consequence, transnational families and kinship networks do not necessarily appear as incomplete and fragile, but can also be regarded as relationships that offer new opportunities under conditions of physical absence. In this sense, transnational families and kinship networks can be characterized as the 'togetherness of the spatially separated' (Simmel 1992: 717; my translation, E. R.).

Notes

1. As to relationships between migrating mothers and their left-behind children, some geographical separations have been shown to occur in discontinuous periods, each lasting as long as several years. In a study of female Filipino migrants, separations usually last for more than 2 years and in some cases up to 16 years (Parreñas 2001: 367, 370). Results from a study of mothers from Latin America indicate that more than 10 years may pass before they are reunited with their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997: 549).

2. For an overview, see Faist et al. (2013).
3. In contrast, family members may migrate to fulfil family obligations. In this sense, spatial dispersion as a migration strategy must be regarded as 'a rational family decision to preserve the family, a resourceful and resilient way of strengthening it: families split in order to be together translocally' (Chan 1997: 195).
4. 'In the migration process, the family undergoes changes because it must continue to meet the same set of needs within a dramatically changed context' (Landolt and Da 2005: 627–628).
5. In addition to the nuclear family, the extended family and wider kinship, 'personal relationships' include friendships and acquaintances (Lenz and Nestmann 2009). Even if it is important to bear in mind that those diverse types of relationships are significant in the transnational context as well, the considerations that follow are limited to family and kinship relationships.
6. On physical proximity as a Western normative ideal, see Baldassar and Merla (2014a: 12).
7. This work was supported by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2008–2011) under Grant 217226.
8. For the sake of conciseness, all these categories will be subsumed under the term 'Turkish migrants'.
9. Since their adult children and grandchildren have remained in Germany, many of the Turkish retirement migrants have chosen a transnational lifestyle (see Baykara-Krumme 2013). In these cases of circular migrations between Germany and Turkey, elderly migrants continually alternate spatial proximity and distance with respect to their family members.
10. The number of contacts in Turkey varied widely, ranging from one or two to a large and complex network (Fauser and Reisenauer 2013: 179).
11. On the methodological accessibility of ordinary families, see also Bott (1971: 6).
12. On transnational lifeworlds of Turkish migrant children in Germany, see Reisenauer (2015).
13. For a historical overview on transregional and transnational families from the Middle Ages until the present, see Johnson et al. (2011).
14. The practices discussed in this section correspond to the five types of support identified by the care circulation framework (Baldassar and Merla 2014b: 48 ff.).

15. All the interview passages cited in this chapter are taken from the German TRANS-NET survey. For each, the pseudonym of the interviewee, the participant number and the line number in the interview transcript are provided in parentheses. The passages have been translated by the author.
16. On the role that participation in local events, such as weddings, plays for transnational family networks, see Fog Olwig (2002).
17. On problems in caregiving across national borders with regard to Estonian migrants in Finland and their left-behind elderly parents, see also the illustrative examples in Zechner (2008: 36 f.).
18. Such support may be provided by members of the core (or wider) family living in Turkey or by paid caregivers. (On the situation in Latin America, see Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997: 559.)
19. On the emotional consequences of the absence of mothers in transnational families, see Parreñas (2001).
20. This is reflected in the term 'portability of care' (Baldassar and Merla 2014a: 25).
21. On the impact of information and communication technologies on family relationships see, in particular, Baldassar et al. (2016).
22. This aspect is emphasized by Loretta Baldassar and Cora V. Baldock with regard to migrants in Australia who provide care to their left-behind elderly parents. 'Not being in close proximity, they cared about, rather than cared for, their parents', which leads to 'intimacy at a distance' (Baldassar and Baldock 2000: 83).

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8

Intimacies of Power in the Circulation of Care: Making Gender Across Generations. Transnational Andean Families in Quito and Madrid

Grégory Dallemagne

Introduction

This chapter examines how different axes of inequality[1]—gender, generation, class, and ethnicity—operate in the circulation of care in transnational Andean families in Spain and Ecuador. 'Circulation of care' serves here as a framework for analysing women's agency in the transformation of gender norms over time within an extended family originally from a village north of Quito (Ecuador), with members living in Madrid (Spain). The study focuses on the effect of intergenerational and sibling dynamics upon the organization of social relations within transnational families, specifically on intergenerational cooperation, power relations, and their influence on managing care and the intimate at a distance. It uses a longitudinal approach to understand how these transformations participate in forms of social knowledge and practices, always embedded in specific

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'conditions of possibility' (Foucault 1976). This chapter does not seek to answer the question of what causes gender norms to shift, but rather looks at how a combination of circumstances may give rise to changes in gendered discourses and practices.

These reflections derive from a multi-sited ethnographic study[2] conducted between Madrid and Quito using qualitative data collection techniques including participant-observation and interviews to analyse the migration of families from a peri-urban Ecuadorian indigenous community. As I will show in the personal histories, ethnic relationships and the proximity of Quito have historically been crucial to the gender and generational norms at play in this community. This dynamic renders ethnic identities important factors in social interaction on a transnational scale. Social remittances in South-North migrations may also have a twofold role in reshaping intimate relationships in transnational family and ethnic networks. This case study sheds light on the dynamics of family reunification, the main strategy for Ecuadorian migration to Spain over the last two decades (Herrera et al. 2005), and the reorganization of family commitments it entails.

First, I provide a short description of Ecuadorian migration to Spain and a review of the literature on gender and ethnicity in migration contexts, specifically in the Andes, followed by a brief discussion of methodology. I then present the personal histories of two generations of extended transnational family members, from which I derive a genealogy of social changes. I go on to discuss a conflict that arose within the family regarding responsibilities for physical care and the unequal circulation of care within the family in a context of reorganization across national borders. Throughout, my analysis focuses upon how ethnic boundaries are mobilized in the negotiation of power within intimate relationships at a distance. The final section addresses the circulation of care and its influence on power dynamics within transnational families, and consequently on women's agency, and how this impacts the transformation of gender norms across generations.

International Migration and Patriarchal Structures

In the most recent wave of Ecuadorian migration, most migrants have headed to Europe, especially Spain, but also Italy and, to a lesser extent, other countries like England, Belgium, or Switzerland. This trend was due to networks established in Spain and Italy during the 1980s and 1990s, as well as to the demand for labour in Spain (mostly informal care work but also jobs in the construction sector). It is important to note that, unlike earlier migrations in which men usually migrated alone, in this wave of migration women were often the initiators of the process, and family reunification was the principal strategy afterwards (Herrera et al. 2005).

Spain entered a recession in 2007, coinciding with the beginning of the international financial crisis. Political decisions made by the Spanish Government added to the recession's impact upon the population, especially upon migrants; many families could not cover their mortgages and lost their residential investments. In 2010 there were 484,623 persons born in Ecuador officially residing in Spain; 2016 data put this number at about 410,517 (INE 2016). Some returned to Ecuador, others migrated to third countries. Many families are still struggling to maintain their financial, social, and emotional investments in Spain. Today, almost every family in Ecuador has members living abroad, mostly in Spain, and 'transnational family organization' is part of daily life for the majority of Ecuadorians.

Gender is a key element in the identity and organization of transnational families. Not only does it form a groundwork for the circulation of care by organizing the duties and responsibilities of each member according to a sexual division of labour and controlling women's mobility and sexual behaviour, it also impacts cultural aspects of group identity and constitutes a lifeline to the home country (Espiritu 2001). As feminist scholars have shown, migration can exacerbate the burden upon women to preserve collective national and/or ethnic identities (Anthias 2000; Echevarría Vecino 2012). If participation in family and ethnic networks provides emotional and material support, it also has its constraints,

especially for women (Zontini 2010). Strong affective bonds oblige individuals to take into account the feelings of other family members when making decisions, such that gender transformations become a negotiation: 'Individuals are involved in negotiating ties and responsibilities rather than simply breaking away from difficult relationships' (Zontini 2010: 823).

Power relationships within the family have been analysed by many feminist scholars (Anthias 2001; Zontini 2010; Gregorio and Gonzálvez 2012, among others). In the Andean context, Van Vleet (2008) and de la Cadena (1991) have demonstrated how different axes of inequality are articulated in the relationship between *nuera* (daughter-in-law) and *suegra* (mother-in-law). In this dyad, class, gender, generation, and affinity are used to negotiate the power relationship between the two relatives, often invoking markers of ethnic identity. These authors have shown the complex implications of virilocal residential patterns for gendered generational hierarchies between women. Local patriarchal structures lend power to the *suegra* when she manages to subordinate her *nuera*: this enables the family to exploit the work of the *nuera* and, at a more symbolic level, to maintain its honour by controlling the *nuera*'s behaviour (de la Cadena 1991; Van Vleet 2008).

For Andean *nueras*, as for many women from other regions, migration has proved an important ploy in restructuring gendered asymmetries. Migration can distance them from positions of subordination and make them 'heads of household' (Oso Casas 2000). Nevertheless, symbolic structures of domination, like the notion that migrant women 'abandon' their children (Pedone 2008), have emerged alongside migration processes, exacerbating controls on women's mobility and sexuality (Echevarría 2012; Espiritu 2001; Gregorio and Gonzálvez 2012). We should, therefore, not assume that migration necessarily leads to emancipation from patriarchal structures, but rather analyse the interaction between gender and migration as a complex and multidimensional process.

The present feminization of migration has to do with to a specific historical moment in capitalism's crisis of care. While migration opens possibilities for change in gender relationships by restructuring gender asymmetries, the characteristics of this transformation cannot be

predicted (Parella Rubio 2012). Gender and the feminization of migration have recently become prominent topics of study (Mahler and Pessar 2006). Focusing initially on mother-child and conjugal relationships, and using the 'global care chain' as the main framework of analysis, these studies have highlighted global inequalities based on class, race, ethnicity, and gender, but have failed to account for the complexity of processes within transnational families (Baldassar and Merla 2014, p. 27).

Newer research on transnational families has proposed an important shift in how care is conceptualized. Its core definition has been enlarged to include multidimensional forms of support—practical, personal, physical, emotional, moral, financial—and care is increasingly understood as multidirectional, that is, it does not only move from South to North as the care chain concept suggests. Moreover, these conceptualizations recognize care carried out by a multiplicity of actors, including elders and children. The scope of analysis has broadened from nuclear family to extended family, and has been re-evaluated in light of the subjective importance of presence and new analyses of virtual practices. The circulation of care can be defined as the 'reciprocal, multidirectional and asymmetrical exchange of care that fluctuates over time within transnational family networks subject to the political, economic, cultural and social contexts of both sending and receiving societies' (Baldassar and Merla 2014: 25).

The main purpose of this chapter will be to render visible the influence of the circulation of care on the balance of forces within intimate relationships at a distance, and what this means for women's agency in the transformation of patriarchal structures in transnational families.

Gendered Ethnicities: An Ethnographic and Life-Story Analysis

Between February 2011 and December 2013, I conducted 3 years of intense multi-sited ethnography between Madrid and Quito among transnational families from the village of Jatun Pamba, a rural (peri-urban) community northeast of Quito. I carried out 40 interviews with

members of different generations of these families, ranging from teenagers to elderly people, living in Spain or in Ecuador.[3]

The study of power within intimate relationships is particularly complicated because it involves numerous axes that subjects themselves cannot always identify in their own discourses: social categories like gender or ethnicity are naturalized in the process of legitimating the exercise of power (Anthias 2001). My research gave priority to ethnographic encounters as a way of observing the daily experiences of gender within family and ethnic networks. Working inductively, I represented social interactions as openly as possible in my field notes and provided ample space for the subjects' interpretation of their own practices. The ethnographic work relied heavily on participant observation in community activities in Madrid organized by Jatun Pamba families: principally sporting and cultural events, family religious events (marriages, baptisms, etc.) and other family reunions. I also participated in the daily lives of families in Madrid and in Ecuador.

In order to understand the 'conditions of possibility' for gender transformations I analysed details of social changes over time using data collected through in-depth interviews. Designed as life-stories, these interviews enabled me to reassemble migrant trajectories, and build genograms of 10 extended families, including 700 people from Jatun Pamba. This revealed that certain transformations of kinship had been central to the evolution of women's agency on gender norms. Through the genograms, I identified kinship patterns such as marriages and endogamy, post-marital residences, family alliances, and family property divisions. This enabled me to analyse family strategies of reproduction over four generations, covering a period of nearly 80 years. The concept of social reproduction enables one to look at the circulation of care in relation to political economy, and understand that the choices made by members of transnational families are made under circumstances (such as the development of economies in the Andean region) that affect how value is attributed to different kinds of social capital. Social capital associated with the city of Quito, for example, confronts and mixes with social capital attained inside the village. These values are intimately related to ethnic and gender identities: for example, social capital derived from

contact with Quito is associated with a *mestizo* identity and can influence the hierarchical relationships between two indigenous women.

In many of the life-stories of individuals from Jatun Pamba, ethnic boundaries are invoked in specific relations of power. I centre my analysis on when these boundaries become manifest and what effects they produce on gender. In other words, how ethnicity is instrumentalized within power relationships, and how it is used to influence gender norms, in one way or in another, by influencing the organization of intimate relationships and the circulation of care in transnational families. The next section uses the history of Eleonora's family to illustrate this.

Across Generations in an Andean Transnational Family

Eleonora was born in the 1940s to a poor family (Fig. 8.1) from the lowlands of Jatun Pamba, 15 km from the centre of Quito. When she was 10, her mother died. Eleonora and her two younger sisters had to leave school and go work as domestic servants in Quito, at the house of their father's *compadre*, a *mestizo*. The three girls, Eleonora, Inés, and Silvia were very close. Eleonora met Mario at the house where she worked; he was the gardener. When they married, Eleonora and Mario went to live with Mario's parents in a village 30 km north of Quito. She recounts how she suffered there, working the land, taking care of the animals, cleaning the house, and cooking, all under the harsh discipline of her *suegra*. She did not know anything about life in the countryside, she says, and her *suegra* used to call her *karishina* ('like a man' in Kichwa), a term used to insult women that do not do housework properly. Eleanora complained so insistently to her father that he 'rescued' her, she says, and the couple went to live with him. The agreement was that the father would ask his *compadre* to take back Eleonora and Mario as domestic workers.

A few years later, with the financial and moral support of Eleonora's father, the couple bought a piece of land in front of her father's property, built a house, and raised their three daughters and three sons there. At that time, virilocal residence was the expectation in the region, and

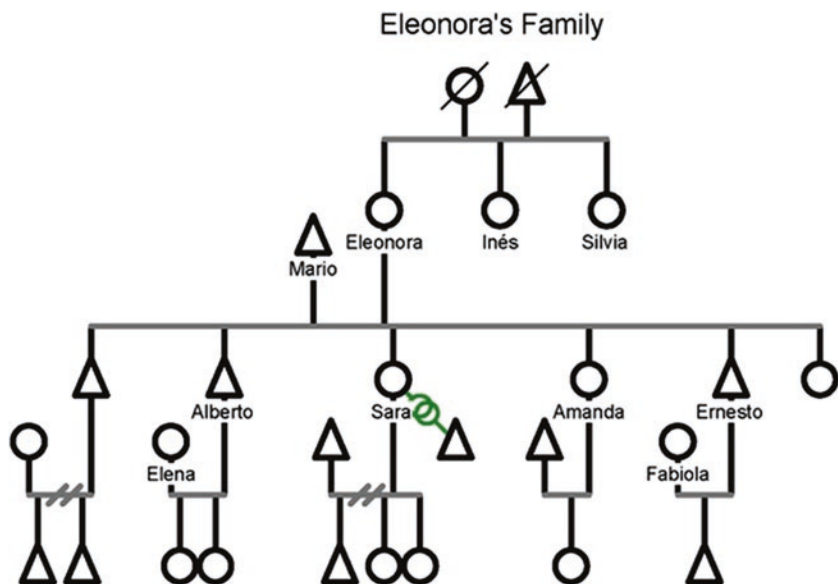

Fig. 8.1 Genogram of Eleonora's family

uxorilocal residence was only accepted under certain circumstances, specifically when the family of the bride had contacts in Quito. This is a symbolic element that regulates the alliance between two families, but this social capital also has a material dimension: in this case, Eleanora's father could find a job for both Eleonora and Mario.

Symbolically, the relationship Eleonora maintained with the city since her childhood endowed her with an 'urban' ethnic identity, something she used to negotiate a certain position in relation to her *suegra*. She was not a country girl, she recalls, and would certainly not permit her *suegra* to beat her. She had the opportunity to build her house next to her father's place and own her own piece of land: she did not have to work for her *suegra*, and could therefore earn her own money and invest in land.

To Eleanora's chagrin, she had to marry her 17-year-old daughter to her partner, in accord with the local tradition of marrying young lovers. Her daughter, Sara, was forced to go live with her husband's family, which was wealthier than her own family. A few years later, Sara was publicly beaten by her husband and Eleanora could not 'rescue' her as she herself

had been rescued. She started to fear the same might happen to her second daughter, Amanda, aged 14. A few years before, in 1975, Eleanora's sister Inés had left the country with a German family she had worked for in Quito, and she was now living in Madrid. Eleonora called her sister to ask her to take care of Amanda. As she recalls:

> All my children got married very young. [...] So ... since the others got married and so ... my idea was that the others might be something in life, that they not suffer. The idea ... since my sister Inés migrated, after she migrated she took my daughter Amanda, she was only 14. I took from her the love of her mother. I did not send her away because I didn't want her with me, no! I sent her so she could be another person, you know ... Prepared. That way she could have something we are not. (Interviewed in Jatun Pamba, July 2012)

Amanda thus became the second woman to leave the village and go to Spain, where she worked for a wealthy family living in North Madrid. Throughout the 1980s Amanda and Inés helped people from Jatun Pamba find jobs as domestic workers in Spain. The money Amanda sent back did not directly pay for her brothers, Ernesto and Alberto, to study, but it helped the family enough that her brothers did not have to leave school to work. Alberto went on to study engineering.

In the late 1980s Spain entered the European Economic Community and its economy boomed. Pay was relatively good for domestic workers, and the rate of exchange between Spanish *pesetas* and Ecuadorian *sucre* was extremely favourable for migrants. Eleonora proposed that Amanda build a house right next to her own; a couple of years later they decided to buy a new piece of land together so Ernesto and Alberto could build a small shelter to raise pigs. In the early 1990s, Amanda helped her brother Ernesto and his wife Fabiola migrate to Madrid and find jobs as domestic workers. Alberto, now married to Elena, stayed in Jatun Pamba, and started to live in Amanda's newly built house. Meanwhile Amanda met her husband and they bought a small apartment 30 km outside Madrid.

In 1998, Ecuador entered the socio-economic and political crisis that led to the dollarization of its currency. In the 3 years that followed, a readjustment of the family occurred: Alberto and Elena decided to

migrate to Madrid because they could not make a living in Ecuador, leaving their two children with Eleonora for a few months. Then Eleonora followed, taking the kids with her. Mario eventually migrated as well, a few years after. At the same time, Ernesto and Fabiola, who had built a house in Jatun Pamba on Fabiola's family property, returned to the village. In Jatun Pamba, Sara had started to work with her aunt, Silvia, who had a prosperous chicken business that survived the crisis.

In Spain, after a few months as domestic worker, Alberto found a job as an engineer and he and Elena managed to rent an apartment in Madrid where they lived with their kids and with Alberto's parents. When I met them, almost 10 years later, they had just bought two apartments in the same building: Eleonora and Mario were living on the second floor, Alberto, Elena and the children on the third.

Ethnic Boundaries on a Transnational Scale

In the summer of 2012 I accompanied the Madrid-based members of the family on their two-month holiday to Ecuador. One morning over breakfast Elena and Fabiola began to speak about a conflict with their sisters-in-law over the physical care of Eleonora, their mother-in-law. Elena explained that she was taking care of Eleonora in Spain since they live in the same building. Now, during the summer holiday, Fabiola was hosting Eleonora and Mario during their stay in Jatun Pamba. They said neither Sara (in Ecuador) nor Amanda (in Spain) were assuming any responsibilities for their mother's care. Moreover, Eleonora had decided to give the family's best piece of land to Sara because she recently had divorced her husband and needed a place to build a new house. Fabiola mentioned that since Sara had a new boyfriend she was not taking good care of her adolescent daughter, who was staying several nights a week at Fabiola's place. Elena said that Sara should not have a new boyfriend: in the village when you get divorced you should devote yourself to the care of your children. Elena said Amanda was giving moral support to her sister, and Fabiola and Elena agreed that Amanda's position was the result of having lived in Spain too long. 'Now she is too liberal' they told me.

The first notable element in this conversation is the relationship between the sisters-in-law and the conflict over responsibilities for physical care. The two women judge their sisters-in-law through the prism of village gender norms. But the relationship between the sisters-in-law also serves to mirror the positions of brothers and sisters in this family, their rights and obligations to care and to receive care. As a resource, care is 'unevenly distributed within families subject to cultural notions of gender and identity roles' (Baldassar and Merla 2014: 8), determining the type and the volume of resources each member receives and is able to mobilize.

In the Andes, as in many other parts of the world, women have historically borne responsibility for most physical and emotional caring, and their education was not a family priority. Men received more social and economic support from their families, while at the same time they had fewer physical care duties and therefore more time to study, travel, and make contacts outside the family circle. In this conversation, however, we witness a somewhat different picture. The husbands of Fabiola and Elena have not received any land from Eleonora, while both Sara and Amanda have. At the same time, Sara and Amanda have fewer responsibilities for physical caring, and receive emotional support from their mother: it is well established in the family that Amanda and Sara are Eleonora's 'favourites', a preference Eleonora defends by saying that they were forced to leave the house when they were adolescents and 'they lost their mom's care' too young.

Eleonora legitimates this transformation of gender roles through a discourse of equal distribution of resources within the family: if Sara and Amanda are receiving more economic and emotional support at this moment, it is because—according to Eleanora—20 years ago the boys of the family received their part. Alberto received help from his mother to study engineering in Quito while the rest of the family was obliged to cut expenses on food. Ernesto received money from his mother in the early 1990s in order to migrate to Spain. For Eleonora, the love and financial support she gives to her daughters now is to compensate for not having been able to give them much before.

Nevertheless, the unequal division of the family property and the corresponding transformation of gender norms generates a situation of

conflict. Negotiation is necessary if Sara and Amanda do not want to be regarded as *huairapamushkas* ('daughters/sons of the wind' in Kichwa) a term used to insult those who do not respect social norms. What the sisters-in-law (Fabiola and Elena) highlight in this negotiation is an ethnic identity. For them, the problem is the 'too liberal' identity of their sisters-in-law. The two women associate 'liberal' with 'European/Spanish women in Madrid' but also with '*mestizo* women of Quito' who have historically dominated and despised indigenous women. In the specific negotiation of gender roles taking place in the Andes, power relationships are articulated through ethnicity, social class, and generation (de la Cadena 1991; Van Vleet 2008).

In Foucauldian terms, power relations can be understood as a series of actions that take place in the midst of an interplay between forces (Foucault 1976: 124). They depend on each situation, on each actor present or recalled in a particular conversation. This does not mean they are 'volatile'; they are based on previous structures, on historical events, on political economy, on the formulation of laws, and on social hegemonies, all of which orient present situations (Foucault 1976: 122). Ethnicity is one such field of forces in relation. Ethnicity is used here in the sense of boundaries that are constructed socially, under concrete circumstances, depending on the actors at play in a given interaction (Barth 1969). It may be exploited in order to influence discourses, decisions, values, and behaviours, and ultimately to orient how care circulates in transnational families.

In the conversation cited above, the two sisters-in-law deal with symbolic and material elements of the local patriarchal structure closely related to the construction of ethnic boundaries. When they talk about the inadequacy of Sara's behaviour, they invoke a local norm: a divorced mother or a widow is expected to devote herself to raising her children, a norm that legitimates practices of control over women's bodies and sexuality. Having a boyfriend after divorce is considered by the two women 'too liberal' and related, for them, to changes in the organization of family and of women's sexuality in Quito and in Spain.

If some structures of patriarchal domination tended to disappear during the second half of the twentieth century in Jatun Pamba, others proved harder to transform. Migration does not seem to have been either

the origin or always the driving force of these transformations. In Amanda's case, and in many other cases, migration was a strike against a structure already in flux since before the 1980s, the material foundation of patriarchal domination in the Andes: the exploitation of the work of *nueras*. This transformation is in part related to regional and global political economic transformations under way since the 1950s, leading to the devaluation of the rural world and a diversification of accumulation strategies by rural families impelled by globalization (García 2014: 76). It is also related to the arrival of a Protestant mission in the area in the 1950s, as well as projects by European and North American NGOs in the 1970s and 1980s working towards the economic and social emancipation of women, mainly through the inclusion of women in the education system since the 1960s in the village (Suárez Navaz et al. 2006).

In the present migration of Andean families, the fact that women sell their labour in a market economy is now generally accepted, but new forms of patriarchal domination have appeared alongside the migration processes, exacerbating controls on women's mobility and sexuality (Gregorio and Gonzálvez 2012). Ethnic social capital obtained through membership in ethnic networks has recently been conceptualized as a two-sided coin with positive and negative consequences, in which gender and generation are important axes for participation. While the support provided by these networks can be extremely helpful, it can also be an instrument of control used to shape behaviour (Zontini 2010). Pressure exerted by the transnational community can lead to the instrumentalization of culture, ethnic identities, and gender norms when ethnic minorities confront discrimination in the country of destination (Espiritu 2001). As a result, gender prescriptions can become stricter than in the country of origin (Echevarría 2012).

Amanda, who suffers constant control of her mobility by other migrants from Jatun Pamba in Spain, was especially sensitive to the situation of her sister. Sara did not attend most of the family events that summer because her boyfriend was not invited. People in the family publicly criticized her new relationship. The judgement of her behaviour by her sisters-in-law and other family members could have concrete material consequences. Where would she live without the help of her mother? Would she be able to keep her material independence?

On my last visit to the village, in June 2016, Sara was living with her kids and her new boyfriend in a new house built on her mother's land. The moral support Sara received from both her sister and her mother as well as the economic help from her aunt Silvia—who gave her the money for the new house—and of her mother—who gave her the piece of land—had helped her to maintain material independence.

Intimacies of Power and the Circulation of Care

Eleonora's family story illustrates practices of 'circulation of care', conceptualized as the multidirectional, reciprocal, and asymmetrical exchange of care in transnational families. In Eleonora's family we see that care, like moral and financial support, is multidirectional and involves multiple actors (between siblings when Amanda helps her brothers to migrate for example, but also across generations when Eleonora decides to support Sara through her divorce); it also appears to go beyond the nuclear family, meaning the scope of analysis has to include members of the extended family (sometimes in-laws). Most importantly, the case study shows how individuals are entangled within power relations in which ethnicity plays a role both constraining their practices and enabling negotiations and transgressions in which their agency is crucial. Over two generations, we see how the rights and responsibilities of each family member are influenced by the place that person occupies in the family and village, but also by the history of relations, how a series of resources are allocated and what capacity each member has to mobilize resources in the circulation of care.

The power to transform, for example to shift norms, arises from a particular disposition of forces in power relationships, like the social capital Eleonora's father could mobilize when she got married. The opportunity Eleanora had to change the pattern of residence and avoid working for her *suegra* arose partly thanks to transformations in the regional political economy of Quito, influencing the ethnic relationships between particular individuals (i.e. *suegras* and *nueras*) thus facilitating symbolic and material transformations around gender and generation.

Here ethnic relationships, conceptualized as relations of power that use different boundaries as marks of difference (like workplace or moral positions on divorce), can influence the balance of forces one way or another. Playing with the ethnic identities ascribed to them through the participation in different ethnic networks allows women to influence the circulation of care and thereby gain better positions within their families. Nonetheless women have to face the limits of what it means to 'be a woman of Jatun Pamba' if they don't want to be called *huairapamushkas* and lose important resources necessary for their agency. At the same time, they can negotiate a transformation of gendered roles and ultimately influence practices of transmission and descent. Eleanora's decision to give preference to her daughters influences the discourse on what is right to do, on what is possible. This 'condition of possibility' enables some women to gain a better position in their families, sometimes at the expense of other women (in the story of Eleonora's family, no men assume responsibility for physical care: the *nueras* continue to take up the slack). A next step would be to evaluate if these transformations can actually alter profoundly the patriarchal structures.

Acknowledgement I would like to thank the people of Jatun Pamba, without whom my research would not have been possible, for sharing their experiences with me and accepting me as a (somehow peculiar) member of their families. I also want to thank the people who have read previous versions of this chapter, Maya Paltineau, Sarah Smit, Rupert Small, Maggie Schmitt, and the editors of this book for their numerous comments.

Notes

1. Each of these axes divides the social subjects and situates them in different categories and social positions. As Anthias (and other feminist scholars, see for example Ortner 2001) explains, these axes are important elements of social stratification because they determine the allocation of socially valued resources and social locations (Anthias 2001: 368).
2. This research is based upon qualitative data drawn from ethnographic work done towards my doctoral thesis in Social Anthropology thanks to a PhD scholarship of the Autonomous University of Madrid.

3. My analysis is influenced by a research project on return migration, directed by Gioconda Herrera and Cristina Vega, in which I participated in 2013. Based on 30 interviews with different members of families of Jatun Pamba in Madrid and in Quito, the project focused on personal and family trajectories of migration and gender differences in the mobility strategies.

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9

'And They Shall Be One Flesh…': Gender Convergence of Family Roles in Transnational Families of Ukrainian Migrant Women

Alissa Tolstokorova

Introduction

This chapter aims to show the impact of labour migration on the transformations of gender role models in transnational families of Ukrainian migrant women. This category of families emerged due to the pressures of the post-socialist transition towards a free market economy, which encouraged great numbers of Ukrainians to work abroad. In the early 1990s, migratory flows from Ukraine were composed mainly of males. In the late 1990s, a wave of female outmigration started, thus giving rise to a new phenomenon of transnational mothering and fathering by men left behind.

Transnational family is defined here as a *modernized model* of kinship relationship generated by transnational migration and global network society and drawing on the 'imagined community' of its mobile members sustained by means of a cross-border relationship of migrant workers with family members left behind and performed via household

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management, service of family roles, and parental obligations at a distance (Tolstokorova 2016).

The analysis in this chapter is designed in the following format: first I focus on the conceptual framework and methodology of the research. Then I look at the effect of transnationalism on the dynamics of female gender role models and then trace the transformations of family functions among men left behind leading to their 'regenderization'.[1] In the final remarks I focus on the comparison of these binary[2] transformations thus confirming my hypothesis about the convergence of family roles in transnational families of Ukrainian migrant women.

Conceptual Framework of the Research

The chapter departs from the observation that women's migration spurs the reconfiguration of gendered division of labour in transnational families (Parreňas 2005b). To trace these changes the chapter looks at families of Ukrainian migrant women through the lens of a gender convergence theory which contends that over the last 40 years, cross-national trends in paid and unpaid work time reveal a slow and incomplete convergence of women's and men's work patterns. These trends indicate a 70–80 year process of gender convergence, with the year 2010 representing an approximate midpoint (Kan et al. 2011). The gender convergence theory has been used to understand time use in families where the members live and work in one country but has not yet been applied to a transnational family context.

The results of the above study showed that gender segregation in domestic work is quite persistent over time and women still do the bulk of routine housework and caring for family members while men have increased their contributions disproportionately to non-routine domestic work, suggesting that gender ideologies and the associated 'doing' of gender in interaction remain important in the division of domestic labour.

This stance resonates well with the evolutionary theory of sexual competition or a general rape hypothesis. It contends that biologically males are required to make a minimum parental investment, which is trivial as compared to that of females who must invest at least all their time and energy required for pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding (Thornhill

and Palmer 2000). Being elucidated in social terms, this theory explains a misbalance in parental and familial involvement between the sexes. This approach has never been applied to transnational families, where the key actors have to manage their households across borders. This is why the current research is of significant importance as its main goal is to apply, departing from the theory of sexual competition, the gender convergence theory to foreground the parental roles transformations in transnational families, using families of Ukrainian labour migrants as the case in point.

The approach to transnational parenthood that includes both mothers and fathers has emerged in response to the observation that 'many scholars write that they are studying "gender", yet examine only women' (Mahler and Pessar 2006: 50). This is an unwarranted neglect given that transnational motherhood and fatherhood are distinct phenomena (Carlin et al. 2012: 192). Departing from this conceptual framework, the chapter offers a new approach to the study of transnational parenthood, thus generating a ground-breaking and previously unavailable binary understanding of gender role transformations in transnational families.

Drawing on this approach, the chapter argues that migrancy[3] and transnationalism spur a process of *gender convergence of family roles* in migrants' families towards the homogenization of their performance by both migrant women and husbands left behind. In mother-away families, foreign employment of women intertwined with cross-border caring leads to the *doubling of their family obligations* given that they bear the double burden of both female and male family duties: their assumption of tradition male function of sole breadwinning is accompanied by *intensification of motherhood*. This entails the *masculinization of female family roles*. Meanwhile, fathers left behind may assume responsibilities of 'househusbands' (Parreňas 2005a: 331) caring for family and children, sometimes even for children of their wives born abroad (see Tolstokorova 2014) which leads to *feminization of their family roles* accompanied by 'devaluation of their masculinity status' (Tolstokorova 2016).

Hence, the *general hypothesis* of this chapter is that the process of gender role convergence in families of Ukrainian migrant women shows up itself by way of 'regenderization',[4] that is, through the reversal of gender role models of women and men leading to a lower gender specification of transnationals' parental duties.

Research Sample and Methodology of the Study

This chapter draws on a mixed-method approach to the study of gendered facets of migrancy and transnationalism. The desk work covered the analysis of secondary theoretical sources and a media overview. A multi-sited field research was carried out in urban areas of Ukraine highly affected by labour migration: Kherson, Kirovograd, Lviv, and Ternopil oblasts (counties) and in the cities of Kyiv and Lviv. It comprised a non-participant observation, semi-formal interviews and two focus group discussions with returnee migrants and members of their transnational families. The group of responders included 31 Ukrainian females and 12 males of various age groups. The interviewing process started with existing contacts with migrants and their families and in many cases there followed a snowball sampling method whereby new respondents were contacted through preceding informants. Occasional meetings in various social contexts with migrants or members of their social networks were also welcome, for instance, in embassy lines, on board of a plane, at airports lounges, or in shuttle buses during the author's international travels. The names of responders were changed to maintain the privacy of migrants. Non-participant observation covered informal conversations with members of migrants' social networks: civil servants and social workers responsible for migrant families, school administrators, businessmen, and other members of local communities with high share of migrant population.

In-depth expert interviews and two focus group discussions were conducted in 2008 in Kyiv and Lviv. They covered 25 experts including NGO activists, journalists, researchers at research institutions and think-tanks, policy-makers at ministries, municipalities, employment centres, embassies, and representatives of international organizations, like IOM, Amnesty International, and so on.

Data Analysis and Theoretization

'La donna è mobile': The Effect of Migrancy and Transnationalism on Female Gender Role Models in the Family

The above name of a famous aria from Verdi's opera 'Rigoletto' (1851) is usually translated from Italian as 'woman is fickle'. In Verdi's age, it was conceived in terms of women's emotional dynamics. In the age of global migration, I suggest, it should be understood literally as spatio-geographic mobility of modern women and the dynamics of their family roles. In the 'age of feminization of migration' (Lazaridis 2007: 229) the concepts of womanhood and motherhood are being redefined by the global care economy and global care chains in terms of their commodification. This process implies that migrant women are driven to leave their own children to provide paid care to off-spring of other women in wealthier states, for whom juggling job and family life becomes increasingly difficult as they can no longer rely on intergenerational care chains. It has been argued that when women go to work abroad 'they are entering not only another country, but also a radical, gender-transformative odyssey' (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007: 25). Thus, Parreňas contends that transnational mothering seems to force the rearrangement of gender because it not only removes mothers from the confines of the home but also redefines traditional mothering, historically defined as nurturing children in close proximity (2005b). This resonates well with a remark of a Ukrainian migration expert on a changing gender ideology of motherhood among migrant women:

> Now, she can live abroad where she sees quite a different attitude to herself. This is why she does not want to go back to the same situation at home. It is an empowering effect, you see. [...] Because she does not want to go back to conditions where she was powerless [...]. Upon coming back home she will teach her child that it is impossible to live by old standards. She will not want her daughter to be treated the same way that her husband treated herself.

Migrant mothers' physical absence from their families does not lead to the abandonment of their care-giving responsibilities, but rather spurs their rearrangement or even reinforcement (Parreňas 2005a). Transnationalism may necessitate the construction of new spatial strategies of cross-border caring and family management, thus driving women to juggle physical absence with social presence, participation, care, and guidance across distance. But as a result of their absence from home, migrant women may suffer from 'parental guilt' (Wall and Arnold 2007) to their children:

> I have two children. Above all, I am a mother. I feel guilty to them, because I can't give them even what my parents gave to me. (Katya, a baby-sitter in Moscow)

As a compensatory mechanism against this feeling of guilt women resort to a strategy of 'intensive mothering' (Hays 1996), pouring their love on children left behind through remittances and presents, frequent SMS and e-mail messages, letters and telephone calls, visits to home, and so on. For one, this strategy confirms the 'paradox of transnationalization and globalization of motherhood' highlighted by Parreňas (2005b: 92–119) who showed that while contesting a male-breadwinner myth, migrant women reinforce the myth of a woman-homemaker. For the other, the phenomenon of *intensification of transnational motherhood* results from the growing role of modern transportation and communication technologies in cross-border parenting that enable the increase in the *quantity* of cross-border contacts. Hence, it may be regarded as a *quantitative dimension of regenderization* of women's family roles.

The results of my field research showed that regenderization can also have a *qualitative dimension* affecting changes in women's gender standards and ethics. This echoes the sentiment that social remittances of migrants include changes of traditional norms, particularly transformations of gender role models (Fargues 2006). Thus, it has been argued that it is hard for migrant women to abide to traditional gender roles and sustain strong familial relationships vis-à-vis the dismantling or reconstitution of conventional gender role models (Markov 2009: 127). This was intimated by experts of a women's NGO:

> Women who come from there, they have their mentality changed. It does make an impact. Most of them come back as not very rich, but their attitude to life changes. They manage to survive even in the situation which seem to be hopeless, they want to feel [themselves as] free people when they come back. (Tolstokorova 2010: 202)

This interview suggests that women's first-hand experience of a more egalitarian gender order in hosting Western democracies, in addition to the awareness of their leading financial role in the family due to earnings made abroad, entails the increment of their personal gender standards. This enables me to argue for the progressive effect of women's migratory experience that consist in the acquisition of 'gender equality dividends of migration' (Tolstokorova 2013a: 182–186). This observation resonates well with research findings by Peleah (2007) testifying that post-soviet women who have the experience of work abroad are more self-confident and have a higher self-esteem. They seem less willing to tolerate the abuse by their partners and instead are more likely to insist that abusive partners change their behaviour. If not, they divorce and try to rebuild their lives.

Paradoxically, although remittances enable migrant women to acquire more financial freedom and self-reliance, they entail neither more fiscal democracy, nor more gender equality in Ukrainian transnational families (Tolstokorova 2010). The role of family providers accompanied by intensified cross-border care-giving increases the double burden of 'transnational supermoms' (Tolstokorova 2013b, p. 154) but does not necessarily lead to higher power status in the family:

> Those who come back and reunite with the family are still not so much empowered. They return in a less empowered position than they had had before. On the other hand, many women who come back, they don't get to the same position, because they also changed and they don't want to return to the same position they had had before. (Expert of a women's NGO) (Tolstokorova 2014: 70)

The function of sole breadwinning renders migrant mothers more bound by financial obligations to their children and their minders at home. Meanwhile, the husbands staying behind may shrink or even

escape their financial contribution into the joint family budget. That is, they benefit by financial leadership of their migrant wives by decreasing the significance of their traditional male family role. Varvara, whose son works in Russia, intimated:

> Here, in small towns in the South of Ukraine, around 40 per cent of men live on remittances of their migrant wives and take care of the household. In the West of Ukraine their share is even higher, probably over 50 per cent and as my sister lives in Moldova and I know that there such men make no less than 70 per cent of the total male population.

What is more, female returnees confronting the resistance to the transformations of their new gender egalitarian standards, because their kin at home conceive these changes as *a form of cultural aggression.* As a result, women have either to revert to the traditional gender contract in the family if they want to preserve their marriage, or to resign themselves to its dissolution if they are unwilling to readjust to traditional gender roles. This aligns with the argument that migration exacerbates tensions that women have to resolve by conforming to strict gender norms (Bastia and Busse 2011) and confirms Parreñas's finding (2005b) that migrant women's reconstitution of mothering does not initiate a drastic shift in gender practices in the family. Women's migration instead adds to the household burdens of other women left behind at home. Hence, the social effect of regenderization appears to be salient for women given that their investments into transnationalism as family providers who bear the double burden of traditional female and male roles, do not accrue respective gender dividends.

Regenderization of Fatherhood in Mother-Away Transnational Families

Transnational paternity associated with globalization is a form of 'emergent fatherhood' (Inhorn et al. 2014: 9) spurred by the 'fatherhood revolution' (Fink 2016) that manifests itself in the unprecedented increase of time spent by men on childcare and housework. In addition, fatherhood is

becoming increasingly individualized since men, as Williams argues, are forced to confront change within the family, society, and the labour market that makes the performance of traditional fathering roles less likely (2008: 488). Migration is one more factor that serves to reorient and question common-sense and taken-for-granted gender roles and ideologies for both men and women as they work to fit their daily routines into the new rules and priorities of maintaining a transnational livelihood (Pribilsky 2007). As Gamburd (2000) shows, this may lead to the reconstitution of gender relations and the rearrangement of household labour in transnational families for the account of men's adoption of some women's household responsibilities, including child minding. A service worker in France, Anastasia, recalls:

> Our joint incomes were insufficient to maintain a family with two children, [so] I decided it's me who had to leave. Now, I see that although I am away from home, my sons are taken care of well, and all my guys get along well with each other. (Tolstokorova 2014, p. 74)

Interviews showed that the emergence of cross-border kin relationships entails the *regenderization* of family functions among men left behind, making pressure on them to reconceptualize their masculinity status in order to fit the realities associated with the process of female outmigration. Thus, labour migration has spurred the process of 'housewifization' (Mies 1986) among husbands of migrant women. Being first applied to females, this concept designated the historical process of ousting women to the area of domesticity in homemaking and caring roles. Nowadays it is husbands of migrant wives who follow the track of 'housewifization' or rather 'househusbandization', thus confirming the Parreňas's definition of men left behind as 'househusbands'.

The redistribution of traditional gender roles in families of migrant women occurs even when husbands join their wives abroad (Brednikova and Tkach 2010: 83). This happens because women's overloading in conditions of migrancy requires the delegation of traditional roles of carers and household managers to their husbands who may even quit jobs to take care of children while their wives work outside home (George 2005; Ahmad 2008). In the absence of adequate child care men become 'both

mother and father' to their offspring (Ducu 2011: 24). This suggests that husbands of migrant women may accommodate well to their new roles of 'househusbands', thus testifying to LaRossa's 'modernization of fatherhood' stance (1997) by way of *feminization of men's paternity patterns*. This was intimated by informants:

> You see, I did not fear leaving my sons with my ex-husband, because I knew that although my man was not the best possible husband, he was a good dad and my boys loved and obeyed him. Now that I have a short annual vacation to go home, I am busy with present-hunting for my ex, to thank him for being a good father to our sons. (Anastasia, service sector worker in Monaco)

This aligns with the interview by Irina, a divorced mother of a toddler son:

> Before going there [for earnings to Poland] I left my boy with my mother. But it was hard for her to juggle care for the child and work. So, I had to come back home. But my income was insufficient to provide for the family, and I decided to go for earnings abroad again. Yet, this time I left my son to my ex-husband. Although he had a new family, by that time, he agreed to assume the responsibility for him. It 'untied my hands' and I could leave for work to Greece.

These interviews confirm the claim that emotional labour and sacrifice are not the exclusive domain of transnational mothers (Schmalzbauer 2015). Yet, although Ukrainian husbands left behind can assume women's roles as carers for home and children, they do not take them over completely. As elsewhere, they usually seek the help of extended family members mainly females, who help to fill the care deficit created by the mother's absence (Gamburd 2000). Even in the case of married women, rarely the husband is the only and/or principle caregiver of his children (Banfi and Boccagni 2011). Additionally, the reconstitution of gender role models in migrant women's transnational families occurs mainly while wives are away from home, and it is expected that after their return to Ukraine the traditional gender contract will be reaffirmed. This was exemplified by a focus group discussion with experts of a women's NGO:

> A man can take care of the children when a woman is away, but as soon as she is back from there, it's all the same. He says: 'You are a bad mother, you don't provide for the family any more, how can you take a leading position in the family?' So, the situation does not change in any way. It's probably just my personal observations, but this is how it happens.

This interview aligns with Schmalzbauer's argument (2015) that in their struggles to negotiate temporary transnational family life across vastly different contexts, fathers transgress certain gender norms while reinforcing others. Upon assuming the responsibilities of primary carers, husbands of migrant women lose their autonomy and patriarchal status and experience downshifting as they become either dependent on their wives, or secondary providers. This dependence goes beyond financial aspects to include a social dimension. Those who join their wives abroad may lose their sense of belonging and feel isolated as they have few opportunities for public participation and access to leadership positions. As George shows (2005: 40), husbands often find their life to be ordered around their wives' working schedules and their children's needs. Many feel bitter and disempowered by the limits of their dominance in the family and in society that permits women to oppose rigid forms of patriarchy. This process of *devaluation of their masculinity status* may have a psychologically 'demoralizing effect' on husbands (Ahmad 2008: 166).

Final Remarks: 'Will They Ride Together?'

As was shown, unlike the post-soviet urban family that confronts individualization of family roles (Golofast 2006), the Ukrainian transnational families struggles through a reverse tendency of *homogenization* of family roles. It is spurred by the process of *regenderization* in the direction towards *convergence of family functions* of both migrant mothers and fathers left behind, with the former being more affected than the latter. This aligns with Pribilsky's finding on families of migrant men (2007), showing that male migrants now in charge of their own domestic lives come to assume many traditionally female roles, while women left behind adopt the tasks once carried out by their husbands.

For transnational mothers, the effect of migrancy is multidimensional. First, it has a qualitative dimension given that migrant women bear the double burden of sole breadwinners and cross-border careers, which entails the *masculinization of their gender roles* in the family. Second, it has a quantitative dimension, leading to *the intensification of transnational motherhood* and to *qualitative evolution of women's gender mentality* through re-evaluation of their power status in the family and reconsideration of gender standards due to the experience acquired abroad which leads to 'the superwoman syndrome' (Schaevitz 1984).

For fathers left behind, staying at home may spur the changes in paternal behaviour in the direction towards its feminization by assuming traditional female roles of nurturers and child-carers. These changes have a short-term effect not extending beyond fathering practices of individual men. Neither do they entail tangible transformations in paternity culture in Ukraine at large. Fathers staying behind may share care responsibilities with their wives and practice active and positive fathering, thus confirming the claim that migration may facilitate gender cooperation (Pribilsky 2007). This family arrangement enables a sustainable care model in transnational families, where, for some time, the key actors may 'dance a parental duet in transnational family blues' (Tolstokorova 2014). When migrant women repatriate, however, their husbands revert to a traditional gender contract, where mothers are induced to 'sing solo' (Tolstokorova 2014) in homemaking again. They are expected to reassume caring duties and perform them alone. This concurs with Hoshchild's stance about a 'gender lag' in modern families (2003: 106), meaning that while women share with men the roles of breadwinning, most men are not ready to increase their care responsibilities respectively, and emotionally support this change in women less than women themselves do. From this, the specificity of gender roles convergence in Ukrainian transnational families is that although it takes place indeed since mothers and fathers 'ride the family carriage together' during women's work abroad, this joint ride is only a short-term venture that does not challenge the existing gender order in the family or in society at large. To achieve gender equity in their relationship, as Pribilsky (2007) argues, couples must work in tandem to learn to exist side by side in order to meet their goals of success in migration.

Notes

1. See the definition below.
2. A mode of thought predicated on stable oppositions (as male vs female, good vs evil, etc.).
3. I refer to 'migrancy' rather than 'migration' as I am more concerned with travels abroad as a continuous process, a condition rather than a one-time phenomenon.
4. I coined this term departing from the discourse on *genderization* and *degenderization* of gender roles, i.e. their reinforcement or elimination by existing policies (Saxonberg 2014). Across the context of labour migration, I understand regenderization as a gender reversal of traditional family functions by members of transnational families.

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10

Intergenerational Solidarity in Romanian Transnational Families

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Introduction

Romanians have a powerful sense of duty towards their family members, and different national surveys have revealed that they strongly rely on family support in the form of grandparents taking care of the grandchildren, of parents' financial help offered to their adult children, or even of parents' adaptation of their own life to help their children, when the latter need it. Similarly, (adult) children must take over the responsibility of taking care of their older parents when the situation requires it, or even take them into their homes when the latter can no longer take care of themselves.

In recent decades, Romania has faced massive emigration, being nowadays one of the most important Eastern European countries of origin. In the context of strongly relying on the family for ensuring the wellbeing of its members, we ask ourselves: what happens when the dyad of adult

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children–parents is put under stress as one of the members leaves the country?

Transnational families have been studied most often within the frameworks of migration rather than of family studies (Singh and Cabraal 2014). We approach the situation of left-behind elderly combining the solidarity paradigm (Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Bengtson 2001; Szydlik 2016), which has been guiding most of the research on the dyad of parents–adult children in the field of intergenerational relations, with a care-circulation approach (Baldassar and Merla 2014), developed in the field of transnational families.

The aim of this chapter is to find out how dimensions of intergenerational solidarity are restructured in the context of transnational families, given that parents and adult children live across national borders. We investigate whether associational, affectual, or functional forms of intergenerational solidarity persist in conditions of geographical distance and whether they are confined to direct provision with physical co-presence or are remodelled by their circulation across the family network. Our focus is on elderly parents left behind, a category that was only recently acknowledged as being part of the challenges of massive migration. Old age brings about a deterioration of health condition, an increased need for instrumental support, which may vary from help around the house to personal care, as well as a weakening of the capacity to undertake, independently, a series of daily activities, thus leading to an increase in the need for assistance.

The next section addresses the multidimensional character of intergenerational solidarity and the specific features of intergenerational care when parents and their adult children live across national borders, followed by the presentation of the qualitative methodology of semi-structured interviews. Results are presented, following the format of intergenerational support as identified by the solidarity paradigm and how they take place in the transnational families context. We end our paper by acknowledging that affectual solidarity is confined to direct provision, functional solidarity can additionally circulate across the family network, while associational solidarity becomes particularly important through its potential for other forms of intergenerational solidarity.

Theoretical Framework: Embedding the Solidarity Paradigm in a Transnational Context

The Romanian population has a consistent share of elderly persons (17 per cent of the population were aged 65 and over in 2015). Regarding support for the elderly, in terms of division of intergenerational responsibilities between the state and the family, Romania belongs to the familialism-by-default intergenerational policy regime, where financial support for family care or publicly provided alternatives are absent (Saraceno and Keck 2010; Mureșan and Hărăguș 2015). The provision of care by both the state and the market is chronically underdeveloped in Romania, especially in rural areas, which forces the family to become the only possible care source for a large majority of the population. The exchange of support between adult children and their parents is often the only way in which to ensure elderly welfare. The large extent of work-related migration challenges this relationship through the geographical distance between adult children and their parents.

Most of the research on the dyad of parents–adult children has been guided by the solidarity paradigm (Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Bengtson 2001; Szydlik 2016). The theoretical construct of intergenerational solidarity is used 'as a means to characterize the behavioural and emotional dimensions of interaction, cohesion, sentiment and support between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, over the course of long-term relationships' (Bengtson 2001: 8). The original model of intergenerational solidarity contains six dimensions, five of which refer to behavioural, affective, and cognitive aspects of the parents–children relation: associational (common activities), affective (emotional closeness), consensual (similarity or agreement in beliefs and values), functional (exchange of support in various forms), and normative (perceptions of obligations and expectations about intergenerational connections). The sixth dimension, structural solidarity, refers to opportunities for transfers between parents and children (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). Szydlik (2016) considers that not only structural solidarity but also normative and consensual dimensions reflect the potential for intergenerational solidarity, while functional, affectual, and associational dimensions reflect actual solidarity.

Functional solidarity comprises monetary transfers (financial assistance), assistance in the form of time, and co-residence (sharing the same household) (Szydlik 2016). Assistance in the form of time may take various forms, from offering advice and practical help around the household to providing personal care to the frail elderly. Affectual solidarity describes emotional bonds or emotional closeness of the relationship. Associational solidarity refers to shared activities and interaction, with meeting in person being the closest form of contact. Scholars have shown that functional intergenerational solidarity is negatively associated with the physical distance between parents and adult children (Dykstra et al. 2013) and the greater the distance, the lesser the intergenerational contact (Szydlik 2016).

Transnational families have specific features—among which is the geographical distance between parents and adult children—that add complexity to intergenerational relations. Intergenerational solidarity survives in a transnational context and, although it suffers certain mutations, it remains mutual and multidirectional (Baldassar et al. 2007). Bordone and de Valk (2016) showed that more support is exchanged in migrant families than in the majority of the population across Europe, suggesting strong intergenerational bonds and/or needs in migrant families. When controlled for geographical distance, migrants show more intergenerational contact than natives (Szydlik 2016). When they have the necessary resources, parents continue to support their migrant children financially; when required, migrant children financially help their parents left at home. Equally important, upward and downward emotional support remain central throughout their lives (Baldassar et al. 2007).

Forms of intergenerational solidarity in transnational families are shaped by the existence of geographical distance. The transnational families' literature acknowledges the multidimensional character of intergenerational support, broadly given the term 'care': physical or 'hands on' care, financial, practical, and emotional support, and accommodation (Baldassar et al. 2007; Baldassar and Merla 2014), which correspond to forms of functional and affectual solidarity. However, the focus is on the reconfigurations imposed by the absence of geographical

proximity. Therefore, a key distinction is between care[1] with co-presence and care from a distance (Baldassar et al. 2007). Kilkey and Merla (2014) develop this distinction into a typology of ways in which support is provided in transnational families: direct provision with physical co-presence, direct provision at a distance, coordination, and delegation of support to a third person. Communication and travel technologies play a critical role for solidarity across borders (Baldassar 2014; Merla 2015). As a matter of fact, they represent the key ways through which intergenerational solidarity is performed. Provision of support with physical co-presence happens during visits, and support in the form of personal, hands-on care could be provided/received only in such situations.

A unique feature of transnational care is the degree of exchangeability that exists between types of support (Baldassar et al. 2007). The focus on care circulation helps identify all actors involved in social relations that manage care of the left-behind elderly. Viewing the circulation of care inside the family network rather than a unidirectional flow from the migrant to those at home allows a more realistic view of one of the main ways in which family relations are maintained in the transnational context (Baldassar and Merla 2014). Solidarity in the form of coordination and delegation of support shows that direct provision is not the only way in which to ensure the functioning of intergenerational relations across borders (Kilkey and Merla 2014); other members of family networks step in and provide different levels of support. We assist in 'global family care' (Baldassar and Wilding 2014), which causes the central role of geographical proximity for intergenerational relations to fade.

There is no doubt that Romanians strongly rely on family support for its vulnerable members and that the consistent migration of young adults has altered the context of intergenerational exchanges. In this chapter, we investigate the three forms of actual intergenerational solidarity: associational, affectual, and functional (Szydlik 2016), and the ways these are provided in transnational families: through direct provision with co-presence, direct provision at a distance, coordination, and delegation (Kilkey and Merla 2014).

Methodology

This chapter is based on the research project 'Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home'[2] (1 October 2015–30 September 2017), through which we aim to investigate how intergenerational solidarity operates when parents and adult children live across national borders. For the research presented in this chapter, we have used qualitative interviews, which were thematically analyzed. In order to capture the view of both the parents and the migrant children on intergenerational exchanges in transnational families, the sample included elderly persons (over 60), whose children live abroad, and migrant adult children. Thirty parents (18 women and 12 men) and 10 adult children (7 women and 3 men) were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Twenty-two of the elderly were retired (20 in urban areas and 2 in rural areas) and eight do not have any income. Five adult children were high-skilled migrants (Mons, Belgium) and five adult children were low-skilled migrants (London, UK). We used the snowball technique to identify respondents. We employed multi-site research in order to grasp the multiple facets of the phenomenon; thus, the field research was carried out in six settlements in Romania (rural areas of Dorna-Arini, Prundul Bârgăului, and Jidoștița; urban areas of Cluj-Napoca, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, and Turda) and two abroad (London, UK and Mons, Belgium).

Analysis of Data and Discussion

Associational Solidarity

Contact and common activities in transnational families are mediated by either communication or travel technologies (Baldassar 2014), and consequently associational solidarity (sharing common activities) is fulfilled in the context of physical and virtual co-presence. In our study, associational solidarity takes the form of 'direct involvement with or without physical co-presence' (Kilkey and Merla 2014).

Migrants use Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to develop ordinary co-presence routines (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016). Through Internet (Skype) and mobile and wired telephony (in Romania, phone service companies are extremely generous in their international communication offers), elderly parents maintain a relationship of uninterrupted contact with their migrant children. A transnational everyday reality emerges (Nedelcu 2012), regardless of what continent they are on.

> Răducu calls, but he practically doesn't have any facilities there—I do. He blips me and I call him. While I eat, we talk; while I am sleepy, I almost sleep [laughs]. But we talk, we talk… (Vasile, 67 years old, son in the UK)

Nevertheless, the communication patterns vary by the digital literacy or the equipment the interlocutors possess (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016) and consequently communication with elderly who live alone in rural areas, without any other children in close proximity is limited to phone calls. However, sometimes, when the elderly left behind are ill or very old, phone calls are not a proper communication channel, either.

Maintaining frequent contact with left-behind parents was difficult some years ago, before the expansion of cheap international calling. In some situations, employers in the country of destination restricted and controlled migrants' communication with family at home.

> [It was] very hard! Very hard. Since she had no phone, she had no phone for three years, and she called me from the phone of the misters, she gave me a number and I called and I happened to bother them sometimes [...] And she said: 'Mommy, they got angry and made noise!' [...] We got along very hard. (Eliza, 66 years old, one daughter in Italy)

Transnational family members tend to be more and more spread over several countries; thus, although mutual visits are frequent, reunion of the family becomes increasingly difficult and rare, usually at special events. The last time Xenia's five children all met (two living in France, two in Spain and one in Romania) was at the wedding of one of the boys from France, which was celebrated in Romania. The next family reunion (3 months after the wedding) was scheduled for the baptism of the

grandson of the daughter in Spain, also in Romania. Besides these events closely related to the family, we also encountered organized visits abroad. Sorana has disclosed the fact that when she moved with her partner into a larger house in Mons (Belgium), the whole family (parents at home, sister, brother-in-law, and the two nephews in Canada) visited them for a week. We have also encountered meetings during vacations, in neutral places, such as in the case of Tünde's children, who were all preparing to spend their vacation together with their parents in Greece (the family of the son in the USA, the daughter and her partner in Hungary, the family of the daughter in Romania, and the two parents), or elderly parents visit their children abroad just to meet them in person and to enjoy visiting a famous city.

> Sure, my goal was to see my children. Then, of course, there were the museums, London… all that is London civilization. (Vasile, 67 years old, son in the UK)

Affectual Solidarity

Migrants participate in affectual solidarity in a direct way, through physical and virtual co-presence (Kilkey and Merla 2014). Communication technologies mediate emotional support, and their development made possible a sense of co-presence from a distance (Baldassar et al. 2016; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016).

The lack of spatial proximity is compensated by as much communication and contact with adult children as possible in order to ensure a line of emotional support and a sense of participating in each other's lives. Besides ordinary co-presence routines (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), ICTs facilitate new forms of intimacy (Brown 2016), such as spending special moments together, despite huge physical distances.

> If I were to think of how I spent my last two New Year's Eves, I think I was on the net with my mom. (Sanda, 36 years old, UK, mother alone at home)

However, maintaining strong emotional bonds requires meeting in person, which happens during visits, either of the migrant child's home or of the parent's abroad. Prolonged visits home may come at increased financial costs, in terms of loss of employment income (Baldassar 2014) or even the loss of the job itself. In such extreme cases, the family must travel abroad, to ensure emotional closeness between family members. When the daughter of Eliza, working in Italy, was afraid to come home, since each time she had come she had lost her job, her mother and her left-behind children decided to visit her.

> No, she hasn't come for three years… but if we go it will be alright and her homesickness will also pass. (Eliza, 66 years old, one daughter in Italy)

Functional Solidarity

There is a 'two-way flow of money and care' (Singh and Cabraal 2014: 233) in transnational families; support, in its different facets, circulates both downward and upward. Migrants and their left-behind parents participate in functional solidarity (financial, practical, personal support, and accommodation, as corresponding forms in transnational families) through all the types of involvement proposed by Kilkey and Merla (2014).

Exchange of financial support does not require spatial proximity and can be both upward, from migrant children to parents, and downward. Besides the already common monthly money transfers home or using some important sums from the children's accounts, which the elderly are authorized to use when needed, migrant children try to find strategies to help their elderly parents as much as possible and to spare them as much effort as possible.

> When I go home… I make provisions of detergents, food that doesn't get spoiled, all that is needed in a house. Their bills… I pay them all online. They do not even know they have them. I do not want them to stay in line to pay them. (Sorana, 36 years old, Belgium)

Financial support from parents to migrant children is not uncommon (Singh and Cabraal 2014); it happens in the first stage of migration, especially overseas, such as in the case of Maria helping her son settle in Canada, where a substantial initial amount of money is required.

Assistance in the form of time, as part of functional solidarity (Szydlik 2016), may take different forms, from helping with household chores to grandchild care or physical care, and may also be upward (from adult children to parents) or downward (from parents to adult children). Some activities consist of direct provision of support at a distance: elderly parents take care of (empty) houses that migrant children left behind or manage the building of a home or develop a business in Romania for the migrant children who might return. The elderly parent becomes a 'construction supervisor' or a 'project manager' and leads the work and all of the action undertaken in the country, managing the migrant child's money.

> You can tell by the house he builds, the one I am making with his money… with his work. He is a project manager there. I am a project manager here on his project. (Vasile, 67 years old, son in the UK)

Other forms of support are directly provided in situations of co-presence, such as grandchild care, for which parents travel abroad for long periods of time. In this way, the elderly free the children from the expenses of childcare and offer them the opportunity to work and maintain their long integration process abroad. This form of support happens in critical situations, too: when her daughter received cancer surgery in Italy, Floarea went to take care of her grandchildren. While abroad, parents provide substantial help (Baldassar and Wilding 2014) with other practical activities, such as building a home, renovating or repairing a flat, gardening, and periodic cleaning.

However, help with grandchild care remains the main form of practical support that elderly parents offer to their migrant children in destination countries, and this happens in situations of physical co-presence. There are families in which the two pairs of grandparents travel in turns. We have encountered such arrangements of the flying grandmother (Baldassar and Wilding 2014) for as much as 4 years before the child entered the education system abroad. It was the case of Tünde and her co-mother-in-law who cared for their granddaughter in the USA in shifts.

> That's how we went, six months me, sixth months her. We were there for four years. I stayed for six months, my husband stayed for five months, for four months. He didn't stay as much. Me, six months, each day, six months! (Tünde, 72 years old, a son in the USA, a daughter in Hungary)

We often encountered the joining of grandmothers abroad to help out when a child is born. Xenia visited her (two) children in Spain after her daughter gave birth to a baby boy, as well as those (two) in France when her daughter-in-law gave birth to a baby girl.

Help with grandchild care often happen in Romania, too, for a longer or shorter time: Eliza raises the two grandchildren; Geta used to provide care for the two grandchildren for a while; Floarea also cared for a grandson for a certain amount of time.

When a crisis situation (serious illness, surgical intervention, etc.) appears, migrant children might coordinate things from a distance, but it is not enough and such situations require physical co-presence (Baldassar 2014). Consequently, they take time off work or even temporarily interrupt migration in order to offer physical care at home.

> We have gathered the money from my friends. I called my sister in Canada and I told her to pay her part, for the most sophisticated stent, since she also has diabetes and I went to take her to a private clinic in Bucharest. (Sorana, 36 years old, Belgium, both parents over 60)

> Mother is alone and sick. Today she goes to some doctors. We must learn when she goes to surgery. I wonder how we will manage. I think I will go back home for a while. I must decide what I can do with the child. (Mirela, 39 years old, Belgium, mother is 68 and alone)

We have encountered also critical situations when frail parents must travel to receive personal care. It is the case of Gabi, who moved her mother to Belgium to solve her complicated medical situation.

> Doctors from Romania have given up on her. They said she cannot walk anymore. We brought her here. We kept her with us. The surgeons here put her leg back into position and now she walks again. (Gabi, 44 years old, Belgium, two parents over 60)

Migrant children may provide accommodation, practical and personal support in situations of co-presence in a destination country not only in the case of a crisis. During winter, life in some villages may be harsh for the elderly whose children have all migrated: no running water and only wood heating. In such cases, migrant children may take the parent abroad during winter. It is the situation of Geta, who has spent her last four winters in Spain, where her four children and her grandchildren live.

> Only in winter, only in winter… I stay there and that is it. They made me all. I have papers there, everything, Spanish. I go to the doctor. I am all done. (Geta, 68 years old, four children in Spain)

We have encountered an extreme form of downward direct practical and personal help with co-presence abroad in situations of migrant children who have weak working arrangements in destination countries, which make them vulnerable in case of an illness. Eliza's daughter, the one who lost her job when she came home for visits, needed her mother to take over her duties (cleaning) while she was recovering from surgery, in order not to lose her job again.

> She went along with me, since I needed to switch several trams, but she was lying in bed, since she couldn't [work]. She was after surgery. (Eliza, 66 years old, one daughter in Italy)

When the situation of elderly parents is not critical, the involvement of migrants in functional solidarity through the coordination and delegation of various forms of support are enough to ensure their wellbeing (Kilkey and Merla 2014).

> My mother is sometimes visited by the in-laws. They are younger and stronger, and the former babysitter of Robert [her son], whom we still pay to help her with some stuff, to stand in line instead of her when she has to pay something, since she cannot stand on her feet so much anymore, or just to keep her company. (Mirela, 39 years old, Belgium, mother is 68 and alone)

We have found that female adult children are most often the providers of transnational care, especially in the case of serious medical conditions

of the parents and hands-on care during visits (Merla 2015), while male adult children limit to financial support of left-behind parents. On the other hand, we have found that elderly men play an active role in transnational care. Vasile supervises the building of his migrant child's house and the development of a small business for him and his daughter-in-law. Attila, Tünde's husband, flies together with his wife to periodically take care of their granddaughter in the USA. There, besides direct provision of childcare, he is responsible for cooking, house repairs, gardening, and even shopping, while his wife does the cleaning. It is also him who goes to his daughter in Hungary if she needs repairs or gardening work. Ion takes care of his sick wife, who is immobilized, while his children abroad help him with money and emotional support.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have contributed to the study of how family relations are organized across national borders, investigating how the associational, affectual, and functional dimensions of intergenerational solidarity are remodelled in conditions of geographical distance between parents and adult children. More specifically, we have studied whether they remain confined to direct provision or they are restructured by their circulation across the family network.

Our results show that all forms of intergenerational solidarity continue to exist even without spatial proximity between parents and adult children. Common values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members do not cease to exist. These are the consensual and normative dimensions of solidarity, which define the potential for solidarity (Szydlik 2016) and maintain intergenerational bonds across country borders even if structural solidarity in terms of geographical proximity disappears. Most migrants from Romania reside in Italy and Spain, two countries with a similar familialism-by-default type of intergenerational solidarity regime regarding support for the elderly as Romania (Saraceno and Keck 2010). However, the contact of migrant children with less family-oriented intergenerational solidarity regimes, which may increase their individualism, does not weaken their familial connections and obligations (Krzyżowski 2014).

One major feature of intergenerational care in transnational families is mediation (Baldassar 2014), by technologies and by proxy (coordination or delegation, from a distance, of care that is provided by another person), so care could circulate across the family network. Our results show that intergenerational relations remain multidimensional and bi-directional, and certain dimensions continue to be fulfilled through direct provision only, such as associational and affectual solidarity. Emotional bonds between parents and adult children survive on direct contact and communication, mediated by technologies from a distance, or face-to-face, during visits. Functional solidarity, on the other hand, can be fulfilled through all the types of involvement proposed by Kilkey and Merla (2014) and downward or upward transfers may be distinguished. Financial assistance can be easily provided from a distance, while assistance in the form of time is more complex. We have found that not only migrants continue to fulfil their filial obligations providing care to their parents left behind, but the parents continue to be a resource for their migrant children and their families, providing practical, personal, and even financial support, from a distance or during visits. The main form of support directly provided to migrant children in situations of physical co-presence is grandchild care, which may happen in the destination or home country. While visiting their children abroad, elderly parents provide other forms of practical support, too, such as repairs and renovations, cleaning, and so on. Assistance in the form of time may take the form of direct provision from a distance, too, such as taking care of the empty house left behind or supervising construction work in the home country, for the children's family. When parents' health condition become critical, co-presence and direct provision of care from the migrant children become necessary. When the situation of left-behind parents is not critical (routine activities and medical conditions), coordination and delegation of care are enough for maintaining their wellbeing.

The overlapping of different forms of solidarity becomes more straightforward in transnational families. Communication and mobility are transnational practices themselves, and they are also means for exchange of care across borders (Merla 2015). In other words, associational solidarity (contacts) in transnational families stands out through its potential for other forms of solidarity. Emotional bonds between elderly parents and

their migrant children cannot survive in the absence of interaction and shared activities. Certain forms of practical support (grandchild care) or personal care require face-to-face contact during visits. This observation is, of course, valid for intergenerational relations in general, but in the transnational families' context the complex nature of interaction and contact, as associational solidarity per se and as potential for affectual and functional solidarity, becomes much more clear and relevant. It draws attention to the importance of affordable communication and travel technologies for the reorganization of family relations across borders and for maintaining intergenerational cohesion and support over the life course of migrant children and their left-behind parents.

Notes

1. In this chapter we use the terms solidarity, support, and care when referring to the broad multidimensional concept describing intergenerational relations.
2. This work has been supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research and Innovation, CNCS—UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-TE-2014-4-1377.

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11

Transnational Families in Lithuania: Multi-dimensionality and Reorganization of Relationships

Irena Juozeliūnienė, Irma Budginaitė, and Indrė Bielevičiūtė

Introduction

Since Lithuania's accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004, regular family life in the country has been significantly impacted by emigration. Almost one-third of Lithuanians who emigrated in 2011–2013 were married (Statistics Lithuania 2016). Mobility among women is high: they comprised 49.7–50.5 per cent of those who officially left Lithuania in 2013–2014 (Eurostat 2016). Children emigrate together with both or either of their parents, or later reunite with already departed family members: 15.3 per cent of people who left the country in 2014 were minors (Eurostat 2016). Life across borders and family reunification have become common experiences of Lithuanian families and, in Lithuania, transnational families[1] have come to constitute a significant category in the newly emerging typology. Lithuanian state policy[2] has sought to regulate economic migration, sought to secure provisions for children left behind

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by emigrant parents under temporary custody. These actions create the preconditions for 'situated transnationalism' (Kilkey and Merla 2014) and influence multi-directional and multi-generational family relations across borders.

By exploring the multi-dimensional relations of Lithuanian transnational families, we aim to better understand how the experience of migration re-defines and re-organizes the relational networks and relational dynamics. To do so, we draw on a toolbox of analytical concepts provided by Smart (2007, 2011) and test the applicability of four of her concepts: 'imaginary', 'embeddedness', 'memory', and 'relationality'.[3] That is, we examine how family relations exist in one's own imagination, how 'embedded' relations are within and across generations and among friends/acquaintances, how the forming of 'memory' is influenced by family relations, and how identities are reshaped by the renegotiation of role-specific commitments and by role-making activities. We use information from three studies carried out in 2012–2015 in the framework of the project 'Emigration and Family: Challenges, Family Resources, Ways of Coping with Difficulties', financed by the Research Council of Lithuania.[4]

The next section articulates the way in which we invoke Smart's concepts to form a mode of analysis of transnational family relationships, and details how we operationalize those concepts in order to empirically study relations in transnational family networks. This is followed by our findings, and the chapter closes with our conclusions.

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

Our understanding of transnational family relations as multi-dimensional and multi-directional exchanges across generations and between genders has been shaped by several previous studies that revealed the impact migration has on family life (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Parreñas 2005). By viewing families through the lens of renegotiating family commitments and care arrangements (Baldassar and Merla 2014), or 'doing' and 'displaying' family across borders and cultures (Brahic 2015; Seymour and Walsh

2013), the previous research studies open opportunities for studying the agency of family members in transnational processes. These approaches have shown that relations within migrant families undergo changes on different levels, and can be analyzed by using different research methodologies. The complex nature of family relations that are reorganized across national borders led us to adopt complementary theoretical approaches and to shape them by the core theoretical concepts of family life, namely, 'imaginary', 'embeddedness', 'memory', and 'relationality' (Smart 2011).

The application of the four concepts to study transnational families was tested using the data from three complementary studies. First, the national representative study of Lithuanian residents took place over the period of April, 2013; researchers surveyed 1016 Lithuanian residents aged 15–74. The questionnaire included questions on conceptualization of transnational families, intergenerational solidarity, personal networks, family memory, and migration experience. Second, the survey 'Value of children and intergenerational relationships',[5] designed as part of an international comparative study (Trommsdorff and Nauck 2001), was carried over the period of April–August, 2013; in total, 1003 survey participants were interviewed, namely, three generations of the same family: mothers with an adolescent aged 14–17 (N = 300), grandmothers (N = 100) and adolescents aged 14–17 (N = 300), as well as mothers with a small child aged 2–3 (N = 303). The survey participants were asked about the frequency and nature of their contacts with family members and close kin (*associational solidarity*), emotional closeness and reciprocity (*affectual solidarity*), agreement on values, solidarity attitudes and beliefs among family members and close kin (*consensual solidarity*), the involvement of family members and kin in provision and reception of various types of support in daily housework activities (*functional solidarity*) and their geographical proximity (*structural solidarity*) among others.[6] Third, migrant family case studies took place over the period of February–May, 2014. The members of five families (three individuals from each family) were interviewed using two visual methods: role-making map method[7] (Juozeliūnienė 2014) and the concentric circle map method (Spencer and Pahl 2006). Participants represented three generations: parents, children aged 6–18, grandmothers; the migratory period of selected father-away, mother-away, both-parents-away families ranged from 3 to

13 years. The case studies explored changing relatedness of family members and changing identities; it analyzed personal communities of study participants to establish relations with informants' 'significant persons' in the times of change.

In examining 'imaginary', we aim to reveal a non-institutional conceptualization of transnational families; evidence is taken from a survey of Lithuanian residents (2013), and it will advance our understanding of how childcare arrangements shape emerging definitions of transnational family. We build on Trost's family constellations (Levin and Trost 1992), and Parreñas' (2005) typology of transnational families, to construct the types of families with different childcare arrangements[8] after departure of one or both of the child's parents: a child cared for by mother, father, relatives (grandparents, uncles/aunts), friends/acquaintances, and children living in childcare institutions.

From the same survey of Lithuanian residents (2013), and in addition from the VOC-IR comparative study (2013), we identify how 'embeddedness' manifests through vertical and horizontal ties with family members, close kin, friends, and acquaintances. We apply the concept of 'embeddedness' by invoking the intergenerational solidarity perspective (Bengtson 2001; Silverstein et al. 1997), since it allows us to study relations across generations. Shifting the focus to relations with close kin (Nauck and Becker 2013), we expand the study of solidarity across and within generations. Personal networks analysis, based on Milardo's and Wellman's (2005) methodology, allows us also to trace the networks with involvement of family members, kin, friends, and acquaintances.

When discussing the importance of 'family memory' as a tool to study the retention of a sense of 'familyhood' across borders, we appeal to Smart's idea that memory 'relies on communication to become a memory and on context to be meaningful' (2011: 18). We build on the work of Assmann and Czaplicka (1995), and examine the channels and contents of family communication. Here, we will again draw on the survey of Lithuanian residents (2013) and the VOC-IR comparative study (2013), in order to examine family channels (parents, grandparents, siblings, parents-in-law) and kin network channels (aunts/uncles). In studying the content of memory, we look at how memory channels are used to transmit information about: (1) historical traumas experienced by

family and kin; (2) meaningful events (celebrations, weddings, funerals); (3) family unity/ painful relationships (divorce, violence) and; (4) changes in family and kinship networks. Considering that memories are embedded with emotions (Misztal 2003), we examine family memory by focusing on the quality of intergenerational relations.

We define 'relationality' as a key concept to investigate how experience of migration reorganizes relational dynamics, and draw on Smart's (2007) ideas about the active nature of relating, which stands in contrast to a static view of relationships as given and unchanging, and one's position in a family as fixed. We rely on the ideas of Finch and Mason (Finch 1989; Finch and Mason 1993) about the reasoning, actions, and experiences of actors to argue that reshaping family relations operates at the level of renegotiation of relationships. We extend the analysis further by applying concept of 'keying' (Goffman 1974/1986) and Turner's (1978) conception of 'role-person merger' in researching role-making activities and reshaped identities. Here we draw on the case studies, carried out combining two visual methods.

Results[9]

Imaginary

While analysing 'imaginary', we identified a discursive nature of representation of transnational childcare networks in one's imagination: 8.2 per cent of respondents do not conceptualize transnational childcare networks as family ('low mobility' family discourse), 27.2 per cent conceptualize any type of transnational childcare networks as family ('multi-local' family discourse), while according to the largest group of respondents (64.6 per cent), whether or not the transnational network will be referred to as family/or not depends on who is caring for a child ('relational' family discourse) (Fig. 11.1).

Analyzing how gender and intergenerational relations shape emerging definitions of transnational family networks, we established that there is very little difference between how respondents view father-away family, when a child is being cared for by their mother (79.3 per cent of the

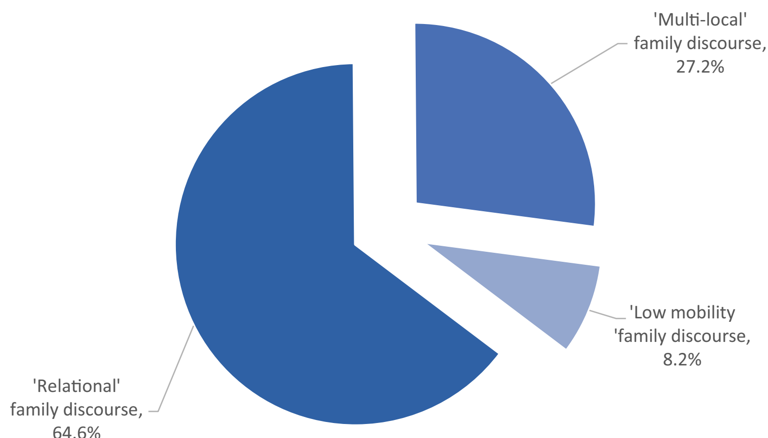

Fig. 11.1 Representation of transnational family networks in one's imagination

surveyed considered it to be a family), and how respondents view mother-away family, when a child is being cared for by their father (77.1 per cent said it is a family). This indicates that intensive mobility among women changes attitudes to gender roles, especially towards mother being the primary child caretaker. Gender role dynamics contribute to the reorganization of social relations within transnational families; namely, it leads parents to rely more on kinship ties within which family members are embedded. As many as 81.6 per cent of respondents refer to transnational family networks as family when children staying behind are cared for by their relatives, and respondents even deem a network of relatives to be a more favourable environment for a child than one in which a child is cared for by single parent alone (mother or father) (Fig. 11.2).

Thus, the experience of migration has mainly contributed to highlighting the significance of kin relationships in conceptualizations of transnational childcare arrangements. When children are cared for by parents' friends/acquaintances, only 48.7 per cent of respondents refer to transnational arrangements as a family; when left behind children are in foster homes, 51.3 per cent of respondents define parents–children relationships as family. On the other hand, personal involvement in migratory networks appears to reshape an individual's imagination; involved respondents have become more inclined to define non-kin guardianship arrangements as families.

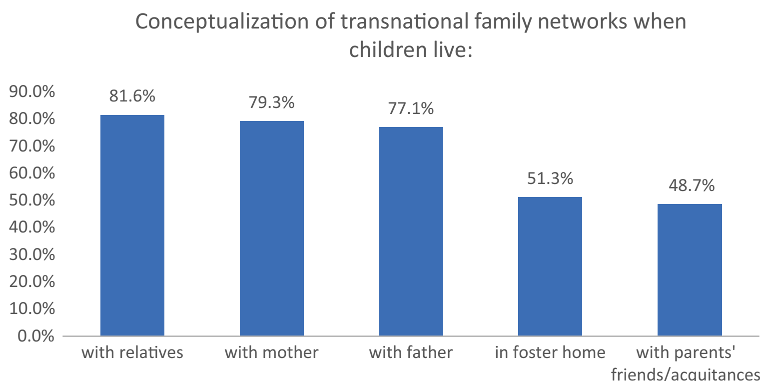

Fig. 11.2 Conceptualization of transnational family networks with diverse child-care arrangements

Embeddedness

This section explores how 'embeddedness' manifests through vertical and horizontal ties with family members, close kin, friends, and acquaintances, and how the migration experience turns these ties into intensive and meaningful ones. The section is based on data analysis performed by Tureikytė and Butėnaitė (see Juozeliūnienė and Seymour 2015: 250–266; 267–279).

We build on Milardo and Wellman's (1992) methodology to examine the size and content of significant persons' networks, considering these networks to be social capital and which affect the dynamics of transnational family networks. We found that family and close-kin ties related persons comprise 85.7 per cent of a significant persons' network.[10] In addition, an analysis of the VOC-IR comparative study showed that family and close-kin relations vary significantly on the 'opportunity', 'closeness' and 'support'[11] kinship relations indices[12] and represent different levels of familial unity. We distinguished between three levels of unity: (1) the closest relations are found with parents, especially mothers; (2) somewhat more distant ones are with one's sister and/or brother as well as the mother and father of a spouse/partner; and (3) the most distant relations are those with sister and/or brother of a spouse/partner. Different levels of familial unity point to different degrees of 'embeddedness' and determine different strategies for the workings of transnational family networks.

Examining relationships from a gender perspective, we found that female family members are particularly active both in vertical and horizontal communication. Solidarity indices describing the relations with a mother are higher than those with a father, the indices are higher for a sister than those for a brother, and so on. Besides, mothers occupy a special role in the matrix of kinship relations. They are the most important nodes within the network of family members and close kin: mothers communicate most frequently and intensively and are the most emotionally involved, they most intensively participate in flows of support. One's relations with their mother are distinguished by a particularly strong emotional connection. Under the 'closeness' index, which helps to gauge the strength of emotional ties, Lithuania falls into the group of countries ranked with a high closeness index[13] and, in that respect, is closer to Asian and African countries that took part in the international VOC-IR study than to the European ones.

The strength of emotional ties was also confirmed by an analysis[14] of types of relation—whether a relationship can be defined as tight-knit, intimate-but-distant, obligatory, or detached[15] (Silverstein et al. 1997). We have discovered that the most widespread type of relationship within and across generations in Lithuania is 'intimate-but-distant', which is characterized by infrequent communication and low-intensity support, yet exhibit emotional intimacy and similar opinions, both of which are important during times of change in terms of social capital and mutual support.

The concept of 'embeddedness' is instrumental for researching how social relations are reshaped in migration situations. Data from a representative survey of the Lithuanian population revealed that migratory experience does not significantly modify the size of networks: the average size of the networks of respondents who reside in Lithuania is 2.8, while the average size of the networks of respondents who have migratory experience is 2.9. Moreover, their composition is relatively equal: the networks of respondents who reside in Lithuania and the networks of those who have migration experience comprise not only family (78.9 and 78.5 per cent), but also kin (7.5 and 8.1 per cent) and non-kin ties, including friends (10.6 and 10.2 per cent) and acquaintances (3.0 and 3.2 per cent). Meanwhile, there is a noticeable difference between the number of

those with migratory experience who expect to receive support, and who report to reciprocate support. As Fig. 11.3 indicates, significantly fewer respondents report that they reciprocate support to their kin and non-kin.

A significant distinction emerged along gender lines when we compared how many respondents reported they expected to receive support, with how many reported that they had actually received support. In order to care for children and/or parents, family members helped men with migration experience more often than they helped women (23.5 and 16.2 per cent respectively). Men were also slightly more likely than women to receive psychological assistance from other family members (60.9 and 57.3 per cent respectively). Meanwhile, women were more likely than men to get material assistance from family members (17.4 and 14.5 per cent respectively).

Memory

Life across borders challenges the imaginary realm of what one defines to be 'my family', while shared memories give family members a sense of

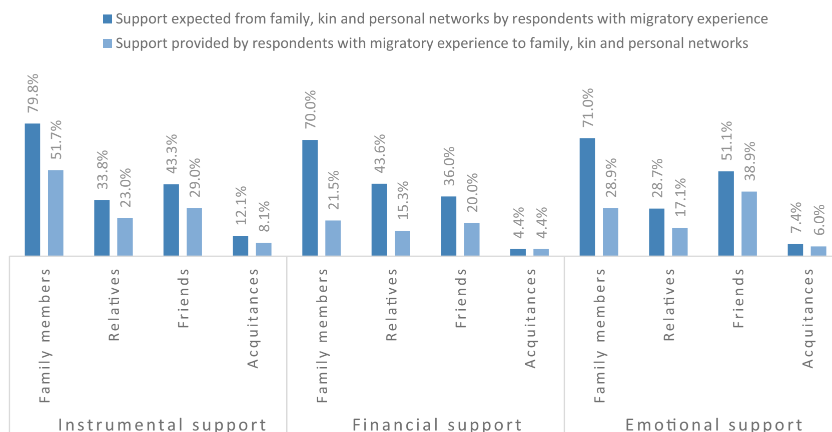

Fig. 11.3 The distribution of support expectations from and support provided to the different groups by respondents with migratory experience

shared history, which helps them to preserve family unity. Drawing on data from both quantitative and qualitative studies, we aim to analyze how intergenerational relations play a part in family memory-making. This section is based on data analysis performed by Žilinskienė (see Juozeliūnienė and Seymour 2015: 280–301).

We found that the level of 'embeddedness' whithin family and kin networks is significant to the dynamics of family memory, primarily because family memory is shaped by these networks and communicated through them. The most active channels are vertical ones—between parents and children. Half of the families exhibit a high level of communication in parents–children channels, and they are not coincidentally the primary carriers of all of a family's examined memory contexts. Grandparents make a somewhat smaller contribution to constructing family memory, yet, since they carry an experience from a previous generation, they add extra layers to it. Meanwhile migration experience reshapes intergenerational relations by engaging grandparents in closer relations with their grandchildren, and it reinforces their involvement in preserving family unity through maintaining family memory. For example, grandparents might tell their grandchildren stories about their parents, or create photo albums, to preserve memories while living separately (we will discuss an example, Elena, in the next subsection). Moreover, family memory exists in a continuous mode of 'enrolling' other members of the family network, adapting to the situation in order to preserve memories. For example, when relations between grandmother and grandson are strained, parents-in-law may assume an increased role in memorizing.

The success of preserving 'familyhood' across borders goes beyond the size of networks and the engagement of kin in transnational support; the emotional quality of relations must also be considered. The role that emotion plays in the cohesion of family memory communication is manifested in a number of ways. For example, when we observe high-quality indices in a family's intergenerational relations (high intimacy, low conflict, high admiration), memory communication manifests through wider networks including both family and kinship channels. Furthermore, the high-quality indices in intergenerational relations lead to a more intensive communication of memory and more expansive content. Thus, the quality of relations between grandmothers and their daughters could be treated as social capital, significant for constructing and continuing family

memory in transnational family networks. In cases where there is an average level of intimacy in mother–daughter relations, memory starts to 'waste away', thus threatening the continuity of family memory overall. In cases where there is a low level of family relations, memory channels are at risk of being 'shut down' entirely. Another significant finding indicates that when one memory channel 'shuts down', another memory communication channel tends to be opened. In transnational networks, for example, in the case of low levels of intimacy with one's mother, one's siblings or grandparents become significant alternative memory channels.

Relationality

We discuss three cases, narrated by participants of a qualitative study, to demonstrate how the experience of migration redefines relatedness with significant persons; that is, how family members renegotiate commitments and, in the long run, come to adopt new identities. The first example comes from Jonas, a parent in a father-away family, who works abroad and comes back to Lithuania every 3 months. The second recounts the story of Jurga, a left-behind daughter, who stayed in Lithuania with her younger sister after her parents had divorced and her mother had left to work abroad. The final case is Elena, a grandmother whose daughter emigrated to work in the USA while leaving behind a three-year-old granddaughter (Urtė). Jonas, Jurga, and Elena each recounted how keying the role manifested when living across national borders, how commitments stemming from different family roles intertwined, and how identities were reshaped. This section is based on data analysis performed by Juozeliūnienė (see Juozeliūnienė and Seymour 2015: 359–375).

In the case of Jonas, when reflecting on how his relatedness to significant persons had changed, he noted that he had less and less influence on decisions concerning the household and child-rearing, and was left with the sole obligation of organizing the family's leisure activities. Jonas explained: 'Before [starting to work abroad], we used to discuss all problems and solve them together, but now it is all for her alone and she performs it in her own way'. While Jonas would like to describe himself as a 'family breadwinner', he lacks authority and feels alienated. He said: 'Even if I let children [do something] they re-ask mother, maybe they are

afraid that I will let them do something and after they will be scold for that by mother'. Jonas' communication with his wife and children became arbitrary and superficial, and he felt like a guest in his own family. Over time, Jonas redefined his identity and now perceives himself as a 'guest-like father'.

Jurga recounts that, after her parents' divorce and her mother's departure, she assumed the role of an intermediary between the significant persons in her family and became the guardian of her younger sister. Jurga: 'As I say I'm mediator between those three people—father, sister, and mother—when sister doesn't want to tell something to mother, she tells father, when she doesn't want to tell something to father, she tells mother and when she doesn't want to tell something to any of them then she tells me. But I'm always the one who knows everything because when my sister tells something to father he calls me, when my sister tells something to mother she calls me'. Her parents entrusted Jurga with the responsibility for her sister, whom they sought to communicate with and control through Jurga. She gave an example: 'My sister got a job offer [...] She told them [father and mother] and asked for an advice. Both father and mother started calling me and asked to persuade her from this nonsense'. When describing her new relatedness with family members, Jurga defines herself as a 'mother-like sister'.

Elena's example illustrates how grandmothers engage in transnational family life and look for ways to preserve family memory and unity. While her daughter lived abroad, Elena continued to stay in touch with her and ordered her daughter, Eglė, and her granddaughter, Urtė, to phone each other. She also kept her daughter informed about the various events in Urtė's life. As Elena put it, 'I used to write only about Urtė, no detail was too small: what has she worn, eaten, where have we been [...] all the time'. Meanwhile, when speaking with Urtė, Elena used to recount stories about Eglė's life. She said: 'I used to talk about everything she has done at the young age, where she has worked, studied, what skills she possessed. I used to tell that she was an excellent cook, she was very pretty'. When talking about herself, Elena emphasized her identity as a 'family keeper'.

We analyzed the redefinition of relatedness with significant persons by relying on the standpoint of 'keying' family roles as 'strips of doing'

(Goffman 1974/1986: 40–82). We revealed how patterned activities are transformed, and what meanings actors attribute to these changes. For example, Elena's role-making is defined through 'technical re-doing key'; more specifically, the 'demonstrations' sub-type. Elena explained to her granddaughter the basics of mother–daughter relations; taught her how a daughter should interact with her mother; told her to engage in the typical activities of such relations, which in her view included calling her mother and conversing about the mundane aspects of daily life. Another sub-type of the 'technical re-doing key' is a 'documentary intent'. This is illustrated by Elena's attempts to create 16 photo albums of her granddaughter to keep her daughter's memories of the family alive, after her daughter's departure. Elena performed these multiple task-intensive activities as her new identity as 'family-keeping' grandmother emerged.

The distinction Finch and Mason (1993: 64–79) make between implicit and explicit negotiations, helped us to examine how family members renegotiate family role-making across borders. For example, Jurga and her sister usually engaged in the 'non-decisions' type of negotiating. As Jurga put it: 'We always had this principle that you have to tell, when you plan to come back home, at what hour, if something changes, you have to call. Since this [principle] was introduced in the family earlier, my sister and I, we just did not change anything and applied this […] everything just functioned like this after mother's departure'. Meanwhile her negotiations with her parents were usually in the form of 'clear intentions': Jurga's parents would call her and, without so much as a cursory discussion, oblige her to talk 'some common sense into her' sister. There are also numerous examples of implicit and explicit negotiations in Jonas' search for new relatedness with his family members. Jonas understood the undergoing changes and was disposed to negotiate about new role-making, but without invoking 'open discussion'. He explained: 'Sometimes I try not to interfere because I know that I will confuse everything and later my wife will have to rearrange everything according to herself'. These cases shed light on how family members renegotiate and sustain their relationships while living across borders, and how they reshape their identities by attributing meanings to these changes.

Conclusions

This chapter explored how the experience of migration re-defines and re-organizes the relations in transnational families in Lithuania. Building on Smart's concepts which she developed to analyse personal life—'imaginary', 'embeddedness', 'memory', and 'relationality'—we demonstrated how these analytical tools could be operationalized by employing approaches of intergenerational solidarity, personal networks analysis, frame analysis, and memory studies.

We established that family discourse is fundamental to understanding how transnational family relations exist in one's imagination. 'Local', 'multi-local' and 'relational' family discourses contribute to the distinct conceptualizations of transnational childcare arrangements. Moreover, placing the relationships at the centre of the transnational family image allowed the authors to highlight the changing attitudes towards mothers as being the primary child caretakers, and disclose the rising significance of kin relationships in the images of families.

A multilevel analysis of family and close-kin relations helped us develop the concept of 'embeddedness' in the context of transnational family life. Different degree of 'embeddedness' within family and kinship relations provides different ways of maintaining transnational family ties—Lithuanian families tend to rely on vertical ties, meanwhile less intensive relations (for example, relations with spouse/partner's family members, friends) are also invoked for maintaining relationships across borders. The mobile person's expectations of support are higher than the received support; moreover, the support is distributed in a clearly gendered way.

We established that family memory facilitates a transnational mode of living, and contributes to the preservation of 'familyhood'. Family memory is shaped by family and kin networks, it is communicated through them, and it depends on the emotional quality of relations. Migration experience engages grandparents and in-laws in memory communication, and affects how memory channels operate.

Transnational life alters the relational dynamics between parents, grandparents, and children. Newly emerging identities such as a 'guest-

like-father', a 'mother-like sister', and a 'family keeping' grandmother, all highlight how role specific commitments are renegotiated when family members live across borders, and how commitments stemming from multiple family roles intertwine.

Relying on the relational perspective enriches our understanding of transnational family life. It sheds light on how relations manifest in the concept of family. It also allows us focus our attention on the extent to which intergenerational and gender relations are family resources in transnational support and memory exchange. And finally, it enables to exhibit the transformation of frameworks of family roles and the emergence of new identities.

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Notes

1. We focus on families where one of the parents (or both parents) have departed to work abroad, while their children have remained in Lithuania.
2. For example, the Strategy of managing economic migration of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania (2006); Amendments to the Law on the approval of provisions on child temporary custody (2007); National Family Policy Conception (2008).
3. Smart suggests one more concept—biography—significant to enlarging and deepening the understanding of family life. Restrained by the chosen methodology, we did not apply the concept 'biography' to analyse transnational family networks. It remains for our future research to analyse its applicability.

4. Project was implemented by a group of Vilnius University sociologists: Rūta Butėnaitė, Irena Juozeliūnienė (project leader), Saulius Novikas, Danutė Tureikytė, Laima Žilinskienė. For more information on the mixed-methods research study, which included two quantitative research studies and qualitative family-case studies (see Juozeliūnienė and Seymour 2015).
5. For more information on VOC-IR instrument see: https://www.psychologie.uni-konstanz.de/en/trommsdorff/research/value-of-children-in-six-cultures/description-of-study/
6. In addition, the survey included an additional block of questions on value of children, but were not analysed in this publication. We listed only the questions on intergenerational solidarity, which is the main focus of this chapter.
7. *Role-making map* method is a four-step mapping method formed as a modification of the *My family map* (Levin 1993). In this study, it was used to analyse 'rekeying' of family roles in transnational families.
8. Question on conceptualizing the types of transnational childcare arrangements as families was included in the questionnaire of the representative survey of Lithuanian population (2013).
9. We include the results of a data analysis performed by the project team members—Rūta Butėnaitė (pp. 267–280), Irena Juozeliūnienė (pp. 359–375) (project leader), Danutė Tureikytė (pp. 250–267), and Laima Žilinskienė (pp. 280–304)—published in Juozeliūnienė and Seymour (2015).
10. To analyse personal networks in this section and data sets in the memory construction section, we used descriptive statistics methods. To determine the significance of differences between groups we used the Chi-square criterion; we only analysed significant differences with 95 per cent probability ($p < 0.05$).
11. *Opportunity index* was calculated by combining the answers to a question about the geographical distance between place of residence and frequency of contacts with family and close kin. *Closeness index*—by combining the answers to questions about emotional closeness that included questions about child-rearing and other serious personal questions. *Support index*—by combining answers about the provision and reception of various types of support in daily housework activities.
12. We used factorial analysis to calculate kinship ties indices.
13. The average value of the mothers' relations with close kin closeness index in Lithuania is 57. In South Africa—59, in China—60. As a comparison, the value of this index in both Germany and Estonia is 44, in France and Poland it is 47.

14. The authors have conducted *latent cluster analysis* (LCA) using the dichotomized indicator variables. The optimal suitability of the four-cluster model was assessed with a view of statistical estimates appropriate for LCA (LL^2, AIC and BIC criteria).
15. LCA allows us to classify close kin relations into four clusters. First, relations are considered *tight-knit* if all dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (emotional, associational, structural, functional, normative, and consensual) are above average. Second, relationships are called *intimate-but-distant* when high emotional closeness and similarity of attitudes go together with spatial distance, low frequency of contact, and low mutual exchange of functional support. Third, relationships are considered *obligatory* in case of mutual exchange of functional support, low levels of contact, communication, and emotional closeness. Fourth, in case of low levels of all six dimensions, the relationships are called *detached*.

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12

Gender and Care in Transnational Families: Empowerment, Change, and Tradition

Lise Widding Isaksen and Elzbieta Czapka

Introduction

The Norwegian welfare state offers all children under school age a place in public daycare. Childcare is universal by law, and local authorities must ensure that there are sufficient places available. The male breadwinner family model is becoming old fashioned model, and gender egalitarianism has achieved a hegemonic social status (Aarseth 2010). Kindergartens (Early Education Services) are a cornerstone in the government's policy aimed to integrate women and migrants into the labour market and children into local communities. Daycare services support parents' work-family balance, and play an important role in implementing the Norwegian dual earner/dual carer gender regime (Leira and Ellingsæter 2006).

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In general, the dominant care practice among all ethnic groups is to care for children under one year at home. In the majority population, children normally start attending kindergarten after the one-year long parental leave is over (Farstad and Stefansen 2008). According to a Norwegian study of five ethnic groups, most children from Norwegian and Vietnamese families attend public childcare when they are two years old. In Pakistani, Somali, and Turkish families—migrants from earlier migration waves—home-staying mothers care for children until they are 5 or 6 years old, and start school or pre-school (Djuve and Pettersen 1998). There exists less knowledge on the kind of care practices preferred by more recently arrived migrant groups such as Poles and Italians, and how local gender regimes and care arrangements influence their migration experiences.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: in the next section, we describe the Polish and the Italian migrant populations in Norway, existing care practices, gender dynamics, and family values in sender and receiver countries. Then we look into historical and social meanings attached to institutional childcare in the countries we compare, and review research literature on gender, care, and migration. Following the description of the data and methods used in the study, we then analyse and discuss how local gender regimes and public care arrangements influence migration experiences.

Family Values and Institutional Care

In the following sections, we intend to explore how, post-EU accession, Polish migrants[1] and, post-financial crisis, Italian migrants[2] in Norway approach and experience local childcare practices and how these practices might empower, change, or support traditional care arrangements from the home country. The two migrant groups have transnational lifestyles and feel they belong and live in multi-generational families even if they are not frequently physical co-present. Despite living separated by distance, as family members, they form transnational relations enabling them to maintain a sense of belonging and 'familyhood' with families and friends in the country of origin (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002).

Polish migrants, compared to Italian migrants, prefer to live in ethnic neighbourhoods, conform to traditional Polish lifestyles, watch Polish TV, and shop in Polish stores (Guribye 2016). For Italian migrants there are, in all the bigger cities in Norway, Dante Alighieri Societies that organize cultural events for migrants and for the local population as well. One can buy Italian food in all supermarkets and Italian coffee shops, restaurants, and pizzerias are easy to find everywhere. Polish migrants have organized a Saturday School for their children. There is, so far, no organized educational activities in the civil society particularly for Italian children in Norway. Both groups have similar communicative habits and use virtual communication technologies to keep in touch with families and friends in the sender country, and return to spend holidays with them.

Italy and Poland are Catholic countries rooted in different national histories and traditions. Catholics in general have gender conservative family values in the sense that in Catholic countries there is a stronger support for the male breadwinner model (Emmenegger 2010). In both countries, family care has status as the morally and emotionally optimal kind of care, and mothers are expected to care for children at home, at least for the first 3 years.

The World Value Surveys found in 2015 that among Italians, being a housewife is considered to be 'fulfilling' by 54 per cent of the population (Abertini and Pavolini 2015). There is little childcare available for children under 3 years of age, although it is widely available once children have reached that age (Rondinelli et al. 2010). The predominant opinion across all cohorts in Italy is that having a mother at work is potentially harmful to a child's development (Naldini and Jurado 2009).

According to the European Values Study, 63 per cent of Poles consider being a housewife as equally fulfilling to working for pay and 62 per cent of Poles believe that a pre-school child is likely to suffer if the mother works (Atlas of European Values 2008). Polish family values are changing, and may be located on the continuum between traditional and postmodern family models (Sikorska 2014). The traditional family model, where man is a breadwinner and woman cares for children, is most widespread in rural areas.

In Poland, in the 2013/2014 school year, 84 per cent children aged 3–6 in cities and 59 per cent in rural areas attended preschool education

(CSO 2013). Between 2005 and 2014, the number of care facilities for children up to 3 years has quadrupled (CSO 2015). Still, in 2014, less than 5 per cent of children aged 0–3 years could benefit from public childcare. Ambivalence and scepticism to state-organized childcare still exist. Due to the country's political history, many consider public childcare institutions to have a reputation for being 'communist', 'cold' and overcrowded, and it has low social status, particularly among the middle class (Heinen and Wator 2006).

In Italy, institutional childcare, organized by the national welfare regime and local municipalities in Italy, is popular and socially recognized (Hohnerlein 2009). Gender contracts are changing and the male-breadwinner family model comes under challenge. On the one hand, the majority of mothers of pre-school children are in the labour market, even if many lose their jobs when they are pregnant. On the other hand, among dual earner couples with small children, time use seems to have changed compared to older generations: parents spend more time caring for children and doing things together, and less time performing housework (Saraceno 2015).

Migration and Local Gender Regimes

Studies conducted so far have indicated that even if migration per se can cause innovation and empowerment, gender regimes in receiver countries can ignore, promote, or prevent developments of more equal gender relations in the family. Santero and Naldini (2016) explored gender dynamics in migrant families from Morocco, Peru, and Romania in Italy. Their findings indicate that existing local gender regimes worked against migrants' preferred gender dynamics and in fact prevented developments of more equality between mothers and fathers. In other European contexts like for instance in the Czech Republic, post-socialist transitions from having been a society with public programmes for gender equality, to become societies with strong emphasis on conservative and traditional Catholic family values can be beneficial for migrant mothers. Souralova (2015) finds that Vietnamese migrant families' care preferences for grandmother-like family care turned out to be a welcomed source of

income and social pride for middle-aged Czech women. Access to paid family care was for the Asian mothers of vital importance and a source for social and economic empowerment.

A Norwegian study on Russian and Latvian families in Norway shows that some of them prefer to avoid or ignore local childcare arrangements (Isaksen 2010, 2012). Migrant nurses with small children may choose to work night shifts as a strategy to avoid becoming dependent on local public childcare. The results of the study show that for those coming from post-socialist contexts, institutionalized state-subsidized childcare was associated with bad memories from the Soviet period.

Research on how social dynamics organize gender relations and influence migration experiences among Polish and Italian families in Europe, has mainly focused on gender dynamics within the family and/or between generations. De Tona (2011) looks into how migration causes changing practices and constructions of motherhoods and family solidarity in Italian families in Ireland. Baldassar and Merla (2014) discuss how the sense of belonging in transnational families is sustained by exchanges of caregiving. They explore multi-dimensional transnational migrants' family lives, exchanges, and circulations of care, but do not look into how access to public care influences care practices in migrant families. Pustulka (2016) discusses how intersections of ethnicity, class, and gender influence Polish mothers' identities as migrants, and pays less attention to interactions with local childcare practices. In sum, migrant mothers' experiences with local public childcare practices have been a rather neglected dimension in research on care, gender, and migration.

The Study and Methodology

The empirical data discussed here come from two different research projects. The project 'Moral Mobility and Migration: Comparing Cultures of Care in Norway and Italy' (2012–2016) collected ten semi-structured interviews with Italian women in Norway. The project used different routes to recruit interviewees: local Italian cultural centres, global employers like educational institutions offering Italian courses, schools, social media, and friend-to-friend recommendations. The criteria used for

selection were Italian women who arrived in Norway to study, work, and/or raise a family in the period between 2008 and 2013. The project did not particularly look for Italians with higher education, but most of the persons interested to participate in the study had higher education, and spoke English and/or Norwegian fluently. Interviews cover migration histories, experiences of family-work balance, mothering experiences, and questions of social participation and belonging. The five migrant mothers we discuss here, were between 29 and 42 years old. In the analysis, we particularly focused on experiences related to institutional childcare in home- and receiver countries.

The Polish participants' views were collected as part of the project 'Polish Female Migrants in Norway: A Study of Care Deficits' (2012–2016). The study was carried out using semi-structured, in-depth interviews with migrant women living in Oslo and Bergen. The selection criteria were Polish female migrants in Norway who had parents in Poland and/or have experiences with Norwegian kindergartens and/or had children in Norway. Six of the participants had children in local pre-school institutions. The applied research method made it possible to adapt the questions to the respondent and the context of the conversation. The interview scenario contained several blocks of questions on various aspects of transnational care of senior relatives and children, females' experiences with Norwegian childcare institutions, and with being a woman in Norway. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded. In the next stage, the data were categorized and subjected to thematic analysis (Gibbs 2007; Braun and Clarke 2006) (Table 12.1).

The Polish mothers were married to same-ethnic men while Italian mothers were married or lived with Norwegian partners. Both projects were primarily looking for female immigrants from Poland and Italy. In the end, the women we interviewed have university education and children under school age. For migrants, participation in research projects might be easier if one has some experiences with research, like for instance university graduates. We are aware that the level of education influences how the women involved in the study experience Norwegian childcare practices. We do not intend to generalize our results to the entire populations of Italian and Polish women in Norway.

Table 12.1 Sociodemographic characteristics of informants

Name	Nationality	Age	Marital status	Education	Work in Norway	Children
Kasia	Polish	32	Married to a Polish man	University	Welfare adviser	Son, daughter, 2 and 4 years. Both attend kindergarten
Dorota	Polish	45	Divorced	University	Nurse at old people home	Three sons (17, 15, 3). The youngest attends kindergarten
Joanna	Polish	29	Married to a Polish man	University	Kindergarten teacher	Daughter, 1 year old, attends kindergarten
Anna	Polish	40	Married to a Polish man	University	Dentist	Two sons (8 and 5). The younger attends kindergarten
Gosia	Polish	33	Married to a Polish man	University (pedagogy)	Kindergarten assistant, psychologist	Daughter 1 year and son 4 years, both attend kindergarten
Monika	Polish	31	Married to a Polish man	University	Kindergarten assistant	Son, 4 years old, attends kindergarten
Anna	Italian	32	Married to a Norwegian man	University	Student	Girl 18 months, in kindergarten

(*continued*)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Name	Nationality	Age	Marital status	Education	Work in Norway	Children
Esther	Italian	38	Married to a Norwegian man	University	Financial consultant	Three children: 3, 5, 8. Boy and girl in kindergarten
Alena	Italian	36	Living with a Norwegian man	University	Unemployed	One girl, 2 years old, in kindergarten
Stefania	Italian	42	Living with a Norwegian man	University	Environmental engineer	Three children: 4, 7, 9. The youngest in kindergarten
Maria	Italian	33	Married to a Norwegian man	University	Teacher in elementary school	Five years old girl in kindergarten

All participants' names are imaginary names

As migrants, both Polish and Italian mothers are exposed to the settlement context, and share everyday life experiences with other mothers who attend local kindergartens. The analytical point here is that participation in local childcare includes an everyday proximity of exposure to local socialization values in the host country, and has potential to be of profound impact on migrant mothers' migration experiences. Sharing an everyday context with locals and other migrants is relevant both for integration processes, and for feelings of belonging and of social inclusion.

Migrant Mothers and Their Care Practices

In this section we will describe how the middle class Polish and the Italian migrant women experience child care in Norway and what kind of care practices they have.

Italian participants seemed to be satisfied with childcare in Norway. For her 2-year-old daughter, the Italian mother Alena preferred to combine being a traditional stay-at-home mother until the child is three and part-time participation in kindergarten. She and her husband moved to Norway while she was pregnant. Since they were working on temporary short-term contracts in Italy, they wanted to get a more economically secure future in Norway. Her partner got a job after their arrival in Norway, but Alena did not succeed in finding paid work before the child was born. Local welfare services offer mothers preferring to care for children at home a cash-for-care allowance. She received 5000 NOK (585 Euro) per month. When the little girl went to kindergarten part-time (less than 20 hours per week), the allowance was reduced by 50 per cent. When reflecting upon her experiences as a mother, Alena shared:

> What I like about my life in Norway is that it is socially convenient to be a mother here. You can stay at home with the child, just being together with her all day, and welfare support gives you an opportunity to stay at home for quite a long period. In Italy, you have to return to work after three months. You can stay home longer, but only with 30 per cent of your normal salary… which is ridiculously little. [...] Here in Norway you can be a 'proper' mother and stay at home with the child for a whole year and even longer. I think it is very, very important. [...] I like the idea of public childcare, but for children older than three years.

In this case, Alena saw herself as a ‘proper’ mother according to traditional motherhood discourses in the sender country, and she combined family care with local care practices. Migration to Norway gave her access to an individual economic support from the welfare state when being a jobless stay-at-home mother. She appreciated these new opportunities, and felt socially recognized and accepted.

Another Italian participant, Esther, was happy to leave behind a complicated care puzzle:

> In Italy, when my son was three years old, he went to public childcare from nine to four. My working hours were from nine to six, and I had quite a long commute by train between home and work. I went to the local nanny early in the morning, and she went to the childcare with him. My father picked him up at four o’clock. When I came home at about seven, he was with my parents. Then I had to shop and cook. My husband came home around eight o’ clock. Here childcare opens at 07.30 and is open until 17.00. I work from nine to four, and there is no stress to reach the kindergarten on time. It is so much easier to have work-family balance here in Norway. You do not need to be dependent on your family. [...] Just as an example, the kindergarten, it enables you to work and have a family, and when you are at work, it is like normal to leave if your kid is sick..., even fathers can leave.

Esther felt migration had enabled her to have an easier everyday life and a better balance between working hours and opening hours in kindergartens. The move to Norway also entitled her husband to a right to leave work if their children fell sick and expand his responsibilities and involvement in childcare.

Like Italian mothers, mothers from Poland enjoyed the economic security they obtained in the host country. Kasia is satisfied with Norwegian childcare because children can start kindergarten very early and she thinks they socialize better this way. She appreciates the fact that she could choose how long she wanted to be on maternal leave and she did not have to worry about the financial aspect of being at home with a child. However, she wanted to come back to work when the child turned one year. She ignores traditional motherhood norms in Poland, and adapts to local care practices. Kasia combines transnational care and local childcare arrangements as the grandmother travels to care for the children when necessary. She admits:

> If my mom comes here, she comes as if to a labour camp. As it was last time. When she came, we were all ill. Her help was really priceless.

The presence of transnational exchanges of intergenerational care came up more often in interviews with Polish than with Italian migrants. Polish mothers had other concerns than Italian mothers about new challenges they met when socializing children into local communities.

An important part of Norwegian socialization practices is to teach children how to deal with the climate. In most childcare centres, children play outdoors for an hour or two every day regardless of the weather. Children have to be properly dressed to stay warm, dry, and comfortable. All-weather and outdoor clothing for children are quite expensive. When Joanna reflects upon this, she says:

> In Poland, it depends of course on the parent's financial status, but if there was a possibility for the children to have overalls, to have special waterproof boots, this full set of Norwegian clothes and they could go out every day, I see a great advantage in that, actually I see only the benefits of spending time outside. […] While inside, where the space is limited by walls or by the toys that are all around, then how children play is less creative.

Pointing to the cognitive aspects of climate-related challenges, Joanna and Kasia paid intellectual attention to the cognitive and physical benefits that kindergartens offer. Kasia had a focus on the developmental value of jumping and walking:

> In any case, I am satisfied with the kindergarten in Norway and that it puts pressure on the motoric development of young children is right because small children have primarily to learn to walk and jump. And it is not very important whether children know how to count to 100 at the age of 3, or read or know poets.

Stressing the positive aspects of children's participation in local kindergartens, the two women construct themselves as responsible, middle-class mothers having intellectual knowledge on children's psychological and physical needs and development. They easily get moral and social support

for these dimensions in their ethnic neighbourhoods since Polish migrants in Norway are very satisfied with the fact that in Norwegian kindergartens children get involved in outdoor activities from the very beginning (Ali and Czapka 2016).

Tradition, Empowerment, and Change

Polish and Italian mothers come from contexts where family care has the hegemonic social status, and where general expectations in the population is that mothers care for children at home, at least the first 3 years. Experiences related to contradictory values were present in their migration stories.

Italian Esther enjoyed her new independence from intergenerational family care and welcomed particularly her husband's new possibility to leave work if their children felt sick. The new balance between working hours and opening hours for childcare was of great importance for her and in consequence, her problems with stress decreased. Alena's care practice made her feel comfortable and she could pay respect to traditional care arrangements in Italy and the dual earner/dual carer regime in Norway. Her entitlement to the cash-for-care allowance from the welfare state made her able to contribute to the economic provision of the family and spend most of the time with her daughter. In Italian contexts, younger generations look more often to the welfare state as an important provider of care services than did previous generations. Feelings of ambivalence related to 'familialistic' care among Italian migrant mothers in this study reflect existing ambiguities in an Italian gender contract under stress (Saraceno 2015).

Joanna and Kasia were both active agents in their individual performance of new care practices in the host society. Kasia embraced the transnational caregiving her family received from her mother. She also enjoyed the access to financial security that local parental leave had given her, and left traditional care models behind. Despite the existence of political meanings attached to childcare as 'communist' care in Poland, the Polish participants looked at the intellectual benefits that local childcare offers to children, and ignored the negative status public care has in the sender

country. The kindergartens' focus on open-air activities found valuable social support in Polish communities.

Italian and Polish mothers share everyday experiences with other local families from different ethnic and social backgrounds. In the majority population, families from all social strata prefer public care to family care for various reasons. However, kindergartens are most popular among the educated middle class in the majority population. Their preferences for egalitarian values and support for dual earner/dual carer models are an important explanation of the class dimension in public childcare (Farstad and Stefansen 2008). As educated middle class persons, Polish and Italian mothers mingle with other parents with the same socio-economic background and participate this way in class-specific socialization processes in local communities.

The majority of the mothers we interviewed start working before children reach the age of three and/or school age and gain more economic power and social recognition than being stay-at-home mothers or part-time workers dependent on family care and male breadwinners.

Access to welfare and public childcare services was of vital importance for Italian and Polish migrant mothers. As active social agents, they questioned and challenged traditional care models like the hegemonic family care for children 0–3 years in their Catholic home countries. The idea that a mother's work is potentially harmful to their child's development was not present in their migration stories. To the contrary, they attached positive social meanings to public childcare pointing to the cognitive, psychological, and physical aspects of kindergartens.

Conclusion

In Norway, gender regimes can be supportive to migrant mothers' care preferences and expand the social and cultural notion of being a caring and 'proper' mother. Desires for a decent job and more gender equal relations can in turn provide a basis for the ability to live integrated lives with emotional, economic, and social responsibilities in local communities.

Although rationalizations of family care and institutional childcare described in our analysis were closely related to economic considerations,

Polish and Italian mothers did not fit neatly within the box of pure economic agency. Their approaches to other people's everyday lives and sharing childcare experiences with families of different ethnic and social origins, express an existence of various combinations of social, cultural, and economic aspects of their agencies. Even if they lived transnational family lives and maintained feelings of belonging with families in sender countries, their project was to integrate and build a future in local communities in the host society. This finding must be understood in light of the participants' age, education level, gender, and status in the life course.

In our analysis, we find some interesting similarities and differences between the Polish and Italian participants. The Italian mothers did not question the pedagogical norms and values in local childcare institutions, and articulated a clear support for welfare services and public childcare in general.

Polish participants were also satisfied with the Norwegian kindergartens. However, their satisfaction was expressed as a rationalization of the differences between the Polish and the Norwegian kindergartens. Unlike the Italian mothers, Polish mothers often combined institutional childcare with transnational care given by children's grandmothers. They talked with enthusiasm of 'commuting grandmothers' and feelings of gratefulness for intergenerational support from Poland were present in our interviews. This difference in transnational care giving is an expression of the fact that Italians were living with Norwegian partners and had intergenerational families living in the host country.

Participants from Italy had an ongoing financial crisis in the sender country as a frame of reference when reflecting upon their individual migration experiences. As young mothers, they have grown up as parts of contemporary generations who do parenting in more egalitarian ways than earlier generations in Italy (Saraceno 2015). Migration to Norway offered access to work, welfare services, and childcare institutions with opening hours similar to parents' working hours. The move made it easier to make a gender egalitarian family life according to norms and values their generation have internalized.

Migrants from Poland arrived from social and political contexts where institutional childcare, gender equality and full-time working mothers are associated with a 'communist past'. Their frame of reference, when

talking about migration experiences, was to public discourses where previous gender egalitarian ideas had lost social credibility and traditional Catholic gender norms gained more positive attention.

Seen as a continuum where working mothers are positively associated with the dual earner/dual carer model on the one end, and on the other end, working mothers are threatening the male breadwinner model, Polish and Italian participants in our study came from different social and political positions in this continuum. National differences in cultures of public childcare and gender ideologies were present in their subjective reflections on the social status family care versus public childcare has in their home countries. Nevertheless, as migrant mothers in Norway local frames of reference to institutional childcare and gendered social practices influenced their care strategies and ways of reflecting on their migration experiences.

In Norway, both groups approached local kindergartens when in need of childcare. None of our informants envisioned harmful aspects of children spending full days in kindergartens while parents were at work. This chosen strategy enabled mothers to have paid work and participate in middle class socialization patterns as they are organized in the majority population.

In our analysis, we find that local gender regimes in Norway can initiate and support changes in traditional gender relations. An important factor here is access to universal and socially recognized childcare services. This leads us to argue that studies on how gender dynamics organize social relations and influence migration experiences, should consider expanding the lens of caregiving to include the role of public childcare in transnational families' lives.

Notes

1. Migration from Poland to Norway came as a response to the EU-extension in 2004. Today, close to 100,000 Poles live in Norway, and they constitute the largest group of migrants (SSB 2016). In recent years, more women and children have arrived as parts of family reunification, and an increasing number of families aim to settle and build a future in the host society (Erdal 2015).

2. An increasing number of Italians arrived in Norway after the financial crisis that hit Italy in 2007. They constitute a relatively small group of immigrants (2291 men and 1234 women, SSB 2015).

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13

'Not Fit for Migration with Teenage Children': Polish Transnational Immigrant Families in Ireland

Beata Sokolowska

Introduction

Examining the intergenerational relationships of transnational families in general and Polish separated/reunited families in Ireland in particular, is important for a number of reasons. First, Poles have formed a visible community in Ireland—about 116,000 Poles (Census 2016) with Polish shops, a Polish and Irish annual festival, and the Polish language identified as the most popular language in Ireland after English (Census 2016). Second, up-to-date research describes the migratory inflow of Poles to Ireland through the prism of a younger cohort of generally well-educated people (Bobek 2011; Mühlau 2012; Salamonska 2013), and little is therefore known about Polish transnational families in Ireland. Third, easy access to modern technologies means that immigrants can maintain important relationships with extended families in real time, so they are

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not detached from heritage and kin; consequently, they are not pressured to acculturate speedily. Finally, many Polish parents uproot their children unexpectedly and settle in Ireland.

Drawing on a qualitative panel study with parents and their teenage children (LASPIT[1]), this sociological inquiry into the intergenerational dynamics of Polish transnational families examines how the migratory decisions and reunifications with loved ones left behind were enacted, and how they were re-defined and re-organized once impinged by unforeseen factors. The research initially involved a literature review, followed by the employment of qualitative, multi-actor longitudinal (panel) study with reflexivity as a research method.

This chapter brings to light exclusive data highlighting sacrifices from the parents' perspective, painting a disturbing picture of the issue of uprooting and drawing attention to the precarious circumstances of single mothers. Apart from explaining why parents in the LASPIT sample were, in my view, not 'fit' for migration with their teenage children, it also examines how increased accessibility to technology facilitates transnational families in maintaining their ties and how migration sometimes provides a unique opportunity for dissolving family ties.

The next section introduces the LASPIT research and situates the study within the economic context of contemporary global migration, providing a sociological perspective on Polish transnational families in Ireland. The 'Theoretical Background' section offers a broad contemporary perspective on migration phenomenology in the literature. The 'Methodology' section provides an outline of the research methodology underpinning this chapter, followed by the LASPIT findings describing intergenerational relations dynamics posed by the migratory experience. The final section concludes by reflecting on thought-provoking insights into Polish transnational families' lives and identifies the study's implications.

The chapter centres on Polish émigré parents' perspectives, as those of teenagers are captured in another publication (see Sokolowska 2016). While they have an Irish context, the findings are likely to be of interest to other countries because of the multifaceted social interconnectedness of transnational families' experiences in the context of globalization.

Theoretical Background

Migration from Poland after the 2004 EU enlargement has been heralded as one of the most spectacular and unprecedented population movements in contemporary European history, because over a relatively short period, the UK and Ireland attracted tens of thousands of Poles. Legal access to employment within the EU, flexibility, and mobility (Fitzgerald 2013; Wickham 2013), a strong reliance on modern information technology (IT), and cheap transport have characterized this.

It is argued that immigrants entering a new social space have neither the knowledge nor competences of natives (Bourdieu 1996; Lefebvre 1991), yet are positioned on the existing social hierarchy occupied by other migrant cultures (Reed-Danahay 2010; Wickham 2013). While immigrants move through geographical space and the symbolic space characterized by the clear distinction of 'before' and 'after' (Saldana 2003), they carry their cultural, shared repertoire of meanings, creating their distinctive cultural intimacy (Reed-Danahay 2010).

Concomitantly, acculturating immigrants learn their new cultural repertoire within relational and hierarchical social realms (King-O'Riain 2006). This learning process involves both immigrants and natives in a relational process that is not necessarily linear or rational (Bragg and Manchester 2011), offering intercultural dialogue between different cultures. Such a conceptualization of interculturalism provides a useful framework for exploring the intercultural adaptation of Polish transnational families.

Contemporary researchers have renewed their interest in the sociocultural adaptation broadened by the interculturalism of globalization (Alam 2013; Sakamoto 2007). For this reason, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological paradigm, which acknowledges the dynamics of processes within nested contexts studied in natural settings, adequately catered for the needs of the LASPIT research. Given this, the study encompasses the following elements: process (acculturation, defined as second-culture acquisition—see Rudmin 2009); persons (Polish parents and their teenage children); context (intercultural Ireland); and time (the retrospective and temporal dimensions of experience). This allows for the examination of migratory arrangements from gender perspectives, the psychological impact of

migratory decisions, separation from loved ones, family reunifications, and challenges around settling down with teenage children.

As intercultural adaptation is based on the cultural identity concept at a higher level of social, psychological, and cultural integration (Adler 2002), it encompasses active engagement in various social activities in the host country. Therefore, serious questions require answers, such as how the migratory decisions, childcare provisions, and reunification with loved ones are enacted and affect family dynamics.

Why do Polish immigrant families in Ireland constitute an interesting case study for transnational migratory research? First, Ireland and particularly the Greater Dublin area became destinations for Polish immigrants after the 2004 EU enlargement (Bobek 2011; Wickham 2013). Second, empirical evidence suggests that while the members of each household take migratory decisions individually, migratory strategies for the family as a unit are exercised collectively, with particular focus on child welfare (Burrell 2009; Kempny 2010; White 2011). Third, every household has its combination of assets and liabilities and goes through its own process of discussing and formulating a migration strategy (White 2009; Sokolowska 2014). The typical post-accession migration scenario of Polish families starts with the emigration journey undertaken by one member. While before the EU enlargement the outflow from Poland was disproportionately male (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk 2009), this new migration is not exclusive to one gender (Czarnecka 2012; Mühlau 2012; Slany 2008). Fourth, migratory arrangements for families with children involve more planning arrangements than those of single grown-up free-movers, particularly for single-mothers.

Migration also creates changes within the structure of the family, influencing gender roles and family dynamics (Urbańska 2009). Therefore, I have hypothesized that, prior to becoming transnational migrants, Polish parents carefully planned, re-thought various aspects of leaving behind loved ones, and sought information concerning settling abroad with their teenage children. The LASPIT dataset, however, points out that migratory plans and strategies are changeable and often unplanned.

On top of this, my sample comprised an atypical cohort of Polish parents[2] aged mid-40s to mid-50s, with different levels of social, economic, and cultural capital, and who, as inexperienced migrants often unfamiliar

with Irish culture, availed of the 2004 EU enlargement and became transnational migrants. Given that they grew up under the Communist regime, which significantly affected their English language competency, the majority had no or very basic English upon arrival in Ireland.

As will be illustrated in this chapter, their age, low English-language competency, and lack of partaking in the intercultural adaptation of linguistically and culturally different contexts positioned the vast majority as not 'fit' for migration with teenage children. I will explain why Polish émigré parents have not fully embraced 'the new' and 'chosen' to stay in their 'comfort zones', meaning at the practical level the cultivation of Polishness[3] in all dimensions, posing serious implications for a child's agency.

Methodology

This sociological enquiry into the intergenerational relationships of Polish transnational separated/reunited families draws on the qualitative data and participant observation in natural settings obtained during exploratory longitudinal research in Ireland. Based on a qualitative multi-actor design, it comprised 87 qualitative interviews with 34 Polish immigrant teenagers and their parent(s) over 2 years.

Qualitative research gains insights into respondents' perceptions and attitudes, helping the researcher to enter the private worlds of interviewees in a way they feel comfortable with (Rubin and Rubin 2005). Moreover, each interview constituted an individual case study, recognized as a serious research method that 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (Yin 1984), treating 'the object (case) as a whole' (Verschuren 2013).

A qualitative longitudinal panel research was employed to construct 'contextualized snapshots of processes and people' (Farrell 2006) and the LASPIT was enmeshed in the transnationalism of Polish families and their attitudes, motives, and choices framing their migratory experience. Through attention to context and time (Henwood and Lang 2003; Holland et al. 2006), it brought the interplay of the ways in which migration is constructed across diverse time points to the fore (Millar 2007).

The research incorporates a combination of open and standardized data collections, developed using qualitative approaches (namely face-to-face qualitative interviews). It also incorporates intercultural angle to micro-level analysis, which reflects acculturation multidimensionality.

Consequently, this chapter captures multifarious perspectives about the experiences of selected Polish families in Ireland, bringing to light the life portraits of transnational families, giving voice to 'the uniqueness and complexity of each evolving immigrant's story, aspects that tend to become muted in the more typical aggregated quantitative analysis' (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008).

Main Findings

While discussing their migratory decisions, Polish émigré parents in the Grater Dublin Area explicitly referred to their economic vulnerability and personal situation in their local contexts, outlining the complex and multidimensional rationale behind the migratory decision in the family context. The cost of living and problems with permanent and well-paid employment in Poland were the factors mentioned most often that prompted the migratory decisions:

> Insecurity and day-to-day struggle take up all your energy… You worry constantly… how long you can live like this? (Monika, aged 36)[4]

Polish parents in my sample made suitable arrangements for their loved ones in Poland and joined the influx to Ireland. Many spent their first nights at Dublin airport before moving into cramped shared rooms, usually with one mattress and the golden rule that if anyone wanted to roll over everybody had to do it simultaneously: 'we were like sardines in a tin' (Malwina, aged 42). No proficiency in English resulted in downward mobility: 'I knew that without the language, it'll be difficult… I overestimated myself' (Daniel, aged 42). The degradation in social status in Ireland was a bitter discovery for many well-educated parents in the LASPIT sample. For example, Anna holds two Master's degrees: one in Mathematics and one in Physics. Working as a Mathematician in the

Polish secondary school, she enjoyed the high social status but relatively low income:

> [*In Ireland*]… I found a job as a cleaner […] I would love to teach again but first I've to acquire English. (Anna, aged 49)

The findings indicate that emotional, not economic, reasons triggered family reunification. All interviewees asserted that they were missing each other and the separation was often unbearable for them and their children:

> I left my daughter in the care of my relatives but at that time… I… I'd not realised, I was not aware how difficult it was to be separated. (Gertruda, aged 52)

Moreover, migratory separation seems to induce greater involvement in daily household chores and problem solving:

> My reaction to the fact that he went first [*to Ireland*] was OK, so now I'm the one who orders and gives commands!… I had to re-furnish my life. I suddenly had so many duties, so many things to worry about that I was too tired to go anywhere during the weekend or in the evening. (Mieczysława, aged 45)

Mieczysława illustrates the emotional and practical challenges of migratory separation. Many parents only realized how hard it is to be parted when one spouse migrated first. The psychological effect, the loneliness, and odd feelings that, despite the remittances, 'there is so much on your plate' (Jolanta, aged 52) often overshadowed the positive aspects of migratory decisions.

To reiterate, Polish parents along with thousands of other Poles availed of migratory routes and sacrificed a lot to change their lives, and most importantly those of their children. Furthermore, post-accession migration from Poland triggered the movement of pioneering females who made suitable arrangements allowing later family reunification in the host country (see Table 13.1).

Table 13.1 Visible feminization of the new migration in the LASPIT sample[a]

Name	Gender	Age	Education	Marital status upon migration	Controls household decisions	Migratory initiator
Jolanta	F	52	Tertiary	Divorced	Yes	Yes
Tekla	F	50	Secondary	Married	No	Yes
Monika	F	36	Tertiary	Separated	Yes	Yes
Gienia	F	40	Secondary	Single	Yes	Yes
Żaneta	F	38	Tertiary	Married	Yes	No
Elwira	F	38	Tertiary	Married	No	No
Gertruda	F	52	Secondary	Single	Yes	Yes
Karina	F	38	Tertiary	Married	Yes	No
Beata	F	35	Tertiary	Married	Yes	Yes
Anna	F	42	Tertiary	Separated	Yes	Yes
Rozalia	F	39	Tertiary	Married	No	No
Antonia	F	45	Tertiary	Married	No	No
Franciszka	F	42	Secondary	Married	Yes	No
Ksenia	F	44	Tertiary	Married	Yes	No
Łucja	F	39	Tertiary	Married	No	Yes
Alicja	F	35	Tertiary	Married	No	Yes
Malwina	F	42	Tertiary	Married	Yes	Yes
Milena	F	42	Secondary	Married	No	Yes
Mieczysława	F	45	Tertiary	Married	No	Yes
Jadwiga	F	40	Secondary	Married	No	No
Elżbieta	F	50	Tertiary	Married	Yes	Yes
Bożena	F	40	Secondary	Married	No	Yes
Salomea	F	40	Tertiary	Married	No	No
Zofia	F	39	Tertiary	Single	Yes	Yes

Source: LASPIT

[a]The LASPIT sample comprises men and women. However as presented in the table above, the number of women who initiated migration was bigger than those who followed their husbands to Ireland

My sample is not representative—its findings are inclusive of transnational families but confined to Polish respondents interviewed during the course of the study. However, visible female migration has emerged even in such a small sample:

> My husband decided to stay but I liked to move on and change the way we lived in Poland. It was difficult at the beginning but it's the past now. (Elżbieta, aged 50)

Female outward migration changed the delicate balance of Polish households characterized by patriarchy, where traditional gender roles make the woman responsible for the household's good domestic atmosphere (Nagel 2003; Siara 2009), notwithstanding full-time employment (Titkow 2007). These multitasking roles are very demanding in Poland, where the linguistic barrier is non-existent and mothers are generally employed according to experience and qualifications. In the transnational context, performing motherhood at a distance with children in Poland positions émigré mothers on challenging pathways, causing disjunction and incompatibility for mother-role performances between the country of origin and the destination (Pustulka 2012).

Despite Polish cultural norms and pejorative social perceptions, the data from my study (see Table 13.1) also imply that females often initiated migratory movements that sometimes provided unique opportunities to dissolve family ties. Alicja, aged 35, split up with her husband, and being left 'high and dry' she felt she could use the distance as the perfect excuse for being uncontactable. Monika, aged 36, a separated mother of two boys, used a similar strategy, her operationalizing transnationalism framed by dissolving unwanted contacts and maintaining only those with her family and closest friends. Anna, aged 42, escaped an abusive marriage. Her approach was also very selective, keeping in touch with her children and extended family only. Likewise, Elżbieta, aged 50, used migration to 'move on' without her husband. All these made informed decisions, 'seizing the migratory opportunity' allowing them to start afresh. This new migratory model bears many consequences, particularly for single mothers who opted to move abroad.

Single mothers constitute a special case here. White (2009) argues that their migration constitutes a somewhat separate category, as they have only one disposable income and rely on themselves alone in any strategic decision making. All single parents interviewed reported that child welfare was paramount prior to migration, during emigration, and after reunification. All indicated that leaving their offspring behind was one of the most difficult decisions of their lives: 'It was very, very hard…' (Łucja, aged 39).

Many lone parents recalled that they felt pangs of conscience and were aware that their decision to leave their children behind was often judged

harshly, as Polish society does not look favourably on 'Euro-orphans'[5] (Conolly 2015; Kawecki et al. 2012; Pustulka 2012).

Prior to migration, all single mothers interviewed ensured that their offspring had good quality childcare while planning for short-term separation. The data show that the separation period was longer than initially envisaged. Let us examine Zofia's case.

Zofia, aged 39, arrived in the summer, planning to reunite with her daughter in the autumn:

> It was my plan but the reality was different. I didn't get a job… so my daughter […] arrived in Ireland next summer […] I couldn't get a job because I had no previous working experience in Ireland.

This echoes many other narratives delineating the lack of language fluency and working experience as the main barriers to occupational mobility in Ireland. Despite various obstacles, Polish émigré parents moved 'heaven and earth' to be reunited because the price paid for the separation was often unbearable. Zofia admitted:

> It was very stressful to be so far away and without a job… The isolation, the distance… I was missing my daughter so much… I often cried at night.

Furthermore, it came to light that many parents in my sample were also caring for ageing parents. This double role was very demanding in Poland. In the transnational context, and despite access to technology, it was simply not possible to perform both duties due to the geographical distance. Zofia stated:

> As soon as my daughter finishes her education here, I'll return to Poland. I've a flat there and my Mother who requires more help with every year… I cry a lot because I feel so guilty about it… She is my Mother. On the other hand, I have my daughter and all this [*migration*] is for her. I want for her a much better life so she doesn't have to struggle as I did… but I'm torn… torn emotionally between her and my Mother.

Zofia has been torn by her duties and responsibilities towards her elderly mother and towards her daughter who has nobody else. Zofia also touches

on the issue of return migration. It is clear that, because of the parental concerns of re-uprooting already once-uprooted children, the option of returning to Poland is simply 'not on the cards' until completing secondary and/or tertiary education.

The emotional cost of uprooting teenage children took parents by surprise and exacerbated family reunification. More importantly, the LASPIT findings showed that Polish immigrant teenagers in Ireland lost precious friendships in Poland and were not always welcomed in Ireland, some even being marginalized and bullied. On top of this, they arrived with no or only basic English and had to follow the Irish curriculum focused on the Junior and Leaving Certificate exams. In this crucial time, they could not count on their parents who did not have enough English to help with their homework and no time as they were often between shifts or two low-paid jobs. Largely, those teenage children were left 'high and dry' in the 'sink or swim' competitive secondary-schooling context (Sokolowska 2016).

Zofia's narrative also highlights the importance of maintaining family ties that facilitate the cultivation of Polishness and form part of the 'comfort zone.' Arguably, the strength of those ties and communication channels depends on each family. Poles are traditionally known for maintaining strong ties and thus it is imperative to keep in touch with their homeland via modern technologies:

> Cheap calls to Poland are great. My daughter uses the computer, but you know I am too old for this stuff. (Kajetan, aged 52)

Tymoteusz, aged 49, also emphasized the importance of maintaining family ties: 'I sometimes called home and naturally we always met for Christmas, but the internet was my main means of keeping in touch.' The internet, social media, and Skype form part of the Polish transnational immigrants' everyday life experiences:

> My husband arrived first… We used Skype on a daily basis… I was grateful for our daily contacts but it also made me sad. Every time it was time to say 'good night' I was almost crying. This is why we joined my husband a few months later. (Milena, aged 42)

Drawing on Polish émigré parents' narratives, it is clear that many spouses did not initially plan on moving to Ireland, but as the separation took its toll arrangements were questioned, leading to prioritizing family reunification. Thus, it is argued that modern technologies are very helpful in maintaining transnational family ties, yet are not able to bridge the emotional gap derived from the geographical distance.

Overall, Polish émigré parents put a lot of effort into performing parenthood at a distance via modern communication technologies. Sadly, very few 'émigré parents to be' used the internet to find out about the implications of uprooting and settling abroad with teenage children.

The exploration of the interaction between members of different generations in the context of Polish transnational families (based on the LASPIT sample) reveals that, despite being first-generation immigrants, Polish immigrant teenagers acquired the language and familiarized themselves with the mainstream culture. By contrast, their parents 'chose' to stay in their 'comfort zones', which at the practical level means the cultivation of Polishness in all its dimensions (Sokolowska 2014).

Additionally, the majority of parents were unable to support their teenage children pedagogically:

> My daughter cried a lot. She cried every day and we cried with her… We cried because we couldn't help her with her homework because we didn't speak English. We cried because she was so sad and so unhappy, and because we felt so helpless and frustrated. (Maciej, aged 47)

Many others were unable to actively participate in parent–teacher meetings and other extra-curricular activities simply because they lacked English:

> My girls will be fine, I kept saying to myself, but you know the reality—without language, I couldn't even help them with homework: they cried, I cried… I can barely speak English now… For this reason, I couldn't attend meetings at my daughters' school. (Bożena, aged 40)

Polish parents often feel conscience-stricken because, in general, they uprooted their children but failed to provide adequate pedagogical support as they may have done in Poland. As a result, the duty to acquire

English and the burden of translating or writing all official correspondence between parents and numerous institutions has been on teenagers. Consequently, the teenagers are now bridging the gap between the Polish and Irish cultures, enabling their parents, who despite some progress in attaining English are often illiterate, to function within the Irish social structures.

Thus, despite various parental sacrifices, in my view Polish teenage children were disadvantaged because they could not count on parental support at this crucial time of their lives. Arguably, this may have an impact on their future opportunities, particularly in terms of accessing higher education in Ireland.

Conclusion

For Poles who considered migration during the 'Celtic Tiger' era, Ireland provided an opportunity to live an economically improved life under the Euro citizen status umbrella. More importantly, transnational migration empowers women because they can literally free themselves from specific gender-related cultural norms (Ahmed 2006). Sadly, female migration with children is still viewed as an unacceptable strategy (Kawecki et al. 2012; Sokolowska 2014; White 2011).

Analyses of case studies and migratory stories through discursive and topical analysis show that the integrity of marriage and family as a unit was tested to the limit by the migratory experience. Maintaining family connectedness has proven to be emotionally challenging for transnational migrants. The absence of loved ones created a void that proved very difficult to fill, even by using modern technologies. Family ties were exacerbated by separation, which was particularly visible in single mothers caring for both their children and ageing parent(s). However, as evidenced, migration sometimes provides a unique opportunity for dissolving family ties.

Critical reflection on the intergenerational dynamic of Polish transnational families reveals an interesting dichotomy. Polish immigrant teenagers, 'forced' to follow their parents and leave their lives behind, acquired English and learned to navigate intercultural Ireland, contrary to their

parents who, despite various sacrifices, stay in their 'comfort zones'. As a result, the roles have reversed as immigrant teenage children took on the burden of some parental duties.

As shown, parents were not able to support their children pedagogically, proving to be the 'birds of passage haunted by the dreams of return' (Portes 2004), torn between their responsibilities towards their children and their ageing parent(s) in Poland, but presently unable to return to Poland due to the emotional cost of uprooting. This situation has a detrimental effect on the entire household, outlining the wider context of social relations and intergenerational dynamics, creating a symbolic 'trap' that paradoxically currently prevents a return migration of Polish émigré parents—*nolens volens* adult EU citizens!

To summarize, the migration and reunification of families represent a complex issue. The migratory experience, separation, maintaining ties with the extended family, and the whole adjustment process constitute a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing far more than simply settling in the host country.

Notes

1. Longitudinal Acculturation Study with Polish Immigrant Teenagers—Parental and Children's Perspectives (LASPIT).
2. Atypical cohort of Polish parents: middle-aged, owning their own property in Poland, having one child or more, well-educated (60 per cent hold a Master's Degree) and often illiterate in English—contrary to a typical younger cohort of 'Polish free movers' with 'no strings attached'.
3. Polish parents in my sample speak Polish and think in Polish. They watch Polish TV, follow Polish news and Polish media, shop in Polish shops and often cook Polish food. They also observe all Polish national holidays.
4. Following common ethical practice, all names were changed to pseudonyms to protect respondents' identities and ensure their anonymity.
5. This term was coined by the Polish media to draw attention to the increased female migration (http://www.independent.ie/world-news/europe/the-euro-orphans-left-behind-by-poles-exodus-31,067,325.html)

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14

Migration Matters: Insights into Intergenerational Solidarity Patterns in Europe

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Introduction

Intergenerational transfers of money, time, and space are important manifestations of functional solidarity in contemporary societies. Especially in times of societal crises and withdrawal of the welfare state, intergenerational support is an important characteristic of family relationships. Although previous research has intensively analyzed intergenerational solidarity (for an overview, see Szydlik 2016), research on the influence of migration on family support is still very rare. This is because prior studies have primarily addressed the causes and consequences of intergenerational solidarity among native populations, whereas the population of foreign origin has often been neglected or attention has been limited to specific (ethnic) populations, mainly single countries (see, for example, Warnes 2010 or Baykara-Krumme 2008).

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However, experiences caused by migration as well as the situation in the host country can affect intergenerational relations significantly. Against the background of contemporary multi-ethnic and transnational societies, the question of whether or not differences in intergenerational relations exist between native and migrant groups is particularly crucial. We address therefore this research gap and investigate all three forms of functional solidarity, namely money, time, and space. Along with different types of solidarity, we have also taken the direction of support into account and considered bottom-up and top-down relations across three generations.

Background and Hypotheses

In general, families are an important source of support across the whole life course (Bengtson 2001). Despite the consequences of demographic changes, the relations and bonds between familial generations remain impressively strong (for an overview, see Szydlik 2016). To reveal different intergenerational support patterns, in this study we have focused exclusively on functional solidarity, which includes the giving and taking of money, time, and space (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). To understand and explain differences in the extent of familial cohesion and support, we have employed a general theoretical model that offers explanations for various aspects of intergenerational solidarity (see Szydlik 2016: 20). According to the theoretical assumptions, intergenerational relations in general and functional solidarity in particular can be explained by different structures at different levels. At the micro level, individual opportunities and needs are crucial in explaining functional solidarity. At the meso level, family structures as well as cultural-contextual differences at the macro level are also likely to influence solidarity substantially.

In theorizing about intergenerational solidarity within migrant families, scholars have postulated various causes and consequences of migration (see Baykara-Krumme 2008) that would suggest two contrasting views (McDonald 2011; Nauck 2007). The first approach, the so-called solidarity thesis, assumes a higher level of cohesion in families with a migration background. Cultural differences in family norms between the

countries of origin and the host countries are supposed to cause migrant family generations to be more closely connected and depend more on each other. In addition, stronger cohesion and solidarity in migrant families can also be seen as a reaction to specific experiences that are connected with the immigration process (see Dumon 1989). Following this assumption, more intense mutual family support can also evolve as a means of compensating for lost contacts with former friends, neighbours, and other relatives from the country of origin or a lack of relationships in the host country.

By contrast, the cultural-conflict thesis assumes that relationships in migrant families are weakened owing to the experiences of the migration process and the subsequent situation in the host country (see Park 1964). In line with this perspective, Portes and Zhou (2005:, 85) claim: 'Growing up in an immigrant family has always been difficult, as individuals are torn by conflicting social and cultural demands, while they face the challenge of entry into an unfamiliar and frequently hostile world.' Because of this, migrant families are assumed to have a greater potential to experience intergenerational and intercultural conflict (Merz et al. 2009), which affects family relations.

Further theoretical and empirical insights can be anticipated on the basis of the drift, strain, and safe-haven hypotheses (Szydlik 2016). According to the drift hypothesis, growing up in different countries as well as migration experiences can lead to family generations 'drifting apart' to some degree, which would lead to less solidarity. The strain hypothesis argues that stressful situations can lead to estrangement and conflict, which in turn can also reduce solidarity. However, according to the safe-haven hypothesis, migrants are likely to maintain stronger family bonds. As living in a new society often goes along with cultural discrepancies between the country of origin and the host country as well as huge challenges, insecurities, and even discrimination, migrants might have a more pronounced need for a close family circle as a 'safe haven' in an unfamiliar environment.

The empirical research with regard to the influence of migration on intergenerational solidarity is still scarce and has yielded quite mixed results (Baykara-Krumme 2008; de Valk and Schans 2008; Nauck 2007; Nosaka and Chasiotis 2005). Hereby, the sole exception is a recent study

by Bordone and de Valk (2016) that focuses on intergenerational support between natives and migrants in contemporary Europe. Although this research investigates different kinds of solidarity (e.g. practical support, grandparenting, and contacts), the measurement of the migrated population is also limited. Research on single countries and specific ethnic groups suggests that intergenerational cohesion within migrant families is not very different from that of the native population (for Germany, see Baykara-Krumme 2008; Schimany et al. 2012). However, when focusing on specific dimensions such as money, time, and space as well as on different directions of support, previous findings indicate that the effect of migration is less unequivocal. Glick and van Hook (2002), for instance, have shown that variations in the extent of co-residence between ethnic groups disappear when controlling for the economic situation of individuals and families as well as for specific characteristics driven by the migration process (e.g. duration of stay). By contrast, other studies show that co-residence is more likely within migrated families (e.g. Baykara-Krumme 2008; König 2016; Isengard and Szydlik 2012; Szydlik 2016). With regard to bottom-up transfers, previous research indicates that migrants are much more likely to transfer money to their older parents (see, for example, Deindl and Brandt 2011). With this kind of remittance (e.g. Poirine 2006), migrants tend to help their parents and maintain the relationship by sending money back home, yet there are no clear differences in top-down monetary support between native and migrant families (König 2016). Conversely, whereas bottom-up support such as time-related help is less common among migrant families (Deindl and Brandt 2011; Szydlik 2016), grandparenting seems to occur more often among migrants (Bordone and de Valk 2016). Further empirical results for several kinds of functional solidarity are inconclusive and inconsistent with regard to migration as well (see, for example, Laditka and Laditka 2001; Lee and Aytac 1998).

In line with the theoretical approach to family change put forward by Kağıtçıbaşı (1996), one would furthermore expect differences within migrant families depending on their geographical origin. For this reason, many migrant groups from non-Western countries might be traditionally more connected and their family relations could depend more on having socio-economic necessities provided to them. Although migration to

Europe makes it easier to meet economic needs and family relations become more independent, the links between necessity and familial closeness are less clear. Dutch studies have indicated stronger attitudes towards filial obligations among ethnic groups, although their actual intergenerational support was not necessarily stronger (Schans and de Valk 2012). Phalet and Güngör (2009) reported a shift in values towards weaker commitments with regard to family support among Turkish migrants, and Bordone and de Valk (2016) indicated a higher involvement of migrants in caring for grandchildren depending on their geographical origin.

In addition, migrants from less-developed countries are usually confronted with non-traditional and pluralized family forms (e.g. non-married couples, single parents, or same-sex couples, which differ from those consisting of one man and one woman, with children, where the male is the primary provider and ultimate authority) embedded in more or less well-established welfare-state systems. Several studies have made note of country-specific differences with regard to family support and the influence of public expenditures and social inequality. As intergenerational support not only depends on economic necessities but is also based on norms and values (Fuligni et al. 1999), emotional links and support behaviour within migrated families might continue in their new country of residence (Kağıtçıbaşı 2005). However, theories on immigrant assimilation suggest that, over time, migrants adopt the attitudes and behaviour of the hosting society (Gordon 1964). Nevertheless, in regard to family issues, the adaptation process might take a longer period of time (Lesthaeghe and Axinn 2002). In this context, previous findings show that the duration of stay in the host country does not affect the likelihood of grandparenting among migrant families. At the same time, caring for close relatives seems to decline over time as does the time required for integration (Bordone and de Valk 2016).

Along with differences between migrants and native families within the same countries, differences between European countries with respect to migration are also worth considering. To gain an understanding of such country differences in particular, Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) provides a theoretical approach that offers a framework for understanding systematic variations in family relations depending on different socio-economic and

cultural backgrounds. These assumptions generally follow the collectivism–individualism dimension on the culture index developed by Hofstede (1984, 2001) and distinguishes between family systems that focus more on the individual (separateness) and those that stress the collective (relatedness). Furthermore, it links the family system to the social context in which one grows up. For example, in countries with weak public services, families depend more on each other and have to provide essential support more often (Kağıtçıbaşı 1996). This theoretical framework might therefore help to understand family relations in migrant families as well as differences in family ties across Europe. Here, the country-specific proportion of migrants can be regarded as an aggregated form of the individual situation in terms of the degree of intergenerational solidarity and can likewise be understood as an indirect means of identifying host countries and their ability to integrate foreigners.

Data and Methods

Our empirical analyses are based on pooled data from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), which is a multidisciplinary and cross-national dataset. For the analyses, we included the first interview with each family respondent, who were at least 50 years old, conducted in one of the waves in 2004–2005, 2006–2007 or 2013. The 17 European countries that are included in our sample are Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden.

Given how we chose to focus on different types of functional solidarity including the two directions of transfer (bottom-up and top-down), our analyses are based on three subsamples. With regard to bottom-up solidarity, our first sample includes respondent–parent dyads who do not share the same household (over 97 per cent). Generally speaking, top-down support focuses on respondent–adult child dyads (second subsample), whereas time-related transfers (grandchild care) are restricted to those dyads with at least one grandchild (third subsample). The dependent variables are support of money, time, and space. The main forms of

support from the respondents to their parents are transfers of money and time. Support for adult children is primarily provided by money, grandchild care, and space. Monetary transfers address the question of whether or not there was a financial transfer (directly with money or a material gift amounting to 250 euros or more) to (a) parents and/or (b) adult children within the past 12 months. Time transfers comprise (a) practical support such as help with household chores and care for parents as well as (b) grandchild care, both of which were provided at least weekly within the last 12 months. Finally, the provision of space is defined by co-residence, which means that the adult child lives in the parental household.

In line with previous research, individual migration is operationalised by birth in a different country and/or not possessing citizenship of the country in which the person currently lives. According to this definition, approximately 10 per cent of the surveyed respondents have a migration background. Given the existence of different historical, social, political and economic circumstances, this situation varies considerably across European countries, ranging from only 2 per cent in Italy and Poland up to almost 17 per cent in Germany and Switzerland, 22 per cent in Estonia and 36 per cent in Luxembourg.

To capture the broad complexity of migration, it seemed necessary to consider several additional approaches that go beyond the simple yes and no of migration. This includes the distinction between whether a foreign-born person is naturalized in the host country or still possesses foreign citizenship. The comparatively few respondents with foreign citizenship who were born in the host country (0.3 per cent) were excluded, as the data do not allow identification of the country in which those persons were socialised. We also considered the duration of stay in the host country by capturing the age at migration measured by three categories: childhood (under the age of 18 years), early adulthood (18–35 years) and later adulthood (over 35 years). In addition, we also included the country of origin for all foreign-born and the citizenship for non-naturalized respondents. In both cases, we classified their origin on the basis of (a) EU-15 (which refers to the member countries prior to the accession of 10 further countries in May 2004) and (b) non-EU-15 countries (for a detailed overview of European country mapping, see OECD 2004). Moreover, to

assess the role of multi-ethnic families on intergenerational solidarity, for those respondents living in partnerships we also considered the influence of the migration status of their partners. To explain country-specific differences, we included the distribution of foreigners as a percentage of the entire population. This indicator consists of people who might have been born in their host country but still have the nationality of their country of origin. It was drawn from the OECD (2016) and refers to the year of each interview.

Furthermore, to explain functional solidarity against the background of migration, various explanatory variables were also included. To capture divergent opportunities and needs, we considered the educational level and income situation of the respondents as well as their employment, age, health and partnership. To explain bottom-up support, we included the health and partnership status of the respondents' parents, which might affect the necessity for support. For top-down solidarity, along with the respondents' characteristics we also considered the partnership and employment status of the adult child as well as their parental status, differentiated by the age of the youngest child. Meso-level influences that can be defined as family structures are also important. For this reason, we included the number of the respondents' siblings for bottom-up transfers and—for all models—the number of their children and the gender relation of the dyads. In addition, geographical distance between the generations was considered. Finally, contextual characteristics that capture variations over time at the macro level were taken into account by including dummy variables with regard to the SHARE wave.

To analyse different determinants of functional solidarity for the two directions of transfer, we reshaped the data in regard to the potential receiver of respondents' support; in our case, this was (a) the respondents' parents and (b) the respondents' children. Given non-independence between observations, the hierarchical data structure violates basic regression assumptions and might result in inaccurate significance values as well as biased standard errors. Therefore, we have analyzed the influence of migration on different forms of functional solidarity by estimating multilevel logistic regressions (see, for example, Rabe-Hesketh and

Skrondal 2008) for each transfer direction, transfer type, and migration indicator separately.

Empirical Results

By focusing on the extent of intergenerational solidarity between native and migrant families in Europe (Fig. 14.1), several differences and similarities can be observed. In general, both migrants and natives support their adult children more frequently than their elderly parents. However, a more detailed view reveals variations in functional solidarity caused by migration. Whereas natives are more likely to provide personal assistance to their parents such as help or care (14 per cent vs. 7 per cent), migrants are more likely to support older generations with financial assistance (9 per cent vs. 2 per cent). With regard to top-down solidarity, the results suggest only a few differences in the three types of functional solidarity between natives and migrants.

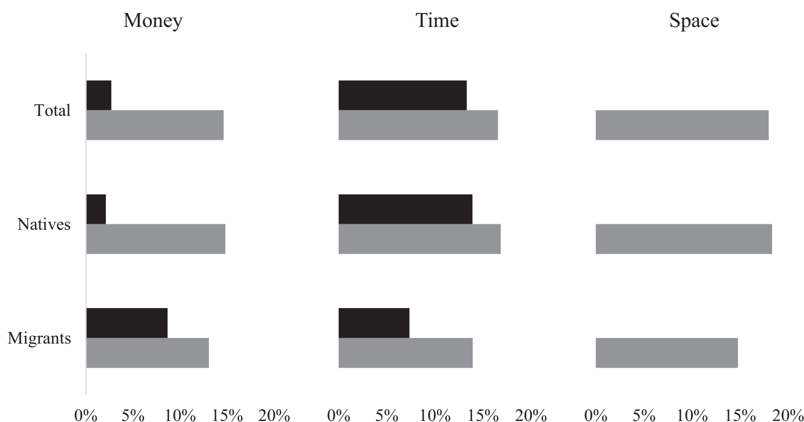

Fig. 14.1 Functional solidarity and migration in Europe (Source: SHARE, wave 1 (2004–2005, release 5.0.0), wave 2 (2006–2007, release 5.0.0) and wave 5 (2013, release 5.0.0), weighted, ■ 17,695 respondent-parent dyads, ■ 99,463 (56,709 time) respondent-child dyads, Time: at least weekly help and/or care to parents and/or grandchild care to children, our own calculations)

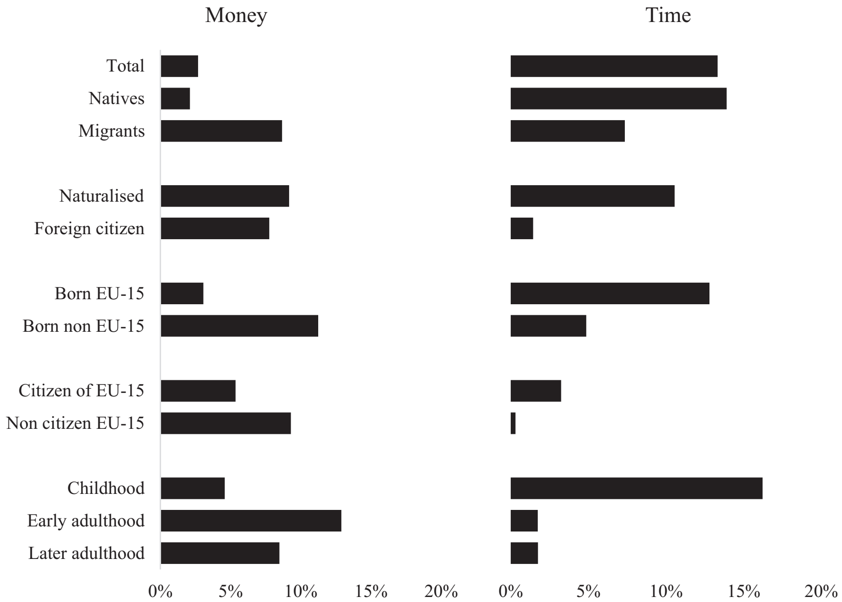

Fig. 14.2 Bottom-up solidarity and migration in Europe (Source: SHARE, wave 1 (2004–2005, release 5.0.0), wave 2 (2006–2007, release 5.0.0) and wave 5 (2013, release 5.0.0), weighted, 17,695 respondent-parent dyads, our own calculations)

When complexity of migration is considered, clear differences in the extent of functional solidarity between generations within the group of immigrants become apparent. With regard to bottom-up solidarity (Fig. 14.2), the higher proportion of monetary support for parents among migrants appears to be limited to the group of non-EU-(15)-born migrants. Furthermore, migrants who migrated in early adulthood (18–35 years) support their elderly parents more often financially than migrants who moved either during their childhood or even in later adulthood. Although natives support their elderly parents with regular help and care more often than migrants do, we can also see differences among migrants as a group. Those respondents who were naturalized in their host country, were born in the EU-15, or migrated during their childhood provide support more frequently by comparison.

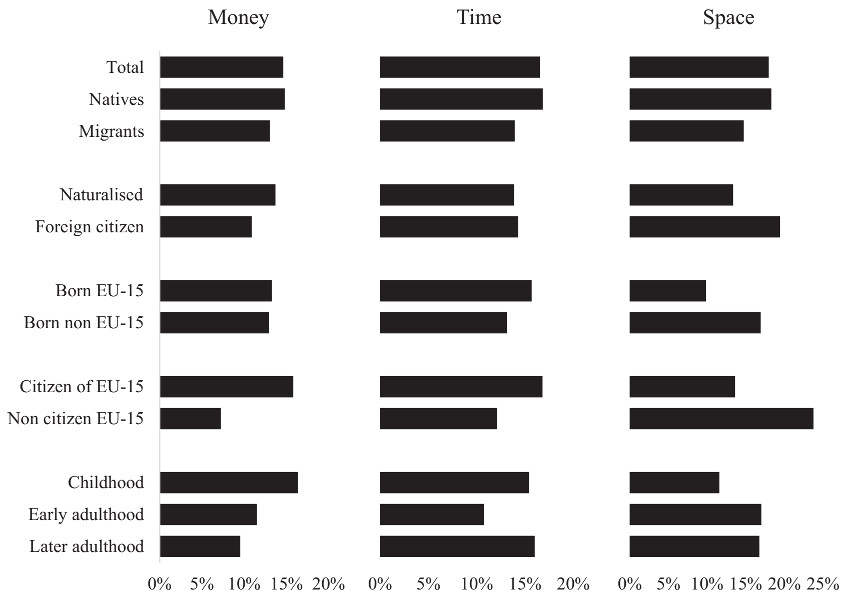

Fig. 14.3 Top-down solidarity and migration in Europe (Source: SHARE, wave 1 (2004–2005, release 5.0.0), wave 2 (2006–2007, release 5.0.0) and wave 5 (2013, release 5.0.0), weighted, 99,463 (56,709 time) respondent-child dyads, our own calculations)

The results for top-down solidarity (Fig. 14.3) emphasize that migrants who hold a citizenship outside the EU-15 countries provide monetary support and regular grandchild care less often. Conversely, co-residence is more common among foreign citizens from non-European countries. However, the age at which migration took place also seems to affect top-down solidarity. Respondents who migrated in their early childhood particularly often support their adult children with money, which might allow those children to leave their parental home somewhat earlier than it is the case for children who parents migrated in adulthood. Moreover, grandparenting among foreign-born migrants seems to be more common if they migrated either during childhood or in later adulthood and might depend in part on their own experiences growing up with or without grandparents. Here, both missing and experienced grandparents during the own childhood seem to be important for their own role as grandparents.

To explain which indicators might cause differences in functional solidarity between natives and migrants as well as among migrants, we have estimated multilevel logistic regressions including indicators at the micro, meso, and macro levels. Table 14.1 shows the basic model for each transfer direction and type without including any migration indicator.

Table 14.1 Multivariate analyses of different types of functional solidarity

	Bottom-up		Top-down		
	Money	Time	Money	Grandchild care	Space
Respondents' characteristics					
Education, max. (low)					
Medium	2.41***	1.53**	1.95***	1.25***	0.80***
High	5.68***	1.92***	4.35***	1.52***	0.64***
Income (with some difficulty)					
With great difficulty	0.70	0.79	0.49***	0.91	0.86***
Fairly easily	1.16	1.15*	2.06***	1.03	0.84***
Easily	1.69**	1.41**	5.41***	1.13**	0.61***
Employed	1.49*	0.84	1.52***	0.51***	1.38***
Age	0.76***	1.47***	0.68***	0.65***	0.59***
Health (good)					
Excellent	0.88	1.88***	1.12	1.17**	1.07
Very good	0.70**	1.36***	1.05	1.12*	1.01
Fair	0.82	1.14	0.87**	0.79***	1.11*
Poor	0.92	0.29***	0.82**	0.49***	1.17*
Partner	0.81	1.06	1.08	1.63***	1.29***
Parent's characteristics					
Health (good)					
Very good	0.64	0.47***			
Fair	0.97	0.57***			
Poor	2.20***	1.82***			
Very poor	2.49***	6.44***			
Partner	0.54***	0.37***			
Child's characteristics					
Partner			0.74***	0.89**	0.05***
Labour force status (full-time)					
Part-time			1.41***	1.13**	1.70***
Unemployed			2.75***	0.65***	2.71***
In education			3.15***	0.84	4.76***
Other			1.16**	0.53***	2.42***

(*continued*)

Table 14.1 (continued)

	Bottom-up		Top-down		
	Money	Time	Money	Grandchild care	Space
Child (youngest: none)					
<6 years			1.35***		0.25***
<13 years			1.09	0.54***	0.22***
<18 years			0.86***	0.10***	0.25***
Adult			0.66***	0.03***	0.29***
Family characteristics					
Number of respondents' siblings (one)					
None	2.12***	1.92***			
Two	0.83	0.74**			
Three and more	0.88	0.66**			
Number of respondents' children (one)					
None	1.36	1.59***			
Two	0.64*	0.95	0.55***	0.66***	0.78***
Three and more	0.53**	0.66***	0.23***	0.32***	0.59***
Relation (mother–daughter)					
Mother–son	1.02	0.22***	0.82***	0.43***	1.50***
Father–daughter	0.25***	0.44***	1.41***	0.57***	0.87***
Father–son	0.70	0.18***	1.04	0.24***	1.31***
Geographical distance	1.49***	0.30***	1.10***	0.40***	
Context characteristics					
Wave (2004/5)					
2006/7	0.86	0.44***	0.86***	1.18***	1.06
2013	0.77	0.62***	0.86**	1.41***	1.04
n (parents/children)	17,695	17,695	99,463	56,709	99,463
n (respondents)	14,135	14,135	45,801	31,846	45,801
n (countries)	17	17	17	17	17

Source: SHARE, wave 1 (2004–2005, release 5.0.0), wave 2 (2006–2007, release 5.0.0) and wave 5 (2013, release 5.0.0), multilevel logistic regressions, odds ratios, robust standard errors, all metric variables standardised, our own calculations

Significance levels: ***$p \leq 0.01$, **$p \leq 0.05$, *$p \leq 0.10$

The findings confirm empirically established transfer patterns in that individual (economic) opportunities as well as the needs of both giver and receiver play an important role in explaining intergenerational support and cohesion. However, family structures matter too. Respondents

(must) support their elderly parents more often if no alternative exists, such as close relatives in the form of siblings. Conversely, respondents in parental roles have to spread their support among all of their children. Furthermore, the geographical distance between the generations informs the kind of intergenerational solidarity. Whereas relatives who live close to one another are supported physically by help such as care or grandparenting more often, those who live further away benefit primarily from money, which can be transferred over great distances more easily.

In addition to individual and familial circumstances, migration plays a role in explaining different patterns of functional solidarity (see Table 14.2). Overall, the results confirm that differences and similarities between natives and migrants depend on the type of support as well as the transfer direction. In this respect, migrants provide financial

Table 14.2 Multivariate analysis of different types of functional solidarity and migration

	Bottom-up		Top-down		
	Money	Time	Money	Grandchild care	Space
Migration characteristics					
Migrant	5.69***	0.88	0.68***	1.07	1.16***
Migration status (native)					
Citizen, but foreign birth	6.11***	1.10	0.84	1.07	1.08
No citizen and foreign birth	4.66***	0.45	0.41***	0.93	1.19
Migration country (native)					
EU-15	1.15	1.19	0.73	1.20	0.86
Outside EU-15	10.58***	0.70	0.62***	0.96	1.38***
Migration citizenship (native)					
Citizen, but foreign birth	6.23***	1.12	0.84	1.08	1.13
EU-15	2.14	0.79	0.52**	1.20	0.92
Outside EU-15	9.17***	0.18**	0.27***	0.88	1.74***
Migration time (native)					
Childhood	3.40***	1.51**	0.87	1.05	1.06
Early adulthood	8.55***	0.42	0.58***	0.99	1.33***
Medium/late adulthood	5.91***	0.43	0.47***	1.01	0.92

(*continued*)

Table 14.2 (continued)

	Bottom-up		Top-down		
	Money	Time	Money	Grandchild care	Space
Migration of couple (no couple)					
Both natives	1.94***	0.96	0.90	0.62***	0.83**
Respondent migrated	1.65	1.52	0.93	1.13	0.89
Partner migrated	3.65***	0.99	0.93	1.23	0.71**
Couple migrated	8.55***	0.48	0.56**	0.83	1.55***
Missing	2.09***	0.99	0.94	1.06	1.27***
Migration of couple (no couple)					
Both natives	1.93***	0.95	0.89	0.62***	0.84*
Respondent or partner migrated	2.51**	1.33	0.92	1.17	0.81
Couple migrated, different origin	2.05	0.26*	0.56	0.76	2.11***
Couple migrated, same origin	9.99***	0.57	0.54***	0.87	1.43***
Missing	2.14***	0.99	0.92	1.06	1.27***
% Population (foreign)	0.92	1.07	0.54***	0.94**	0.66***

Source: SHARE, wave 1 (2004–2005, release 5.0.0), wave 2 (2006–2007, release 5.0.0) and wave 5 (2013, release 5.0.0), OECD (2016), multilevel logistic regressions (separate, for each migration indicator) under control of all variables mentioned in Table 14.1, odds ratios, robust standard errors, all metric variables standardised, our own calculations

Significance levels: ***$p \leq 0.01$, **$p \leq 0.05$, *$p \leq 0.10$

assistance more often to their elderly parents (bottom-up) but less often to their own adult children (top-down) than natives. Moreover, although co-residence is more frequent within migrant families, there are no differences between immigrants and natives in the extent of time support observable when controlling for socio-demographic as well as socio-economic characteristics.

Yet the results make clear that one should consider the complexity of migration and not generalise its influence on functional solidarity. For example, the more frequent monetary support to elderly parents among migrants is demonstrated exclusively by those of non-EU-15 origin or citizenship, while the rare financial support among migrants to their younger generations (top-down) does vary according to citizenship.

However, the greater frequency of co-residing children among migrants only concerns those families who are born outside the European Union. Although the prevalence of regular time-related help does not vary between immigrants and natives, there are some differences along citizenship lines in the way elderly parents are cared for or helped. For instance, non-EU-15 citizens who are probably separated from their parents by a greater geographical distance are less able to support them personally.

We can also observe that differences among migrants depend on life-course stages and immigration circumstances. Children, whose parents migrated in early adulthood, live with their parents significantly longer than children whose parents migrated at a different age. However, the greater number of financial transfers to elderly parents among migrants does not depend on their duration of stay in the host country. By contrast, those migrants who migrated in childhood (probably with their parents) are more likely to care for their parents in old age.

The migration background of the entire household for respondents who live in partnerships and therefore the multi-ethnicity or inter-ethnicity of families also plays also a role in explaining intergenerational support. The previous findings that migrants provide financial support to their elderly parents more often and their adult children less frequently appears to be intensified if the respondents as well as their partners are both foreigners who have migrated from the same country. Whereas time-related help such as caring (bottom-up) and grandparenting (top-down) do not vary much when the migration background of the respondents' partners is taken into account, co-residence is more common in families in which both parents have migrated, regardless of their country of origin. To conclude, inter-ethnic couples provide more often monetary assistance to their own parents (remittances) but less often to their own children. Simultaneously, co-residence with adult children is more common in migrated families, regardless of their constitution (inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic). Furthermore, mixed couples that means that only one partner migrated, differs not so strongly from the native population in contrast to families in which both partners migrated. There is only a significant difference between native and multi-ethnic couples regarding monetary bottom-up transfers. In those families, older parents are more often supported with cash than in native families.

Finally, the country-specific context in which the family resides affects their intergenerational behaviour. So, for instance, in terms of top-down solidarity we can observe less frequent intergenerational transfers (money, grandchild care and space) in countries with a higher percentage of migrants. By contrast, the country-specific distribution of foreigners does not seem to significantly affect the individual transfer behaviour for bottom-up, and probably depends more on the individual situation of needs and opportunities in general and the geographical distance in particular.

Conclusions

The empirical analyses show overall that European families are strongly connected by intergenerational support and cohesion. However, by taking the experience of migration into account, the study reveals striking differences not only between migrants and natives but also especially among migrants as a group. The analyses show that families with a migration background are connected more strongly by financial bottom-up transfers and spatial top-down transfers, whereas natives seem to provide financial help to their younger generations more frequently. And yet there are no distinct differences between natives and migrants with regard to time-related help and grandchild care. In this sense, the cultural–geographical origin of the migrant, the duration of stay in the host country as well as the point during the life cycle at which and with whom migration took place are also important characteristics in understanding various patterns of intergenerational solidarity between natives and migrants as well as among migrants as a group.

In addition, a migration background of the entire household further strengthens the ratio of needs and opportunities of the giver and receiver but still varies between inter-ethnic and multi-ethnic families. While multi-ethnic families behave overall more like native couples, inter-ethnic couples differ strongly in terms of intergenerational solidarity. It seems that the native part within mixed couples can 'compensate' for migration-specific differences in the transfers behaviour and enforce more strongly the values and norms of the host country. One exception seems to be financial transfers. Remittances are an important way to support family

members across national borders. Therefore, in multi-ethnic as well as in inter-ethnic families, transfers of money are an important way to support older parents, who (still) live in the home country.

To put it succinctly, migration matters. Theoretical reasoning and empirical investigations should therefore closely address the specifics of intergenerational solidarity patterns of migrants and their families by considering individual needs and opportunities, family structures, cultural contexts, and family norms. In so doing, it is essential to determine the influence of migration on intergenerational solidarity from various perspectives by addressing different forms of solidarity, diverse directions of support as well as heterogeneous groups of migrants. Although the present contribution does reveal some clear differences between natives and migrants in European societies, one has to bear in mind that the data is limited to a specific population (50+) and the intergenerational transfer behaviour of that population.

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