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Viorela Ducu · Mihaela Nedelcu
Aron Telegdi-Csetri *Editors*

Childhood and Parenting in Transnational Settings

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Chapter 1
Overview: Transnational Times in Global Spaces – Childhood and Parenting in the Age of Movement

Áron Telegdi-Csetri

Throughout this book, we are addressing a very special, yet highly symptomatic area of contemporary social research (Vertovec 2009; Sherif Trask 2010), namely – most generally – migration, more narrowly transnationalism, and specifically: childhood and parenthood in transnational families. While the global demographic situation – and mass mobility itself (Favell 2013) - has radically changed during the last decades due to migration, this has only produced what we call "transnationalism" within a very specific set of conditions: in the one where both (or all) endpoints of migration are institutionally functional and socially active, and at the same time, where the link between these endpoints is maintained to such a degree as to consider it a part of migrants' daily lives (Vertovec 2009; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002).

This obviously addresses two, essential, underlying dimensions – again, in very specific senses: namely, space and time as shaped within the transnational. While space as territorialized by nation-states – or transnational institutions, for that matter – is static, delimited, and readily present at the disposal of collectivities, on a transnational plane it becomes fluid, due to being contingent on the choice and habitation of humans (as individuals or collectivities), only present as a space to be navigated in its multiple sub-dimensions. Time, in parallel, is not the usual common order that defines movement for a multiplicity of actors, but exactly the other way around: it is a medium which is contingent on movement, creating a shared space-in-time – something like rhythm – that pervades local spaces with openings yet unavailable or even -imagined.

Sociologically however, this setup cannot be applied to the – however cosmopolitan – individual in and by itself (Beck 2000, 2007, 2012; Beck and Sznaider 2006; Glick Schiller 2010). Indeed, the double-imaginary – local and global (**Tolstokorova**) – that is at the heart of the transnational life-world only becomes graspable through its social expression in communication, as doing, displaying,

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caring, or representing it in some meaningful way (Dermott and Seymour 2011). This already means that, as fluid and idiosynchratic as transnational life might be, it only acquires meaning, therewith significance, once it acquires sociality per se. And as transnational family research shows: family is the main – if not only – glue that offers such sociality (Kilkey and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2016), the only dimension deep enough to transcend locally defined social imperatives such as language, culture, identity, status, profession etc. Hence the transnational family as the space par excellence that gives life and continuity to the transnational, instead of leaving it as it might seem from a superfluous stance – aimless nomadism.

Now to go with the etymology of one Filipino language: family means child (**Fresnoza-Flot**). Not speaking of forms of childless familyhood – using this etymology as mere reference to an ideal structure –, childrearing emerges as a driving force behind the cohesion of the typical transnational situation, namely that of migration towards better economic opportunities and therefore better survival chances for the social groups mostly referred to as transnational families: "East-West", "South-North", "poor-affluent", "traditionalistic-modern" etc.

Significantly, indeed, it is child-hood itself (not as a temporal span, but as a mode of existence) that, at the same time, best approximates the temporal fluidity and provisionality entailed in transnationalism: children are beings who are-not-yet what they "are" in a full sense, either in biological-psychological or in a legal-political sense (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016). This is not to say that children are lacking of something, such as adulthood: if seen as agents in themselves, they display of all the possibilities that adults have already actualized – or, for that matter, missed. Their "identity" is still deeply anchored in "difference" – they are the essential strangers who are nonetheless one's own. Therefore child-hood, with its complementary parent-hood (Carling et al. 2012), are the very space where the ineffaceable temporariness of transnationality dwells.

Referring back to what this might entail concerning transnational family studies: the multi-anchorage of transnational life only becomes meaningful through a simultaneous grip on what is in-between – namely, social units such as families –, this, in turn, however is only adequately expressed – both as to its motivation and to its substance – as such radical relationality as child-/parent-hood, and namely, in its ever changing and evolving essence.

This might help explain how both transnational family lives and approaches tackling them appear to be subject to a constant crisis: they stem from critical spaces that force them to redefine their togetherness, and the strive for solutions that cannot be definitive by definition – sometimes even accepting them as such. *Mutatis mutandis*, this might be profoundly telling of social arrangements on the whole – ones not displacing deeply rooted social structures such as families –, since they display of the ever-insufficient nature of social contracts, be they modern or not, peaceable or anarchistic, biology-based or purely constructed.

Maintaining a crisis-oriented approach should help researchers raise awareness of the superflouos nature of any kind of imposed expectation that comes from outside the field – the expectation of equality included –, while not contradicting their theoretical legitimacy. It is however such families as agents who define the *modus*

vivendi in-between the worlds they navigate – and they do this in a way that never leads to actual self-determination, however it does lead to the creation of spaces-in-time that may be represented as quasi-territories in their own right.

While offering a conceptually structured shape – a voice – to the humans inhabiting such "territories", one cannot but ask the question constantly lurking in the whole experience of such study: could there be recognition, and therewith, institutions defining, supporting, embracing such practices? Or if one includes the indispensible institutional background on which such practices have been able to evolve in the first place – statehood, freedom of travel, human rights of safety and minimal well-being, economic rights, rights to education and to familyhood, including family reunification –, do these essentially locally anchored, fairly static and heteronomously administered instances of power suffice in empowering the migrant subject – insofar as s/he is entrenched in the trans-space of social structures such as transnational families? Does the diversity of rights, entitlements and obligations coagulate into something coherent – something that gives equality-driven politics (such as the gender perspective) a finality that may be legitimately claimed, promoted and perhaps enforced? Or does the "politics" of transnational familyhood remain at the grassroots level, radically divorced from parasitic institutions that increasingly count on migrants as subjets of exploitation?

What research can do in this respect is obviously on the cognitive side – on that of conceptual clarification that, in itself, is socially therapeutic insofar as it points to the stances and motives intertwined in transnationalism, and to the co-authorship of societies in it. Concepts in the social sciences are however inherently political – they point to value-structures that are unestrangeably enveloping any kind of "fact" might emerge within research. But as we could understand from the crisis-character of both transnational life and transnational research: these values are provisional, broken, fragmented, contested, and subject to reinterpretation. Hence the stalled gender revolution (**Fan and Parreñas**), hence the emotion-deaf care politics of Chinese migrants in Hungary (**Kovács**), hence the stumped return intention within temporary transnational suspension (**Ducu**) (Telegdi-Csetri and Ducu 2016), hence mothers' capitulation in authoritative childrearing at a distance (**Monini**), hence the retreat to and sometimes stalling of grandparents' agency as value-transmitters (**Wyss and Nedelcu**). These are not instances of defeat, but ones of incomplete value-cultivation.

Then we might ask: do values – generally – come as parts of complete cultures – or do they also work within a fragmented presence? Is the circulation of radically heterogeneous cultural fragments – as carriers of values – beneficial, productive, politically relevant, or is it just part of a contingent, anonymous flow of human mass? With this, we, again, touch upon the essence of childhood: a child does not endorse a culture as a whole, rather she performatively participates in it through mimesis, implicitly giving a presentation of what might be explicitly represented at the cognitive level. And, as we have learned from childhood studies, children's cultures nurture a metonymic relationship with adult society (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016), borrowing from it and enriching it at the same time, without a substantial identification. Now if we, in turn, reflect this back unto migrant cultures, the result

is a curious similarity between childhood and migrancy: as children are "becoming" without a readily-defined aim of their doing so, migrants are also "moving" with a clear intentionality (general coping), but not with one specific aim (such as integration or affluence).

This, however, makes entire migrant populations into something like "children" as against sedentary societies, to be viewed as "adults". Let us be clear: we are not speaking of a projection of paternalism here; on the contrary, we acknowledge the agency of children (Mazzucato and Schans 2011; White et al. 2011) (or any other kind of actors who are "different" as compared to ideal ones), but signal the essentially ephemeral – and possibly anarchistic – nature of their political being. Hence the crisis – given that the actual actors of these migrant spaces are primarily adults, and often even adults from politically emancipated landscapes. And with crisis, again comes the question of direction, i.e., of norms.

The focus on crisis here is not to say that migrancy is a socially destructive phenomenon – as in its political exploitation through means of vicious media campains as seen in the Brexit context and elsewhere –, on the contrary: such exploitation points to the very global societal crisis it is inscribed in. The emancipation opportunities of migrants, the economic advantages provided by migrant workforce on both ends of the migration process, women's empowerment as a result of their reconception as productive agents, or the sheer survival of families due to migrant niches are all proof of a strongly established social power block that might lead to a relatively powerful political establishment as well – mediated by a cosmopolitan imagination (Delanty 2009) that emerges through this vast experiential field. On the downside however, the quasi-infantile status of migrants as a perpetuated situation delivers these masses of people to various types of – illegal or merely structural – exploitation that have the capacity to turn the balance against the gains of this phenomenon, when seen as a whole.

To mention only a few of such risks, the vulnerability to trafficking of children left at home (**Pascoal and Schwartz**) clearly shows one possible outcome of the care drain, and expresses the infantilization as victimization of migrant populations. Similarly, the specifically female care drain from patriarchal societies creates a reproduction of patriarchal relations on a greater scale – on that of societies, one a quasi-masculine consumer of female care work, the other, its quasi-female provider. Still, let us underline the disruption in social functioning of probably similar complexity caused by male migration within sending societies – one that signals gender inequalities even more clearly – that is unadressesed in this line of thought.

Also, let us not forget the ambivalent status of care itself in certain cases – as in the case of the strongly non-emotion-based care model of Chinese migrants from a poor background in Hungary (**Kovács**). Such ambivalence only highlights the deep normative fluidity of migrant cultures – where emotion may be replaced by trust, which, in turn, may be replaced by hired care that doesn't necessarilly entail a transfer of emotion. If emotion is not the basis of belonging-together anymore, then such belonging-together is itself in display of a deeply problematic character – when one can see emotion as a bargaining disadvantage, then one must really be in trouble defining the reciprocity of attachment beyond being a mere institution.

This, in turn, leads us to turn to the conflict between a pronouncedly institutional side – states, travel policies, welfare entitlements, economic rights, educational regimes – of migration as against a domestic – emotional, care-related, intimacy-based, informally negotiated – one. Indeed, human life has been inscribed in such a conflict throughout history, and all the more since the beginnings of modernity. Persons as such are the product of a dynamic at the crossroads between these – the institutionally normative and the subjectively factual – and is undergoing constant crisis exactly due to the reciprocal insufficiency of the two. However, persons seen as subjects of a single political entity may be conflated with ideal – legal – persons, with their rights guaranteed, their opinions represented, their needs met and their social belongings embedded into single collectivities, "nations".

The deep anthropological error of such an understanding is clearly palpable in the current crisis of representative democracies (and before that, of nationalism and totalitarian communism) founded on a Westphalian logic of single-state-iterations. Sociologically, however, this has obviously never been the case. People have never been ideal, and especially their social embedding has always transcended the totalizing logic of a single institution as the source of both power and legitimacy. Even the powerful are in constant (interpersonal) need – as most spiritual traditions teach us.

Now this is the very dimension where transnationalism becomes symptomatic of a larger political-anthropological crisis: whereas nations have acquired territories (physical objects delimited by ideal projections – states), societies have not succumbed to their logic, and overflowed their limits – into a liminal space (**Monini**) that is, in turn, not subject to such acquisition.

The liminal spaces of transnationalism are not, on the other hand, anarchistic. It is only the exclusivistic logic of the state that projects them as void, ignoring the deep underlying network of human solidarity that has made possible the emergence of states in the first place. However, it is not solidarity alone that shapes these spaces – it is technology and economy that allows this, nation-states that host it, cultures that voice its norms –, even though it is through solidarities that they maintain their life-pulse.

One might ask: what is it in humans that grounds such solidarity across a liminal, fragmented space-time that is as changing as the landscapes of childhood? Is it emotion – a universal feeling towards one's species as humanism, a special feeling towards one's fellows as brotherhood, or a subjective feeling towards kin and quasi-kin as an owerwhelming existential necessity (Skrbiš 2008) – or is it duty – culturally and habitually interiorized, but subject to normalization by external circumstance? And if emotion plays a crucial role in defining the motive of all this solidaritarian field of practice – as it does –, then how to define the principles of a politics of emotion while also maintaining a tragic sense of understanding this practice of crisis – a crisis ongoing at the crossroads of this very emotion and the very duty it is inscribed in?

One suggestion of resolving this impasse, of overcoming the static conflict between culturally-politically enounced duties and practically emerging and socially negotiated emotions is a reconception of the temporality as against the spatiality

that serves as its performative structure. Many instances of analysis suggest a fruitfully temporalizing approach (Donnan et al. 2017) to migrant practices: the temporary suspension within the transnational migrants dwell in, the temporal multifocality of migrant going-about, the pervasion of confined migrant spaces through heterogeneous times that allow these spaces to become unexpectedly open, the definitivation of the migrant status within the childrearing of mothers, the move from authoritarian towards authoritative – or even egalitarian –, essentially discoursive relation towards children due to the lack of a simultaneous capacity of control, the dynamic of emotions through time that leads to decisions to reunite **(Melander and Shmulyar Gréen**). Moreover, we may witness a fluid archeology of identities (**Hossu**) in the case of migrants who need to trace their genealogies in order to fit in into various citizenship entitlements, while they find themselves carried by a similarly fluctuating flow of present legal identities, not to speak of the sheer instability of migrancy regimes such as EU accession, Brexit, visa policies of target countries as well as restrictive travel policies of sending countries etc.

The flexible, always present-dependent temporal self-understanding – hence, a creatively narrative historicity – of such agents has a triple social message: first, it is symptomatic of constructed identities as such, since all histories relate to the present; second, they create novel intimacies through time – making family histories relevant that were put aside otherwise; and third, it creates a token to be circulated and referred to for third parties – as a common ground of new, however fluid, gestures of collective self-identification. The proliferation of these narrative fragments is prone to coagulating into a postmodern migrant culture, an anarchistic terrain of the fragmentary, but still a ground for meaningful interaction and cohesive communication.

If one understands the transnational – and family relations therein – not only as a set of practices, but as one inscribed into such temporality, one might structure its norms accordingly: it is not only economic provision that migrants seek for their important ones, it is the constancy – essentially, the quiet – of provision that is important for them. Then, they exchange the temporal inconstancy of local – static, but decaying – economies to the relative reliability of – dynamic – migration. This paradoxical situation is all the more telling of the essential – temporal-existential as well as spatial-political – anarchy of the globalized world.

The co-presence and performative construction – doing and displaying – of families is all the more clearly motivated. What could describe agents' essential belonging and allegiance more clearly than these emotional ties interiorized as duties, or else, what could motivate agents in the moving field of impersonal powers better, than such an allegiance? Hence what could we call a more resilient, more rooted, more essentially human institution than the family? And in such dissociative times – what would deserve our attention more than such elementary forms of human belonging – be they traditional, modern or postmodern in character?

This is what the – somewhat metaphorical – use of the term "co-presence" is telling of: it is not spatial, physical proximity – co-presence in an immediate sense, see most of its uses in the book at hand, too – that makes intimacy: it is proximity in a temporal sense – hence the "co-presence at a distance" (Sørensen and Vammen

2014; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016; Baldassar et al. 2016; Telegdi-Csetri and Ducu 2016) that is truly constitutive of belonging – a kind of rhytm of moving-together, breathing-together, hence being-together in a most profound sense – a consciousness of the other's time as my own. To follow this, we invite the reader to follow the details of migrant practices – all of which are aimed at such co-presence from a distance, one way or another.

Also, not imposing any hegemonic theoretical superstructure upon the research, let us consider the phenomenon of transnational childhood and parenthood not only from the point of view of affluent societies' academic culture – which is the primary source of global academic research – or from that of second-world academia – stemming from places that are often sending spaces of migration as well, but with limited study power on the issue – but from that of the migrant themselves, carefully listening to their voices, possibly sensing traces of an unexplored world they call their own.

Let us, furthermore, call for more quantitative research driven by the findings of the numerous – indeed, dominant (**Hărăguș et al.**) – qualitative studies that this book comes to complement, to serve as a more readily available basis for decision-making – whether by political actors or awareness-raising activism.

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Part I
Children of Transnational Families

Chapter 2
Rethinking Children's Place(s) in Transnational Families: Mobile Childhoods in Filipino International Migration

Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot

2.1 Introduction

In 2003, in their edited volume *Children's places: cross-cultural perspectives*, Danish scholars Karen Fog Olwig and Eva Gulløv illuminated what "place" means in the study of children and childhoods, notably in the field of anthropology. They refer to "places" as physical sites, as one's social location or one's position in the generational order and kinship system. Specifically, they defined "places" as "cultural constructions that emerge in the course of social life as human beings attribute meaning to their surroundings and thus turn them into places of special value" (p. 7). This conception of "place" serves as a point of departure in this chapter to examine children's positions in transnational families, a social unit characterised by its cross-border social networks, ties and solidarity in time and space (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002).

The focus here on children's location within a wide set of family relationships underlines the importance of specifying first what a "child" means. Juridically speaking, every state in the world has defined in its national laws who belong to the social group called "children" mainly based on specific age parameter. In many countries, people aged 18 and below are considered by the law as children, whereas in other nation-states such age parameter can be lower. At the international level, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) recognizes the different juridical definitions of a child by stating that the latter is "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (p. 2). The juridical specification of who children are seems central in identifying who among citizens or non-citizens are entitled to certain rights and obliga-

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tions in a specific nation-state. In social science researches, on the other hand, although the age criterion to identify children as a target study group appears a necessity for ethical and methodological purposes, age itself like children has been recognised as socially constructed and its meanings vary in social contexts (see Bourdieu 1978). This highlights the importance of considering the context, a geographical place or a social setting, in which a specific study on young people takes place.

In this chapter, I refer to children in two ways with the aim to unveil their locations as well as positioning them within their respective family circle and within the society in which they are enmeshed. At the general level, recognising the diversity of childhoods in various socio-cultural and political settings, I do not advance any specific definition of this social group, which allows me to obtain a meaningful analysis of the existing body of works on children and childhoods in transnational family setting. On the contrary, at the micro level, drawing from my empirical data on Filipino transnational families, I define children as those aged 18 and below, which corresponds to the juridical definition of children in the Philippines and in many Filipino-migrant receiving countries. Adopting this local legal viewpoint makes sense since young people and their transnational family members are most often caught in the web of laws of the countries in which they have social ties, either be the Philippines (their natal country) or the immigration country of their family members.

Before I delve into the case of these young people in Filipino transnational families, I first examine how children have been construed, regarded, and studied in the social sciences, notably highlighting the cross-fertilisation that has been taking place between migration studies and children and childhoods studies. I then propose a mobility approach to the study of children and childhoods in transnational family context, explaining in particular the "mobile childhoods" (Fresnoza-Flot and Nagasaka 2015) lens. After this, I describe my methodology and sample to better contextualize the empirical data I present in the core of this paper.

2.2 Children and Childhoods as Objects of Study in the Social Sciences

Understanding the scholarly interest in children in migration studies requires taking into account the historical trajectory of children and childhoods studies, as well as the dominant perspectives in this research field through time.

Children became an object of analytical inquiries in the late nineteenth century, specifically in the field of developmental psychology. The work of James Mark Baldwin on the mental development in the child (1895) as well as Jean Piaget's research on children's cognitive development and thinking (e.g. 1936; Piaget and Inhelder 1959) brought major contributions to the early conceptualisations of childhood. James (2011) describes how children were viewed during this period as "people who were interesting for what they revealed about the sources and origins of

humankind in general" (p. 35). The twentieth century witnessed the rise of scholarly works on young people, not only in psychology but also in other fields such as sociology, history, and social anthropology. For example, Philippe Ariès' *Centuries of childhood* (1962; see Ariès 1960) stimulated the scientific interests on children and childhood through a historical perspective. The widely used analytical framework at that time was the concept of socialisation, which views children as "passive recipients of adults' actions" (Lee 2001: 8). Childhood in this perspective is seen as a temporary, incomplete stage of life and as a process towards "becoming" adults.

Such a view started to dwindle in the period 1960–1970s, during which children were progressively taken into account in the social sciences as social actors and agents (James 2011). This paradigm shift from a "passive child" view to an "agentic child" framework eventually influenced the development of contemporary studies of children and childhoods, which focused on children's voices and experiences. This shift in the research arena occurred after what sociologist Viviana Zelizer (1985) called the "changing social value of children" (specifically in the US context), that is, from "useless" to "priceless", between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the 1980s, we observe an important surge of works in which children's voices are put into the fore, as well as international events such as the United Nation's adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989.

Children's perspectives are nowadays increasingly considered in many social science disciplines, a scholarly trend that can also be remarked in the field of migration studies in which more and more scholars treat children and childhoods as objects of scientific inquiry (e.g. Veale and Donà 2014). Nonetheless, this is not a unidirectional development: as Bailey (2011) argues, "discourses on the spatiality of children and childhoods (broadly defined) continue to inform structural and constructionist scholarship in childhood studies" (p. 408). The question now is that how children have been investigated in migration studies. Specifically, in what way are they considered in the study of transnational families?

2.3 Children in Transnational Families: Developments in Migration Studies

The lack of sufficient attention on children in migration studies in the past can be compared to the invisibility of women in this research field before the late 1970s (Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot 2015). The important scholarly interest in children's perspectives mainly originates from three migratory phenomena: parental migration, children and youth migration, and whole family migration.

The dynamic maternal migration observed in the 1980s and 2000s lead to a number of studies and socio-political debates concerning its impact on children left in the country of origin. At that time, scholars observed this phenomenon in Latin America, Southeast and South Asia, and the Caribbean. At the beginning, migrant women were the focus of many studies examining their transnational motherhood

and mothering, their work experiences, as well as their conjugal lives (e.g. Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Parreñas 2001). Concerning children, scholars analyse their situation and well-being mainly through the perspectives of their adult family members, such as migrant mothers and female caregivers, but rarely through those of children (Mazzucato and Schans 2011). In many cases, children are portrayed as passive, vulnerable victims of adults' migration and decisions. However, the critique on the heteronormative tendency (Manalansan 2006) in migration studies in which the mother-child dyad is favoured over other family relationships, and the call to depart from adult-centric perspectives of transnational family experiences have triggered a shift of focus in the field. Aside from illuminating men's voices (Pribilsky 2012; Fresnoza-Flot 2014; Kilkey et al. 2014), migration scholars are now starting to highlight the viewpoints of children in transnational families. Inquiries on children's subjectivity and agency in the context of migration have become a scholarly trend that unveils interesting findings concerning children's well-being and self-(re)constructions (e.g. Coe et al. 2011; Dreby 2007, 2010; Mazzucato et al. 2015; Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot 2015). The so-called "left-behind" children are progressively no longer viewed in migration studies as "vulnerable victims", but rather as agentic family members who hold power in the decision-making process in the family (Dreby 2007).

In the literature on children and youth migration, young migrants are also most often presented as vulnerable victims, similar to the "left-behind" children of migrant parents. However, recent works have started to transform this negative representation by highlighting migrant children's own perspectives of their migration experiences and their role in the migration process (Ni Laoire et al. 2011; Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot 2015; White et al. 2011). Whether from the second, 1.5 or 1.75 generations, children of migrants have captured scientific attention concerning their school performance, labour market integration, transnational ties, and ethnic identification, among others (e.g. Crul and Mollenkopf 2012; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001; Levitt and Waters 2002). The portrayal of these young people in the literature appears to lie somewhere between socially incorporated and non-integrated, successful minority and social outsiders. In many studies, this seems to be gendered: for example, girls and young women are often presented as more easily incorporable in society than their male counterparts (e.g. Lillo 2004). Such gendered dimension of young people's lives is an aspect that deserves deeper examination when studying children and childhoods in the context of migration.

In brief, the corpus of works on children in migration studies points to the need for an analytical framework sensitive not only to young people's perspectives, but also to their spatiality, subjectivity, and agency while linking micro-level processes to macro-level ones. Nonetheless, agency-centred approaches and agency-structure dichotomy analysis should not always be considered sufficient to capture children's complex emotions, meaning-making and experiences. Recognising children's vulnerability and agency (Bleubond-Langner and Korbin 2007) at the same time as

keeping off from the tendency to oppose "agency" and "structure" or "sedentarism" and "mobility" can be a good starting point. The concept of agency appears to be a significant contribution of children and childhoods studies to migration studies, whereas the awareness of young people's spatiality can be considered an important influence of the latter to the former research field. Such influence has been further advanced by the "transnational" and recently "mobility" turns in migration studies. This development shaped the analytical lens I employed in the case study in this chapter, which examines children's places in Filipino transnational families.

2.4 Mobile Childhoods as an Analytical Lens

In transnational families, children undergo during the migration process various emotional challenges most often characterised by family separation and reunification as well as mobility and immobility experiences.

Mobility refers here to what Canzler and colleagues (2008) define as "a change of condition" in terms of "movements, networks and motility" (p. 2). However, this mobility should not be solely understood in its spatial sense but should also "encompasses other life aspects and underlying processes" stemming in or from geographical movements (Fresnoza-Flot and Nagasaka 2015, p. 30). This is because, when spatial movements take place, individuals find themselves not only physically moving from one geographical place to another, but also cognitively, emotionally, and temporarily moving from a collectivity of overlapping contexts (familial, social, political, cultural, material, symbolic, and so on) to another (ibid. pp. 29–30). This experience is not restricted to the one who does the physical movement across space, as persons closely related to him or her (like his or her family members) can also undergo a form of mobility beyond the spatial. For instance, when parents migrate to another country, their children left in their country of origin experience contextual and temporal mobility due to the change of care arrangements at home. These young people may not be mobile in a geographical sense like their parents, but mobile in contexts and time. To capture their mobility experiences and their accompanying emotional challenges, I co-proposed elsewhere a new lens to analyze children and childhoods in transnational families, the "mobile childhoods" lens (ibid.). This framework focuses on "the socially constructed life stages of children below 18 who experience fluxes and movements in different contexts […] and periods of life related to migration" (p. 30). Such analytic lens "compels us to pay attention to the different forms of mobilities that children experience because of the migration of members of their families or because of their own geographical movements." (p. 31). In the core of this paper, I illustrate the usefulness of this lens for understanding children's life worlds, notably their place in transnational family settings.

2.5 Methodology and Sample

The data examined in this chapter originate from three studies I carried out between 2005 and 2015: a doctoral study on transnational family dynamics of Filipino migrant mothers in France (2005–2008), a collaborative research on 1.5-generation Filipinos who partly grew-up in the Philippines and France (2009–2015), and a postdoctoral research on children of mixed couples in Belgium (2012–2015). All these studies adopted multi-sited approach and qualitative data-gathering methods, namely semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentary research.

During my fieldworks, I interviewed a total of 81 offspring of Filipino migrants. For the present paper, I specifically draw from my 77 interviews with the following informants: 27 young people in the Philippines who were separated from their migrant mothers, 21 who became reunited with their migrant parents in France, and 29 who grew up in Filipino-Belgian families in Belgium. Eleven of these informants were aged 12 and below, 33 had ages between 3 and 19 years old, and the rest were in their 20s and above. Most were still students, and in terms of civil status, only seven were married at the time of the interview. A majority of the informants were children of Filipino migrant women working in the domestic service sector of their receiving country. These young people occupied different positions in their respective transnational families, with varying migration trajectories and mobility experiences as the following case study reveals.

2.6 Children in Filipino Transnational Families: A Case Study

> Mama's a maid in London. I want to believe that she's fine. She could be lonely in London. I want to know why she had to go. I need her. I want to be near her. I've got to be with her and see to it that we're together once more. […] London, Vancouver, or Hong Kong; governess, housekeeper, or nurse; what is to happen to all of us children with mothers who travel so far? (Smokey Mountain 1990)

The lines above from the song "Mama" of the children band *Smokey Mountain* reflects how maternal migration and children left in the country were viewed in Philippine society in the 1980s and 1990s. During all this period and until the early 2000s, bleak representations of Filipino transnational families and the children of migrant parents notably mothers were abundant in the media, in political debates, and religious discourses. Why was this the case? Why did maternal migration cause such strong social reactions in the Philippines at that time?

The answers probably lie in the family ideology in the country and in the extent of Filipino women's international migration. A child (*anak* in Filipino language) is viewed as indispensable for the formation of *mag-anak*, which can be equated to the

English word "family". As it is the *anak* that legitimises the social existence of a family, he or she is expected to receive care and protection from his or her parents. Indeed, children are described in Philippine society as *walang malay* (without awareness) and *walang alam* (without knowledge), which "emphasize(s) their innocence, vulnerability and defencelessness" (Asis 2006: 47). On the other hand, mothers in Filipino families are generally expected to fulfil a reproductive role including caring for their children, whereas fathers fulfil productive role. The overseas migration of Filipino women has challenged this gendered ideology by extending women's reproductive obligation to include productive role. The number of women migrating since the 1980s has caused not only moral panic regarding the safety and well-being of women migrants, but also important concern about the future of the Filipino family and of the children "left behind". The increasing number of registered Filipino women workers deployed by the government over time – for example, from 28,517 in 1981 to 52,919 in 2015 (CFO 2016) – implies that a growing number of children are left behind in the country. In 2008, this number (including children with one or more parents abroad) was estimated to be about nine million, representing 27% of the Filipino youth population at that time (Reyes 2008).

The Filipino maternal migration used to be seen most often as a threat to children's well-being and family unity: children of migrant mothers were regarded at the same time as lucky because of their assured university education thanks to migrant parent's remittances but also as "pitiful" because they would have to grow up without the physical presence and care of a parent. This ambivalence is also evident in a number of studies on Filipino maternal migration in which we find often-contradicting statements about the impact of parental migration on children left in the country: some show its negative consequences, such as low educational achievements, feeling of abandonment, and jealousy towards other children whose parent(s) are at home with them (Asis 2006; Battistella and Conaco 1998; Parreñas 2005); whereas other studies stress rather positive implications such as "better school outcomes" and "less anxiousness" compared to children of non-migrants (ECMI et al. 2004).

In the context of Filipino children's international migration, little is known about the family and migration trajectories of young migrants from their own viewpoints. Despite the fact that Filipino young people are as spatially mobile as their adult counterparts, their migration remains largely overlooked in Filipino migration studies. Between 1981 and 2013, 419,989 Filipinos aged below 14 migrated overseas and 207,543 persons aged 15–19 years old moved abroad (Nagasaka 2015: 42–43). In a majority of cases, adult family members did not ask children whether they would like to move or not to another country (Bartley and Spoonley 2008; Fresnoza-Flot 2015). Parents still nowadays take the central role of decision-makers for their children, which reverberates the stereotype in the Philippine society that children lack awareness and knowledge, and therefore need adults' protection.

2.6.1 *Parental Migration and Its Induced Mobilities on Stay-behind Filipino Children*

Supporting their children's education and improving their family's living conditions were the main reasons why the parents of 27 stay-behind respondents and 21 informants of the 1.5 generation decided to migrate abroad. The immediate result of their parental migration was the reorganisation of care arrangement in the family, from one with caring parents to another with usually female family members acting as caregivers. This engendered Filipino children's (im)mobility from one care condition to another, which often entailed emotional challenges.

> It was difficult, because your feelings towards your grandfather and grandmother are different, their love towards you is different, compared to that of your parents that you really feel it strongly inside. (Mario)

Filipino children's mobility from one care context to another was facilitated by parents' openness to them about the logic of their migration and was also mediated by their family members left in the country. If the migrant parent did not disclose to his or her children the real reason of their migration, the latter experienced more difficulties to adjust in the new care arrangement. However, if some family members explained the aim of their parent's migration, children appeared to easily come to terms with their parent's physical absence from home.

> I grew up in this situation (lacking information on mother's logic of migration). Was there anyone in my family who explained to me the situation? No one. Is there any intimate time in my family during which we say things, for example why my mother is there (in France)? None, none. (Gina)

Sometimes, parental migration may also trigger stay-behind children's spatial mobility, moving from one household to another, or from one school to another. In one case, a respondent who reunited to his parents in France at the age of 18 recalled his mobile life in the Philippines prior to his migration, which at the beginning was his parents' suggestion and later on his own decision:

> I moved from one relatives's household to another in the Philippines. I was moving all the time. I lived first in Baguio (in the North of the country) during three years, until my third grade (in elementary school), and then I transferred to Caloocan in (the region of) Manila. After that, I moved to Bulacan (in the central part of Luzon, the biggest island in the country), where I stayed until high school. (Carlo)

Moving from one context to another did not always occur smoothly, as some Filipino children struggled to confront the emotional implications of their parents' migration. This resulted in some male respondents loosing interest in studies, drinking alcohol, or going out all the time with friends in what appeared to be a way to confront parental absence from home but can also may reveal their difficulty to move from one life context to another (Fresnoza-Flot 2015). This behaviour of children changed as years passed by, suggesting herein that children's mobility and immobility are intricately linked with each other and can take place one after the other through time.

2.6.2 Children's Migration and Its Resulting Mobilities

During family reunification process in France between 21 respondents and their migrant parents, I observed that the study informants were generally excluded not only from the decision-making process concerning their migration but also from the preparation of their travel documents. It was their parents (with the help of some extended family member) who decided when they would join them in France and who would take care of their travel papers.

Although excluded from the preparations, the respondents experienced mobility across administrative contexts. They realised the importance of owning a passport bearing a visa (either as a tourist or for the purpose family reunification), and the difficulty to come legally to Europe. Their experience shows the impact of the political situation in the region where "family migration policies are socially selective, particularly excluding more vulnerable groups from the right to family reunion" (Kraler and Kofman 2009: 4). Thus, it is not surprising that nine respondents entered France using a tourist visa. After the expiration of their visa, they became irregular migrants, which affected negatively their social adjustment in the new country.

> One time, in our sports class, I was talking to someone when a black student arrived and punched me in the shoulder with the class record book. I didn't fight back; I wasn't fighting back at that time since I didn't have papers yet. (Mario)

Aside from mobility across administrative contexts and across different countries, the respondents also underwent mobility from one care arrangement to another: one located in their country of origin with their kin caregivers (in many cases) and the other in their destination country with their migrant parents or in certain cases with their mother and French stepfather. Nine respondents whose parents had remarried or re-partnered found it hard to "find their place" in the new family arrangement. Those who had relatives around overcame their difficulties more easily. For instance, when Tito arrived in Paris, he stayed for a while in the apartment of his relatives while his mother lived with his French stepfather in another apartment. In the case of Serena, having to cohabitate with her half-sister from her mother's remarriage in France triggered additional tensions due to jealousy:

> It looked like my sister got all the attention of my mother. Because I had just arrived, [I] was like a baby. I was more like a baby than my sister, because of language, then food [difficulties].

The Filipino respondents' experiences of family reunification and migration were characterized by downward social class mobility. Prior to their migration to France, they enjoyed a middle-class standard of living in the Philippines thanks to their migrant parents' remittances. When they started to live in France, they realised their family's belonging to the lower echelon of the French society due to their parents' paid domestic job, modest monthly revenue, and rented small apartment.

> When I was in the Philippines, I thought we were rich. I was thinking that in France, it was easy to earn big amounts of money […] Then when I arrived in Nice, I was shocked, I was surprised that life here was indeed difficult. Our house was not what I expected. (Gino)

For the respondents who studied in two countries, spatial mobility also resulted in educational mobility. In the Philippines, most of the respondents had frequented private schools, which are considered in the country as delivering a better education than public schools. In France, they studied in public schools. This mobility from one education system to another posed them challenges: they had to master the French language, to adjust to French pedagogical approaches, and at the same time to succeed in their studies.

> Before [I went to] the Alliance Française, I used to go to the library to study, since in the afternoon I did not have work. I was studying, I was reading. I told [to myself], 'I will finish this book. I will read it'. I was doing that alone, only half-day. Then, I went home in the evening. (Gino)

In France, the respondents received support from their family and kin members: their parents in spite of the emotional gap between them, their relatives who were already in the country for a while, and their French stepfathers. As they grew up, these respondents started to voice out their opinions in their family and to decide the professional path they wanted to take. Some of them felt their change of status in the eyes of their extended family members, notably the ones in the Philippines who looked up to them. Following their migrant parents' example, some of them expressed their desire to provide financial assistance to their kin once they become financially independent. In the next example, I unveil the mobility experiences of children of Filipino migrant women in couple with Belgian men in Belgium.

2.6.3 Mobilities and Ethnic Identification of Children of Filipino-Belgian Couples

Contrary to the children of Filipino migrants that I interviewed in France, the children of Filipino-Belgian couples I interviewed in Belgium did not experience family separation and reunification. They were mostly born in Belgium and studied in the country since their early years. Their life may give an impression of sedentariness and immobility, but in reality they were mobile too notably in spatial and cultural terms, which influenced the way they ethnically defined themselves.

> Catherine together with her parents visits every year the Philippines where she was born. She speaks Tagalog, the language of her mother, and has double nationality (Filipino and Belgian). Every summer, she stays in the country between three weeks and two months. Aside from this, she also goes to vacation in other countries in Europe with her parents. Asked how she defines herself, she replies: "When I am there (Philippines), I am more Filipino than Belgian. When I am here (Belgium), I am more Belgian than Filipino. I have both (identities)".

Like Catherine, the other 28 Filipino-Belgian respondents are spatially mobile within Europe and between Belgium and the Philippines. The difference can be found in the frequency of visits to the country of their migrant mothers. Unlike Catherine who goes every year to the Philippines, other respondents visit the country on a more irregular basis. However, some of these respondents may experience mobility across two cultural contexts when kin members from the Philippines stay in their home in Belgium, or when they frequent the spaces of congregation of Filipino migrants such as their places of worship in the country.

> When Grace was four years old her aunt from the Philippines came to live with her family during three months. It was during this period that Grace was exposed to the Filipino language and foods on everyday basis. Her mother talked to her in French due to her father's wish, but cooked from time to time Filipino dishes, which Grace could not tell from Belgian ones until her aunt arrived. When Grace's mother started to actively participate in different activities at the Filipino Catholic church, she brought Grace with her. This immersion to the Filipino community taught Grace many things such as the codes of interpersonal interactions among Filipinos, which she found different from those of Belgians. Grace's mobility to move from one cultural context to another translates into her interlocutor-contingent ethnic identification: "when I am with my mother, I feel more Filipino than Belgian, and with my father more Belgian than Filipino".

Grace's mother did not oblige her children to involve themselves in her Filipino community-related activities. Yet, Grace decided to immerse herself in her mother's Filipino associative and religious activities, exhibiting her agency and eventually gaining in this process her mother's admiration. Her other siblings who decided to mostly stay with their father came to develop closer relations with him and identified themselves more as Belgians than Filipinos or both. Thus, mobility and immobility across cultural contexts within the family and local settings fashioned the ethnic self-identification of Grace, her siblings, and some respondents in my study. The way they identified themselves reflects how intergenerational transmission took place in their ethnically mixed family. Within such unit, children appear to have more possibilities for self-assertion than in Filipino transnational families, which probably results from the parents' negotiated approach to child raising fashioned by their respective socio-cultural backgrounds.

2.7 Discussion and Conclusion

The review presented here of children and childhoods studies as well as migration scholarship points to the evolution through time of the way children are socially and scientifically viewed. The cross-pollination of knowledge between the two research fields enriches each other methodologically and theoretically speaking. Concerning the case study in this chapter, it uncovers the (im)mobilities of Filipino migrants' children while illuminating their location in the larger family circle. These children's places within their family and society are shaped by gendered family ideology, by their age, and by the state of their parents' conjugality (that is, ethnically

mixed or not). Childhoods of children of Filipino migrants appear mobile inhabiting a space of vulnerability, power, and resistance. Nowadays, the situation of Filipino children in transnational families become less attractive in the research field than before, as scholars turn their attention to recent parental migration from countries such as Indonesia, Poland, Romania, and Ukraine. The challenge now is to avoid sensationalising the stories of children in transnational families of these countries, which had happened during the early period of parental migration in the Philippines and which had produced a stereotype of vulnerable and victimised social actors. Another challenge is to prevent essentialising children's voices, that is, limiting our analytical gaze on only the perspectives of young people whose ages fit the juridical definition of a child in one specific context, and disqualifying "adult-become" children whose voices are seen as simple reconstructions of the past. Adopting a longitudinal approach or studying a sample diverse in terms of ages appear to me the most effective ways to obtain heterogeneous accounts of childhoods in the context of migration.

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Chapter 3
Transnational Migrant Entrepreneurs' Childcare Practices from the Carers' Perspective: Chinese Children in Hungarian Homes

Nóra Kovács

3.1 Introduction

In this ethnographic paper I attempt to present and discuss from an anthropological perspective childcare practices integrated into the transnational migration processes of Chinese entrepreneurs in Hungary, a former socialist East Central European country. The childcare practices chosen by members of this group of Chinese migrants since their arrival in the early 1990s are different in several ways from mainstream forms of childcare services used by Hungarian parents, especially in terms of the space and duration of care.

It is not known exactly what proportion of Hungarian parents pay for childcare services provided by individuals informally in Hungary since this activity is carried out in the black economy. However, there exists an extensive network of public nurseries and kindergartens and family day care centres. Moreover, Hungary offers one of the longest periods of maternity leave in Europe. According to a 2012 study, no more than 3% of mothers who returned to work had paid for private childcare (Makay 2015).

On the other hand, Chinese migrants in Hungary have created rather unique post-migratory childcare arrangements whereby the former buy childcare provided by Hungarians and where a reverse case of the 'international division of reproductive labour' (Parreñas 2010) is thus occurring. Field-based studies of the Chinese population in Hungary support the findings of the present research about the dominance of this childcare strategy among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs doing business in Hungary.

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The paper focuses on Chinese migrant children at a certain stage in the process of transnational family mobility; during a time when they are looked after, cared for and temporarily raised by adult members of Hungarian host society in the carers' homes, while their parents continue to live and work in Hungary. The research investigates the childcare practices of Asian migrants in Central Europe as a specific post-migratory arrangement (see also Souralová 2015) that has been created as part of the transnational migration process.

The paper thus aims at contributing to our knowledge and understanding of 'doing transnational family' between China and Hungary. It has a special focus on mobile childhoods in transnational families (Fresnoza-Flot and Nagasaka 2015), and links specific childcare-related phenomena with the process of the integration of migrants (Souralová 2015).

Although the viewpoints and experiences of Chinese parents and youth have also been explored, due to length constraints this paper discusses this childcare regime primarily from the perspective of Hungarian carers.

Let me begin with the story of David[1] that involves the same scenario as identified with many of his peer compatriots in Hungary. David is a young boy born in Budapest, Hungary to Chinese entrepreneur parents in 2004. He spent the first 2 years of his life in Budapest, where, a couple of weeks after being born, he was sent to live at the home of a paid Hungarian child carer. When he turned two, his parents decided to send him back to China. There he first lived with his paternal grandparents, and later with his father's sisters. He attended primary school in China and forgot Hungarian, the first language he had learned as a baby. At the age of ten his parents brought him back to Hungary and moved him to Auntie Gizi's, a paid Hungarian carer in her mid-60s. When I first met them in the spring of 2016, David had been living at the home of his Hungarian carer Auntie Gizi in a quiet residential Budapest neighbourhood for more than a year.

In the meantime, his parents were based in Budapest and attended to their transnational trading enterprise, paying regular visits to China. David's mother and her three siblings and their families all lived in Hungary and worked for the family company which had been established by David's maternal grandmother, who had arrived in Hungary from South-East China with one suitcase in her hand in the mid-1990s. It was she who had built up the trading business that had become successful and made their extended family wealthy.

Back in Budapest, David attended the local primary school where he was placed in third grade when he arrived back in Hungary 3 months before the end of the school year in 2015. His Hungarian peers were in fifth grade, which was the class that would have allowed him to smoothly continue studies he had started in China. Nevertheless, his parents expressed the view that repeating the third and fourth grade would allow him time to learn Hungarian and do well at school later.

David's mother, Mimi, a Chinese woman nearing 40, arrived in Hungary as a young adult after finishing secondary school in China. In contrast to her mother, she had learnt to communicate in Hungarian well enough to discuss basic questions

[1] Interlocutors' names have been changed to hide their identities.

related to her son with Auntie Gizi. It was Mimi who kept in contact with Auntie Gizi about David. She visited David once a week or once a fortnight, when she discussed technical issues with Auntie Gizi for 5 or 10 min. She took her son out to a restaurant once every weekend, but took him back to his carer's home to sleep. David's family took him on vacation twice a year; the year before our first encounter they had travelled with him to Mexico, to the US, and to Greece and Spain. He also spent 3–4 weeks with his grandparents in China during the summer holidays. David's father, a first generation Chinese, only appeared at the carer's home when his mother was away on business. In Auntie Gizi's opinion, the main reason for the parents' visits was to check whether their son was well, and to bring money for his expenses such as extra lessons, sports activities, food, and occasional toys.

During subsequent visits to Auntie Gizi's house I had the chance to follow how David's life was going in Budapest. To Auntie Gizi's surprise, David had decided to get up at four in the morning every day and have breakfast – which she served – at quarter past four. She walked him to the nearby school in the morning, and back at four in the afternoon. Private tutors came to their home to give him extra lessons every afternoon. English lessons were a high priority among these. The only programme outside the house involved karate classes, to which Gizi took him twice a week after school. It was also Gizi who took him to the local paediatrician if he had health problems, and kept in contact with the school on the family's behalf in the role of David's 'grandmother'. David seemed to be having a bad time at school and was in constant conflict: disobeying his teachers and intermittently ignoring and fighting classmates several years his junior.

David was not the first Chinese child that recently divorced Auntie Gizi had cared for at her home after her return from Austria where she and her husband had run a restaurant. She had two live-in children before David moved in, and a few months after our first interview she accepted David's five-year-old cousin Michael as well.

Auntie Gizi found David a rather unusual child, full of discontent and with an air of superiority; someone who never used her name, and who simply gave orders. Gizi made several attempts to take him to the cinema, to the zoo, and to the circus, all to no avail. He preferred having his food ordered from a restaurant to going out for dinner, he considered zoos and circuses bad-smelling places, and showed no interest in going to the movies. His parents did not keep in contact online with him, nor did they allow him to have a smartphone or a tablet because they did not want him to play online games; nevertheless, he did have electronic games he could entertain himself with; he also had Lego toys, and he was allowed to watch TV.

David was a not an only child. The elder of his two sisters, seventeen at the time of our first interview in 2016, was finishing secondary school in China with outstanding results and living in her grandparents' home in China. The family wanted her to attend university there. His other sister, only 1 year his senior, also lived in China with her grandparents but she spent the summer of 2015 in Hungary at Gizi's home, so the brother and sister lived together for a couple of weeks. Gizi told me that the children's parents decided to move their younger daughter back to Hungary

on a permanent basis, but they wanted her to live at the home of another, preferably younger, Hungarian carer.

Eleven-year-old David's individual transnational history of mobility and his close relationship with his Hungarian carer is not an isolated case among children of Chinese migrants in Hungary.

3.2 Methodology

This paper is built on an anthropological research project about intimate interpersonal relationships between members of Hungarian society and Chinese migrants entitled 'Chinese person in the family' (see Kovács 2015, 2016).[2] This project investigated relations between Chinese parents, Chinese children and Hungarian caregivers, and also the effects of these care arrangements on children's lives, behaviour, identities and belonging.

Based on anthropological fieldwork and interviews, the project explored the practices, experiences and narratives of the social groups involved: Hungarian carers, Chinese children and youth, and Chinese migrant parents. Interviews were undertaken with Hungarian caregivers, Chinese care receivers (both children and young adults), and Chinese parents who used the services provided by Hungarian carers. A total of 42 individuals were interviewed formally. This text is based on the narratives of the 14 Hungarian carers who were contacted during fieldwork who had housed a total of 38 Chinese children in their homes since they had become involved in this type of care work.

3.3 Context, Questions

The live-in care arrangements (that is, those involving a child residing at the carer's household for months or years) resulted in particularly intense and intimate encounters between migrants and locals, and became the special focus of this research. Other forms of care provided by Hungarians of Chinese migrant children were also witnessed during fieldwork. Since they had started to become engaged in this activity, most carers had built up a scheme of work that combined provision of live-in care with day care and afternoon care in their own homes. Most Chinese children who became visible in this research initially lived at carers homes, which was, during a subsequent period, followed by afternoon care or weekend care, or afternoon tutorials.

[2]The project ran between 2014 and 2017 and received financial support from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA).

Literature on the Chinese migrant population suggests that this childcare solution is widespread practice among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary (Paveszka and Nyíri 2006; Nyíri 2006, 2010; Beck 2015).

Childcare practices in China involve a complex group of socio-culturally conditioned phenomena in a context of rapidly changing family and interpersonal relations (see Naftali 2009; Evans 2010; Stafford 2013; Fong 2002; Kwok-bun 2013; Yan 2009), including most recently the abolishment of China's one-child policy in 2015 (with all its complex social implications). The Chinese context of practices, norms and informal rules of who cares for children often leads to grandparents and other relatives assuming these tasks (see Chen et al. 2011).

However, outsourcing the care of one's own children to non-relatives and physically distancing them for extended time periods is not the dominant strategy of working parents in China, nor of Chinese parents living in West-European, American, or African diasporas. For example, this situation is altogether absent in France, which houses the largest first-generation Chinese migrant population in Europe. These childcare arrangements do not seem to be part of an emerging trend in Hungary, where they have been present ever since the first Chinese children arrived or were born in Hungary in the early 1990s. I argue instead that, besides cultural norms that leave open a larger space for alternative forms of childcare in China, this phenomenon would not exist without the social and economic conditions present in post-socialist Hungary. It should be noted, however, that not all children of Chinese migrants in Hungary grow up in the same way, and that there is considerable variation among the parental childcare solutions.

David's personal story, involving moving between China and Hungary, and his and Auntie Gizi's experiences living together, raise several questions that cut across a wide range of interconnecting problems, some of which stretch beyond the limits of this work.

It was a central research aim to identify how this existing-yet-unexplored childcare scheme created by Chinese families and Hungarian individuals as part of a transnational migration process actually worked. Could characteristic childcare arrangement patterns be identified? What characterises the Chinese migrants and the Hungarian individuals who get involved in these kinds of relationships? Why and how do they engage in these care relationships? How are the terms of cooperation defined and negotiated? Are all Chinese migrants in Hungary likely to choose this form of care?

Meeting carers and children through fieldwork shed light on the bonds that were formed between Chinese migrant children and Hungarian carers, and on the role intimacy between Chinese children and local adults played in both groups' lives. It also raised the question in what way can intimate bonds affect the transnational migration processes of Chinese entrepreneur families that are established in Hungary. Does intimacy between Hungarian carers and their cared-for serve as a channel for integration into local society? If yes, how exactly does this happen? How do the often-contrasting Chinese and Hungarian ingredients of this childcare scheme that combine different value sets affect migrant children's childhood, their personal integrity (another culturally shaped concept), and their socio-psychological

development? An ethnographic account of this phenomenon can contribute to a better understanding of its short- and long-term consequences on locals and on migrant families, and especially on migrant children. It may also help with exploring how these child care arrangements and the experiences related to them fit into the process of growing up transnationally. Moreover, it may provide important clues about how these arrangements relate to migrants' integration, and how they influence the identities of the second generation of migrants.

The research process helped me to better understand my own socio-culturally conditioned notions of 'good care' and 'good childhood' and how these can impact the interpretation of data. In her study on first-world expatriate wives' volunteer work in a Beijing state orphanage, Leslie K. Wang's stresses the socially conditioned nature of logics that underlie care practices, and how Western women identified good care solely with maternal nurturance and emotional connections (Wang 2013).

3.4 Chinese Migrants and Chinese Enterprises in Hungary

The Chinese migrant population in Hungary is fundamentally different from Chinese diasporas in Western Europe, Australia and North America. It is the result of relatively recent waves of economically motivated migration since the early 1990s, and its members are typically less integrated than those of Chinese diaspora communities with several generations of history in their countries of arrival. The number of Chinese migrants had fallen from 400,00 to 150,00 by the mid-2010s.

Since the early 1990s, the principle business model of Chinese entrepreneurs has changed from local retail to international wholesale of a wide range of Chinese products. Several such businesses have substantially grown and become economically successful. Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary have operated their businesses on a transnational basis and led a transnational way of life with persons and resources in constant flow between Hungary, China, and other locations.

In his study on Chinese migrant working practices in Hungary, Várhalmi confirms Nyíri's view that Chinese migration has supported female employment and female entrepreneurship (Várhalmi 2009). When trying to understand the childcare regimes of this transnational migrant population, one always has to keep in mind the high proportion of Chinese migrant women, and the high proportion of entrepreneurs among them.

Although the overwhelming majority of Chinese migrants in Hungary are entrepreneurs, some of them work as non-family member employees in Chinese companies, or work free-lance as, for example, tourist guides or interpreters. Information from employees and free-lancers was over-represented in this study as they were more accessible during fieldwork. None of the employee parents that were contacted opted for the live-in childcare arrangement.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the concept of family as it appears in the Chinese context of this research. Várhalmi has stressed the constitutive family

component in Chinese transnational enterprises (Várhalmi 2009). It is very important to emphasize, however, that the primary association invoked by the notion of family in the Chinese entrepreneur context of Hungary is trust, not intimacy-based emotional closeness between family members and subsequent generations.[3]

Until the abolition of China's one-child-policy in the autumn of 2015, living in the diaspora represented an easier way for Chinese families to have more children. The one-child policy was an important factor that shaped parents' child placement decisions, which were also influenced by the relative position of the child in the family. First children could easily be fitted into the official administration in China, so they were more likely to be sent back to the care of relatives. Chinese parents reported that the situation was more complicated in the cases of subsequent children, leading to different treatment and different placement strategies for children within the same nuclear family.

3.5 Childcare Arrangements of Chinese Children in Hungary – Experiences from the Field

The discussion in this paper is based primarily on Hungarian carers' views, complemented by information from educators and health professionals, but occasionally reflecting Chinese viewpoints. Since the early 1990s my interlocutors had cared for a total of 38 Chinese children. What exactly these care arrangements comprised varied to a great degree from case to case with regard to children's age, the time spent with Hungarian carers, where and how this activity actually took place, and the services provided. This research was driven by the interest in care schemes in which Chinese children live in carers' homes in Hungary, an arrangement that is often combined with periods of living with grandparents in China.

3.5.1 First Contact Between Parents and Carers

The channels through which the first contacts of carers in my sample were made with Chinese parents suggested two patterns. The first is connected to state childcare institutions: kindergarten employees met Chinese children and parents through their jobs. Once a successful and mutually satisfactory parent-child-carer relationship was established, it led to more interaction. Jucika, in her mid-60s and about to retire at the time of our interview, was perhaps the most popular of three

[3] Qualitative research on intermarriage between Chinese migrants and Hungarians confirms the culturally mediated differences in the notions of 'family'. One such difference is the priority Hungarians give to the mixed nuclear family, as opposed to the Chinese emphasis on the extended Chinese family. These often irreconcilable differences fundamentally shape the inner dynamics of mixed relationships (see Kovács 2015, 2016).

kindergarten employees among Chinese parents, although she was unwilling to take live-in children. She was a woman of discipline who was reported to give afternoon tea and dinner, as well as very efficient tutorial classes, to primary school children in her apartment. She always had more offers of work from the network of Chinese families than she could accept, and she passed on children to her friends and colleagues.

The second pattern of contact in my sample was based on a combination of spontaneous encounters and the formation of trust between Chinese migrants and potential carers. Examples of such include the regular meeting of a Hungarian waitress and a Chinese customer in a café situated near a Chinese shopping centre in Budapest; as neighbours and friends of a Hungarian person who rented business premises to a Chinese family; and as a relative of a Hungarian accountant working for Chinese clients.

3.5.2 Children's Age and Time Frames

Chinese migrant children arrived in the Hungarian carer's homes at different times of their lives. For children born in Hungary, a typical entry point was shortly after birth. The youngest children that carers mentioned about were four- and five-week-old infants, some of whom stayed in their carer's home until they reached the age of two or three. Children arriving from China after a period spent with relatives generally moved in with their Hungarian carers after kindergarten at around the age of 6, or having completed the first years of Chinese elementary school, around the age of 10. Some Chinese children who had been born in Hungary but who had spent a more extended period in China stayed at carers' homes for no longer than a year with the objective of learning Hungarian intensively, living in a Hungarian household, and receiving assistance with school-related tasks. The eldest Chinese children in these types of arrangement that were encountered during fieldwork were 14 and 16.

Reaching school age, children were often moved back to their parents' homes; however, they spent most of their time after school and most of their weekends in the home of a Hungarian person who walked them to the nearby playground, helped them prepare for classes, gave them lunch, afternoon snacks and often dinner, and kept them company while their parents worked long hours in their businesses.

Some of the 38 children were taken home to sleep at their parents' homes on Saturdays; some were taken home once every fortnight. Several younger children under the age of six were reported to have been left in Hungary while their parents travelled to China during the summer.

The time span of the oral contracts was never defined with precision when the agreements were made, or if it was, Hungarian carers felt they were not made familiar with it. When asked about how much longer they would go on caring for the Chinese children living in their homes, service buyers responded that they were not

sure, and they gave time estimates in years. Four carers reported to experiencing abrupt endings to the care arrangements and oral contracts that they found difficult to handle for affective reasons. In these four cases, children were reported to have been sent to China to live with relatives.

3.5.3 The Space of Care

The Hungarians encountered during the research all worked at their homes. Children lived with them, and the former also provided afternoon and weekend care in their own homes. Academic staff members of expensive international private schools in Budapest commented on the existence of two other forms of care arrangement for the children of particularly wealthy entrepreneurial families. Some Chinese children who attended private institutions lived at the family home where they had a live-in Hungarian carer that attended them on a full-time basis and helped with all their activities. Other students were reported to be living with their carers in an apartment rented for them by their parents, often in close proximity to their school. Thirty-seven from the thirty-eight Chinese children in the sample, however, lived at their Hungarian carers' homes full time for several years (although this did not necessarily mean that they had a room of their own).

3.5.3.1 The Space of Care and Power Relations

The space of care in migration-related care literature appears as a central theme, shaping the power relations between service buyers and service providers (see for example, Cheng 2004). In care arrangements that exist as a consequence of the global migration of third-world care workers, the space of care is typically the service buyer's home. Five of my interlocutors remembered vividly the ease with which Chinese fathers entered their homes for the first time. One of the former arrived with a child's cot and, with the carer and family watching with eyes wide open, walked up and down the apartment to find the right place for it, ultimately locating it in the carers' own bedroom. During visits to the carers' homes, marching into the kitchen, opening the fridge, and tasting food stored in cooking pots was a habit of several Chinese parents. In spite of the invasion of their personal space, I found the power relations between service buyers – the economically prosperous transnational Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents – and service providers – middle and lower-middle class Hungarian women – to be more balanced and fundamentally different from care relations which involve white middle-class first-world women buying the services of third-world deprived migrant women, and where the space of care is the service buyer's territory. Adéla Souralová has discovered and discussed similar power relations between Vietnamese migrant parents and Czech carers in the Czech Republic (Souralová 2015).

3.5.4 Reaching Agreement Between Parents and Carers

Carer's narratives about the first step towards making an agreement with the parents of the first Chinese child they ever cared for generally shared some features. In many cases, the carers had met the prospective service-buyer in the street in the company of a mutual Chinese or Hungarian acquaintance who put them in contact. They did not have a shared language and could communicate only with difficulty, leaving discussions open to unclarified details and possible misunderstandings; nevertheless, they had reached an oral agreement over the child's placement in the carer's home. According to my interlocutors, none of these transactions involved written permission or any type of written documents. In his study on forms of Chinese employment in Hungary, Zoltán Várhalmi discusses the circle of use of written contracts in work situations (Várhalmi 2009). He points out that while business agreements with Hungarian partners are turned into written contracts, such documents are lacking altogether in the employment of distant or close Chinese family members. Várhalmi does not specify the employment documentation of Hungarian employees. The informally organized care work activities described here are undocumented and exist in the black economy.

According to carers' reports, Chinese parents left carers with relative freedom to decide about everyday matters in children's lives without specifying details. The former placed their trust in the formerly unknown Hungarian child carers. Chinese parents asked for clean clothes, nutritious meals, and strict attitudes on behalf of the carers. They expected carers to take the child to the doctor if necessary and to attend parents' reunions at kindergartens or schools. Based on what Hungarian carers said, it was Chinese parents who defined the content of the oral contracts.

3.5.4.1 Reaching Agreement: Sources of Conflict

It was often days or weeks later when misunderstandings concerning important practical details of the oral contracts about the children's everyday lives came to light. One area of conflict carers spoke of as unforeseeable was the time the Chinese child was supposed to spend in the carer's home. During the first negotiations several parents said that they could not identify exactly which days they were expected to take the child home with them. Almost all carers of live-in children under the age of ten commented on the uncertainty they felt at the end of the first week after the child had moved in regarding when parents would show up. Accordingly, Hungarian carers' non-work days were a recurrent source of conflict, and several interlocutors recalled that there were entire months that they looked after children in their home with no break. Illnesses often generated disagreements between carers and parents. Some parents rejected the use of antibiotics, while the carers, instructed by paediatricians, insisted on them. Carers found that parents did not attribute importance to what they considered severe illnesses, and some commented that they were surprised to see that parents took their child back home while ill with high fever.

Hungarian carers also pointed out that it was very difficult to renegotiate the original terms of contracts with Chinese parents. Two of the carers mentioned that they had tried asking for extra payment during periods when children were ill and they had to work night shifts trying to lower the child's temperature, or take them to the night emergency unit at a hospital. The Chinese parents held the view that there was no work to be done with their child during the night, and refused to pay the extra money.

3.5.4.2 Reaching Agreement: Parents' Misjudgements

Sometimes Chinese parents misjudged certain qualities of the potential carer, and decided on a child placement that did not work out well for the child and later had to be changed. The case of baby Kevin is an example of this. Baby Kevin, the second child of a family of entrepreneurs, was born in Budapest in 2013 and arrived at one of my interlocutor's home a year and a half later. Kevin's father and mother were both in charge of shops that were being run by their extended family, and worked very long hours in two different shopping malls. As my carer interlocutor, a childcare specialist by her original profession, told me, a couple of weeks after being born Kevin was given into the care of a Hungarian person whose identity was not revealed by his parents to the carer I interviewed during fieldwork. Although Kevin was not born prematurely, he did not develop well either physically or mentally during the first 18 months of his life, and his behaviour signalled that he was receiving poor treatment. He could not express his needs, he clung inseparably to his carer's shoulders, or lay still wherever he was put down, and was frightened by loud human voices. So Kevin's parents decided to find a new place for him. Kevin's second carer's Hungarian family included several members who worked as paediatric health professionals, and Kevin's problems received close attention, so by the time I met him during my phase of fieldwork at the age of two and a half, Kevin was starting to catch up with his peers. Carers pointed out that it was easier to modify placement-related decisions concerning children who were old enough to express themselves in words.

3.5.5 Remuneration

There was considerable variation in how child care services were remunerated. In most of the live-in cases in my sample it was Chinese parents who proposed the amount and defined the frequency of the payment of carers. Some carers' work was accounted for by the week, and some by the day; some carers received payment weekly, and others biweekly. Several carers commented that parents did not see evenings and nights as periods of work for carers, and thus offered them no payment for these times. However, in general, carers reported that parents covered all child-related expenses if they considered them necessary.

I made attempts with care service providers as well as with service buyers to find out about fees. Informants were often reluctant to speak about this topic. In general, carers' answers tended to contradict parents' answers, with parents reporting substantially larger sums than carers. This raised doubts about the actual sums paid and received. When defining the initial terms of the oral contract, Baby Kevin's carer agreed to a monthly fee of 110 thousand HUF (about 350 Euros) for his live-in care. It was not specified, however, exactly how many days and nights Kevin would spend at the carer's home. This turned out to be more than what Kevin's carer and her family expected, but they did not succeed in renegotiating this fee with Kevin's parents. This fee did not include food and other child-related expenses. A Chinese mother, on the other hand, claimed that she paid a monthly 400 thousand HUF for the same live-in care of her 3 year old, with food included in the price. To put this sum in context, the minimum net wage in Hungary was 68,775 HUF (about 220 Euros) in 2015.

Carers' activities suggested the existence of two basic financial models. Some had, as their only care-related income, payment from parents of the child whom they cared for in their own home, often involving a 24/7 arrangement. Most Hungarians I interviewed provided live-in care for only one child at a time. Other interviewees provided day care, weekend care and/or extra-curricular classes for Chinese children and worked with several kids at a time. These carers asked for defined payments for well-specified time periods, and obtained substantially larger incomes while working less. Live-in care providers commented on their attempts and practice of offering afternoon care and tutorials to Chinese children, some of whom had lived in their households as babies or young kids.

3.5.6 Emotional Involvement and Its Consequences

In most accounts of live-in care arrangements, references were made to a very strong mutual emotional attachment that developed between carer and child. Stories of children between the ages of two and six usually highlighted weekly or biweekly conflicts over the temporary separation of children and their carers when parents arrived to pick their children up on a Saturday night. Sometimes parents gave up the fight, and left their children at the carers' homes, and sometimes special arrangements were defined that made the handover easier.

The emotional involvement and the personal costs and consequences of caregiving are topics widely discussed in care literature, often in the context of the power structure of relations between first-world white service buyers and more deprived migrant caregivers. Although in the cases of local carers and migrant care buyers described here the internal power structure is fundamentally different, the Hungarian carers' emotional involvement often weakened their bargaining position with Chinese parents (see Uttal and Tuominen 2004).

3.6 Hungarian Carers

Although my carer interlocutors' personal narratives of when, how and why they got engaged in caring for Chinese children in their own homes showed many individual traits, their antecedents, social situations, personal positions, and labour market perspectives form a characteristic pattern. Extensive literature discusses how women's labour market position has become more fragile since the democratic transition in Hungary (Koncz 2004). This is especially so in case of the women in the carers' age group (late 40s to early 60s) who have few qualifications. The majority (8 out of 14) of my sample were divorced, receiving no financial support from their former husbands, and had become the principal breadwinners in their households. Five of the women had taken out Swiss-franc based mortgages that had led to significant increases in Forint repayments over time, and had either already sold their previous family homes or felt under strong economic pressure to do so in the near future. All of them had been standing at a vocational crossroads and facing abrupt changes related to their work or family situation when the opportunity to care for Chinese children had opened up.

Three of the fourteen carers I interviewed had completed a tertiary education. Five of the fourteen had had previous experience working with children; there were two kindergarten teachers, a kindergarten assistant, an infant carer, and a district children's health visitor among them. Jucika, Hugi, and Klári, three women, colleagues at a Budapest kindergarten, were childcare professionals in formal employment. They were fresh divorcees whose former husbands had assumed no or very limited financial responsibility for their children and pre-existing mortgages. Rozália, a fourth woman with a childcare-related profession, who used to work as a district children's health visitor, had just quit her former job and finished setting up a private kindergarten when she found the Chinese family's advertisement for a 24-h professionally trained carer for their one-year-old. A fifth woman included a mother of four adult children who had trained as a nursery teacher and worked in a day care nursery before she had started a family.

Most of the other Hungarian women had become unemployed, or were on the verge of unemployment after years spent outside the labour market raising their own children before they had become engaged in this activity. With no university degrees or marketable expertise, they found their prospects of return to the world of work to be weak.

The care arrangements of Chinese migrant children in Hungary discussed here had a markedly gendered character. The Hungarian adults who were assuming the responsibility of the care of one or more Chinese children in my sample were all women. Three of them were assisted in this to some degree by their spouses, while four of them were assisted by their teenage or young adult children. All the care workers I met were parents as well; all of them had at least two children of their own and some of them had raised up to four of their own children. The youngest women I met during the period of research were in their late 40s, and the eldest in their early 60s; however, all of them had engaged in this activity for years before the time of

the fieldwork. I met a married couple who had first started hosting a Chinese child at home in the early 1990s, and who had continually hosted at least one child since 1996 (when they were in their mid-30s). Their experiences outline relationship scenarios stretching over a period of two decades.

As mentioned before, the 14 carers I met had attended to the needs of a total of 38 Chinese children in recent decades. This number does not, however, represent the total number of children they hosted for afternoon and weekend care and primary school tutorials during the fieldwork phase. The care activities of those receiving school age children for extra-curricular lessons indicate a business model that was based on regular income from several families. Besides Chinese children, I met Vietnamese and Hungarian boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 11 in carers' homes. Hungarian parents paid per occasion, while similarly to Chinese parents, Vietnamese parents defined prices for the day or for the week.

3.7 Migrant Entrepreneur Families

All the parents of the sample of 38 Chinese children except for one couple were first-generation migrant entrepreneurs, many of whom had arrived from the South-East.[4] It should be emphasized that Chinese migrant mothers either had businesses of their own, or were in full charge of defined units of more extended family companies, and were working very long hours and weekends. To the best of my understanding, the majority of these parents had not completed tertiary education and many of them originated from rural areas or small towns. The majority of the families were reported to have purchased the apartments in which they lived in Budapest, generally in the vicinity of their business locations. Children in my sample who had arrived recently from China were sent either to the Chinese-Hungarian bilingual school or the local school nearest to the carer's home.

Paying for live-in childcare or regular after-school classes were costs not all migrant entrepreneur families in Hungary could afford. Discussing second generation identities, Beck refers to Chinese parents who would have preferred to send their children to live-in carers in Hungary but considered the costs too high, so they sent children to live with grandparents in China (Beck 2015).

Chinese fathers' and mothers' childcare practices did not fit Hungarian carers' culturally conditioned and gendered expectations of parental behaviour in several ways. All carers without exception noted the differences in Chinese parents' communication with children in terms of gestures, bodily contact and facial expressions. In general, carers found fathers' behaviour with their children to be more attentive and more affectionate than that of mothers, and remarked that mothers demonstrated

[4] This section is based on data provided by carers, and to some extent, on insights from second generation Chinese youth. Although I briefly met some of the parents, it was not possible to interview them formally. Chinese parents who are unrelated to the 38 children described here were interviewed, but the related material is not included here.

much less interest in their children. Although they phrased it differently, all carers of live-in children reflected on the attachment children had to them (the carers themselves), and children's lower degree of emotional attachment to their parents and to the fact that this did not seem to be a problem for Chinese parents. "I can't imagine how they are not jealous of us", Sári wondered, "but they don't seem to be jealous at all. On the contrary, they seem happy that their child loves us so much."

Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents' treatment of siblings has intrigued carers and anthropologists alike. Observing the different childcare scenarios within the same nuclear family, no rules for equal treatment of children on an individual level could be observed. Families' situations, including their economic position and the intensity of the development of their businesses, change during the process of migration, and present them with different time and money constraints at various periods following their arrival in a new country. Migrant families' start up situations and China's one-child policy are likely to have contributed to the fact that several first born children in a family were sent home to China to the care of grandparents for a varying number of years. Subsequent children were more likely to stay in Hungary in live-in care, especially if the family enterprise prospered.

Even more intriguing than the different treatment given to siblings are Chinese parents' reasons for their choice of childcare arrangements. Talking to members of the non-entrepreneur Chinese population in Hungary and highly qualified Chinese migrants living in Western Europe about the option of sending one's child to live-in childcare confirmed what was mentioned before: that many Chinese parents prioritize living with and caring for their children themselves. As the literature suggests, the modernization and subsequent individualization of Chinese society (Yan 2009), the changing content of parent-child, and especially mother-daughter relationships (Evans 2010, Fong 2002), the increasingly accepted role of romance and emotions as a basis for marriage (Efron Pimentel 2000) are all factors that may influence childcare-related norms and practices. The unqualified members of extended families immigrating to Hungary from rural and small-town areas of the South-East of China that formed the majority of the families that carers in my research sample came into contact with are more likely to be representative of less-modernised family values and practices.

Chinese entrepreneur parents' choice of child care is intrinsically related to their parenting strategies. Authors of a comparative psychological study that focused on the socialization goals and parental practices of Chinese and Indian mothers of preschool children found that relationships patterns relating to filial piety (that is, obedience to parents), socioemotional development and authoritative parenting differed across Chinese and Indian mothers. Their results suggested that Chinese mothers believed that the use of authoritative practices which encourage socioemotional development in children would inhibit the achievement of filial behaviour and academic achievement (Rao et al. 2003).

Several elements of authoritarian (as opposed to the authoritative) parenting were present in the childcare practices employed by the parents of the children in this sample, including a seeming disregard for children's emotional needs, withdrawal or hiding of affections, and encouraging carers to use corporal punishment if necessary.

3.8 Conclusions

The anthropological research presented in this paper targeted the outsourced forms of child care of Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents working in Hungary, and migrants' bonds with carers. The paper aimed at providing an ethnography of this phenomenon from the Hungarian carers' perspective.

Fieldwork and literature suggest that the practice of live-in childcare arrangements dates back to the mid-1990s, coinciding with the formational period of the Chinese migrant entrepreneur population in Hungary. Literature on Chinese family relations and informal communication with Chinese migrant individuals outside the group of migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary or in Western Europe, however, has indicated a marked preference for caring for one's own children personally. Field research has outlined the clear socio-cultural-economic patterns of carers, as well as migrant families who are likely to choose a childcare arrangement involving a child living at a carer's home and/or living with relatives in China for years.

Hungarian carers were lower-middle class or middle-class women with a weak labour market position. Hungary's post-socialist economy and social context are key elements that shaped the formation of this care regime. Parallels with this phenomenon can only be found in the East Central European region (see Souralová 2015). The Chinese parents involved in live-in care arrangements were migrant entrepreneurs. The migration of Chinese women, the Chinese female migrant entrepreneurship present in Hungary, and the opportunity for relatively rapid economic prosperity are also important factors in understanding the childcare practices discussed herein.

Data from this research, alongside studies on Chinese transnational enterprises in Hungary, suggest that the notion of family is constitutive in Chinese businesses. Parents' practices and behaviour with their children in the carers' presence and their instructions to carers about rigour and corporal punishment reflect a non-responsive, authoritarian parenting style. Literature suggested that more parents would have preferred a live-in childcare arrangement than could afford it.

In their carers' homes, Chinese children not only learned Hungarian; they acquired another cultural code that contributed to their 'banana' identity. They experienced a style of parenting or care that had more elements of the authoritative parenting style, prioritizing socio-emotive development that helped them become intimately and affectively connected with their carers.

Trust, informality, and uncertainty are associated with important aspects of the relationship between Hungarian carers and Chinese families. This global migration-related care arrangement system suggests more balanced power relations between care buyers and care providers than the majority of cases of third-world female migrants who provide care services far away from their own homes to first-world white middle-class women. Chinese entrepreneurs' economic standing and consumption capacity were superior to that of the carers, yet their situation was weakened by the negative attitudes of members of their local society. The space of care – the carer's home – was located in her home country and controlled by the

care-giver. All carers benefitted personally from their intimate relationship with Chinese children. Finally, power relations were also influenced by carers' care ideologies and mothering strategies that they explicitly considered morally superior to those of Chinese mother entrepreneurs who outsourced the care of their infants and babies.

The parenting practices, many of which included alternating live-in childcare in the destination country, Hungary, with live-in childcare with close kin in China, represent genuine transnational practices. These practices are inseparable from the authoritarian parenting styles witnessed among some of the Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents; from the socio-culturally conditioned notions, norms and values of family that are not based primarily on intimacy and emotional ties between members of subsequent generations; and from the family-based transnational business model of successful Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary. Leveraging the geographical and spatial mobility of children is justified by the prospect of promoting the long-term good, and the economic and social mobility of entire family groups, although it does not target children's individual success or happiness directly. The rationale of the parents of 11-year old David includes the dream of 'better tomorrows' (Souralová 2015, 60) and suits the long-term purposes and ambitions of the extended family.

The situation of David and that of other Chinese kids raised in similar Sino-Hungarian care arrangements is connected to the issue of integration from a Hungarian as well as a Chinese perspective. Possible conflicts between first and second generation members of the same Chinese migrant families may also be connected to relationships with Hungarian carers and to differences in childcare and parenting strategies. David's experiences cannot be understood and interpreted without consideration of his family's parenting strategy in the context of rapidly changing Chinese family relations and their economically driven transnational migration processes. David and his compatriots' post-migratory experiences were – and are – unquestionably distinct episodes in relatively recent Chinese transnational family mobility in relation to Central-Eastern Europe.

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Chapter 4
Are Romanian Children Left behind a Vulnerable Group to Human Trafficking?

Rafaela H. Pascoal and Adina N. E. Schwartz

4.1 Children Left Behind – Between "Push" and "Pull"

According to Eurostat (2015), Romania has been identified as the leading European source country for human trafficking victims within Europe from 2010 until 2012, with a number of 3017 identified victims. From the total amount of victims in Europe, 15% are minors, out of which 924, Romanian minors.[1]

The U.S. Department of State, through its annual reports (2015, 2016, 2017), has underscored the fact that Romanians are annually exploited in more than 25 European states and that "Romanian men, women, and children are subjected to labour trafficking in agriculture, construction, domestic service, hotels, and manufacturing, as well as forced begging and theft in Romania and other European countries. Romanian women and children are victims of sex trafficking in Romania and other European countries. Romani children are particularly vulnerable to forced begging and sex trafficking." (U.S. Department of State 2017: 336).

The continuous source of human trafficking victims relies on a concentration of pull factors, which permits the development of the human trafficking business in Western-European Countries (Europol 2011). Additionally, push factors, such as high unemployment, gender inequality or economic depression, that followed the fall of the Communist regime, have also been among the main causes for increasing Romanian human trafficking. These push factors, however, are not only identifiable in Romania but also in the majority of East European/Balkan countries (e.g.

[1] Data provided by the Romanian National Agency Against Human Trafficking (ANITP), and collected through the National System of Identification, Monitor and Evaluation of Human Trafficking Victims (SIMEV).

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Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania), where "the end of the Cold War contributed to the rise of trafficking by increasing the number and duration of intrastate and regional conflicts. These conflicts […] impoverished and displaced many. They eliminated families and communities, leaving individuals vulnerable to traffickers" (Shelley 2010: 49).

In examining the "Validity of the Push and Pull Hypothesis for the explanation of Romanian Migration Flows," Pânzaru and Reisz (2013) highlight some migration-related facts which, if corroborated with the existing data on human trafficking, explain some of the main reasons why Romania "suddenly" became a main source country for human trafficking. Therefore, the pull factors that kept acting as magnets for the Romanian population after the 1990 are of special interest, given that "for Romania, there is as good as no historical precedent to the migration flows that started in 1990" (Pânzaru and Reisz 2013). Furthermore, the same authors highlight the fact that a large number of migrants have moved to a small number of destination countries. If analysed, the primary labour migration destination countries coincide with the primary human trafficking destination countries for Romanians – Italy and Spain. In underlining the magnitude of labour migration from Romania, the same authors also present statistical data from 2010, identifying "as many as 2,769,400 Romanian migrants living and working in countries other than Romania within the European Union."

With women, elderly, children, unemployed persons, undocumented migrants already being known to be most vulnerable to human trafficking (Matu and Schwartz 2013), children are considered to be the most vulnerable group. This is especially so among children within dysfunctional families, those without parental care or institutionalized, and those with different forms of addictions (Europol 2011). Although each category of persons that are vulnerable to trafficking has been constantly analysed by both scholars and institutions, it has been consistently proved that these categories reveal constantly changing portrays." While contemporary stereotypes portray trafficking victims as young girls from foreign countries who are manipulated, lied to, and often kidnapped and forced into prostitution (a stereotype certainly based on cold, hard reality) male and female children of all ages, [...] make up the unfortunate demographic of trafficking victims." (Kendall and Funk 2017: 31).

In the case of Romania and other East-European countries such as Bulgaria, Ukraine and Moldova, the European Commission (2015) determined that children within dysfunctional families and those with a history of abuse or violence are a vulnerable group and highly exposed to human trafficking. This vulnerability also extends to children left on their own. According to the "Report of the European Commission on Vulnerable Groups Exposed to Human Trafficking" (2015), 25% of the trafficked children come from a disrupted family, which also includes the so-called children "left behind", also known as "*orphans of labour migration*" or "*home alone children*", normally left in the care of relatives, neighbours or institutions.

In analysing the concepts of mobility, migration and childhood, Seeberg and Gozdziak (2016: 8) also examined the topic of "mobility in migration". They explained that "this complements the larger picture of children and young people

engaged in transnational and global migration by including the many smaller, more short-term and dynamic patterns of movement. Such «mobility in migration» includes young people and children who are «left behind» in their parents' larger migration project and move to their grandparents for a shorter or longer period of time, as well as children who move back and forth between countries during the holidays or at different stages of their education."

A natural consequence of Romania joining the European Union and the growth of Romanian migration through the benefit of free movement of persons and services is the persistent growth in the number of children left behind. It is estimated that in 2007, a minimum of 82,464 children were left behind in Romania in the care of one parent (approximately 47,154), relatives (approximately 35,310), and others (approximately 2500) entered into the social protection system (Save the Children 2015). In 2016, 95.308 Romanian minors had their parents working abroad, out of which 62.978 children were left in the care of one parent and 32.330 had both parents abroad (Autoritatea Națională pentru Protecția Copilului și Adoptie 2016).

Corroborating the above data on children left behind with the analysed child trafficking cases, a common pattern can be identified: a substantial percentage of victims coming from dysfunctional families, with experiences of abuse. With these victims feeling a sense of abandonment and having a lack of love and parental monitoring, it is not challenging to understand why 25% of the trafficking cases involve children (Aninoșanu et al. 2016, 2012). In fact, several national reports on human trafficking (France, Romania, Finland and United Kingdom) have identified that stable and predictable family relationships between children and their parents create resilience to human trafficking (European Commission 2015). Resilience has a key role against human trafficking and in preventing vulnerable persons, such as children, from entering into the chain of trafficking. Furthermore, resilience helps prevent suffering the severe consequences of this serious crime and where trafficking victimization does occur, the family relationships prove to be a main pillar in the recovery process after the exploitation phase has ended and the survivor is within the "identity reconstruction phase" (Predescu and Tomiță 2014: 900).

According to the SIMEV statistics (2015), the victims in Romania come mostly from families with both parents (244), followed by 68 victims coming from monoparental families and 45 victims growing up in institutions. Despite the fact that the majority of the victims come from "traditional families", no information is given regarding their level of stability within the family. However, practitioners tend to identify that a very high percentage of the human trafficking victims come from an unstable family.

Cooper (2005: 103) has highlighted the influence of "micro-situational factors – external factors and processes that impact children and their families directly, but over which they can exert some measure of control: – socio-behavioural (family dysfunctions, parental drug dependency, personal drug dependency, school/other social performance failures, gang membership) on the level of vulnerability of the children to human trafficking."

In the GRETA report (2012), children left behind have been considered a potentially vulnerable group to traffickers and recent data from the Romanian National

Agency Against Human Trafficking has identified victims who are regarded as being children left behind.[2]

The so-called "*children left behind*" are normally left at the care of relatives, neighbours or the competent institutions. Although the particular profiles of the children who are having migratory parent/s can differ, some essential common features are identifiable, which lead to the following categorization, bearing in mind that, based on the particularities, different sub-categories are susceptible to arise:

1. *children who have only one parent abroad*;
2. *children with both parents abroad, in the care of extended family/neighbours/ family friends*;
3. *children who have been left home without any tutoring*;
4. *children who have been left in familial placement*

Despite increased access to resources, these children have demonstrated a lack of structure, supervision and emotional support according to a 2015 Report of the European Commission. Throughout that report, the European Commission underlines the crossing of the main four factors (individual, family related, socioeconomic and structural) that dictate the level of vulnerability and intersectionality of the individual's exposure to human trafficking. Out of the four factors, family structure has been considered as prevailing. Additionally, in the report "*Trafficking for sexual exploitation of Romanian women. A qualitative research in Romania, Italy and Spain*", the authors phrase the importance of vulnerability factors at the family level, mentioning that young victims often come from "disorganized, neglectful and/or violent families with negatively impacted relationships and repeated experiences of loss." (Aninoșanu et al. 2016).

4.2 Intersectional Vulnerability of Children Left Behind

The concept of vulnerability has seen an evolution during the last century with respect to the legal terms referencing human trafficking, passing from a vulnerable group perspective, such as women and children,[3] to an individual perspective.

At an individual level, the concept was initially introduced through the international legal framework with the application of the European Parliament's Resolution A4–0326/95 on Trafficking in Human Beings issued in 1995.

[2] The Romanian SIMEV has revealed, in 2015, several victims that were living with relatives (22); had no support from the family (34); were institutionalized (51). Despite that this data does not remit directly to the phenomenon of children left behind, a confirmation has been made during an interview with an ANITP worker that many of the identified children were left behind.

[3] International Convention for the Suppression of the "White Slave Traffic," May 4, 1910, 211 Consol. T.S. 45, 1912 GR. Brit. T.S. No. 20, as amended by Protocol Amending the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, and Amending the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, May 4, 1949, 2 U.S.T. 1999, 30 U.N.T.S. 23, entered into force June 21, 1951.

Later, the concept was also adapted by Art. 3 of the Protocol of Palermo as one of the "means" used by the traffickers to engage the victims into exploitation. Subsequently, other European legal instruments began following the given model.[4] Furthermore, the Protocol of Palermo has described children as being inherently vulnerable, thus the need of the "means" has not been required through the legal provisions, since the consent of a child is always considered immaterial (Pascoal 2017).

During recent years, other vulnerable groups have emerged and are recognized as potentially vulnerable to human traffickers because of the limited capacity they have to exercise civil protections. These limitations give rise to difficulties in breaking barriers due to certain shared and common characteristics of age, gender, physical and mental state, or due to social, economic, ethnic and cultural circumstances, and migration status (UNODC 2012).

The springs of Romanian legislation on human trafficking can be traced back to 2001 when Romania, after having signed the Protocol of Palermo, was among the first European states to fully transpose the provisions of the Palermo Protocol into the national legislation. Within Law No. 678/2001 on Preventing and Combating Human Trafficking, the act of trafficking had been defined through transposing the definition enacted within the protocol. The law neglected, however, to include a very important concept within its definition, namely the concept of "vulnerability". For more than 10 years, the "impossibility of the victim to defend his/her self" had been interpreted, misinterpreted and reinterpreted by lawyers, prosecutors and judges until February 2014 when the new Romanian Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code came into force. The new Code absorbed the crime of human trafficking into its provisions from the previous special law and redefined and included the concept of "vulnerability" within its definition by referring to this violation through several distinct articles: Art.182, Art.210 and Art.367.[5] The concept of vulnerability had been inserted in the Art. 210 b) within the following statement "[…] *by taking advantage of the inability of a person to defend themselves or to express their will or of their blatant state of vulnerability*." Despite the insertion of the concept of vulnerability into the anti-trafficking definition, no particular denotation has been given to the concept of "vulnerability" nor has this concept been defined under Title X "Definition of Terms or Phrases in Criminal Law". Furthermore, the association of the concept of vulnerability with the adjective "blatant" might have an ambiguous role since the trafficker can declare that the "vulnerability" was not obvious or easily discernable. These contexts have given rise to current debates and theories among Romanian practitioners and scholars.

In 2001, the Romanian legislative system also criminalised the serious crime of child trafficking within the Law No. 678/2001. The law's provisions, as in the case

[4] 29th April 2004, Council Directive 2004/81/EC; The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 3 May 2005 and the European Directive 2011/36/EU.

[5] For further details please access the Romanian Criminal Code on http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/criminal-codes/country/8

of human trafficking, had been transposed into the provisions of the New Criminal Code under Art. 211 and entitled "Trafficking in underage persons". The law has set the same limits of punishment as in the cases of adult trafficking, specifically, 3–10 years of imprisonment and a "ban on the exercise of certain rights". The use of the term "underage persons" has been considered unanimously by Romanian practitioners and scholars a positive choice in the detriment of the term "child". It has been considered so, as "cross-culturally the concepts of «child» and «childhood» vary according to social, cultural, historical, religious and rational norms as well as according to one's personal circumstances. There are tremendous differences between a ten and a seventeen-year-old. There are often considerable differences between two seventeen-year-olds, particularly individuals coming from different cultural, social, and economic backgrounds. Gender differences need to be accounted as well." (Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016: 25). Given Romania's regions of considerable economic, educational, and cultural differences, and the context in which human trafficking is, as in the majority of the cases, a form of cross-border organized crime, the authors adhere to the opinion that using the concept of underage persons was a choice that contributed to the eradication of conceptual misinterpretations and debates.

Finally, the Romanian Social Assistance Law No. 292/2011, describes under Art. 6 (p) vulnerable groups as being *"individuals or families who are at risk of losing their capacity to meet the needs of daily living because of cases of disease, disability, poverty, drug addiction or alcohol or other situations that lead to vulnerability in economic and social development or people elder than 65 years*".

The same law, in the provisions of Art. 92 states that, "*in the category of vulnerable people there are included minors, unaccompanied minors, persons with disabilities, the elderly, pregnant women, single parents with their children, victims of trafficking, persons suffering from serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, or are in other special situations*."

There is no denial of the reality that minors are to a substantial degree inherently vulnerable in their dependency on adults. Evidencing this, the European Human Rights Courts has emerged during recent years with the recognition of children as being primarily vulnerable (Peroni and Timmer 2013; Tamimi 2015).

However, it is also important to understand that besides the specific vulnerabilities of an "underage person", other vulnerability factors can be added, forming intersectional layers (Ippolito 2015). Intersectional vulnerability may increase and decrease minors' vulnerability depending on age, gender, ethnicity, physical and psychological capacity, as well as family background (Crenshaw 1991). Therefore, family instability can be aggravated by poverty, emotional absence, and by violence. All such factors have been identified as push factors for human trafficking. (Aninoșanu et al. 2016).

4.3 Being Home Alone – A Predictor to Human Trafficking?

Romanian children left behind caught the attention of society primarily after the publication of research outcomes that revealed "hardly digestible" statistics. These statistics are found in reports such as of the Asociația Alternativă Socială (Toth et al. 2008) and Salvați Copiii (Cojocaru et al. 2015).

Consequently, the Romanian government has included this category into the National Strategy for the Protection and Promotion of Child Rights 2014–2020 as being a vulnerable group.

The risks children left behind face, such as emotional neglect, inadequate nutrition and clothing, unsafe hygiene and healthcare, insufficient or non-existent housing and educational neglect, are considered to expose unsupervised children to exploitation and human trafficking (Luca et al. 2008). Relatedly, the economic, service-related, socio-traditional, attitudinal and values-related factors that push children left behind into trafficking situations (Aninoșanu et al. 2016) are similar to the factors which push children who lack stable and healthy guardianship towards human trafficking. Therefore, simply having a guardianship is not always synonymous to stability and healthy development.

In light of the statement that "the purpose of research in the field of behavioural social sciences is to explain the personal sorrows and social conflicts, to propose ways to overcome the restlessness, anxiety, panic or indifference and apathy" (Chelcea et al. 2001: 20), the authors of the present article have proceeded during 2016–2017 to conduct a research in Romania aiming to *examine the relationship between human trafficking and children left behind.* Within this, the authors have analysed "family" as a vulnerability factor in environments in which children lacking guardianship are more exposed to human trafficking or criminal networks.

The objectives of the research were:

1. Identification of the characteristic vulnerabilities of Romanian children left behind.
2. Identification of the profile of Romanian trafficked children.
3. Identification of recruiting patterns in cases of child trafficking.
4. Development of a set of guidelines meant to lower the level of vulnerability of children left behind to human trafficking.

The research question was *whether children left behind can be, per se, considered a vulnerable group to human trafficking* or, if the conditions that push children left behind to human trafficking are similar to those which push children with a background of dysfunctional families and lack of supervision to human trafficking.

The hypothesis of the research was that *"being home alone" is a predictor to human trafficking.*

4.3.1 Research Methodology

The sociological investigation method used was that of a sociological survey. The methodology used was qualitative – interviews with specialists on human trafficking and child social assistance. The authors have selected this methodology as they intended to find out complex and detailed information on a research topic that contains very sensitive conceptual delimitations needed to be fully understood and addressed accordingly through the answers provided by the specialists.

The research instrument was a self-created interview guide. This contained items referring to information and exposures typical to the specialist on themes like children left behind, child trafficking, children vulnerabilities. It also assessed legislative and procedural gaps in addressing the identified needs. For example:

- "*Have you identified any specific vulnerabilities of children left behind?"*
- *"What was the connection between the recruited child and the recruiter/exploiter?"*
- *"Have you identified some acute problems around the prevention of child exploitation? If yes, please detail them."*

After the participants answered the questions presented in the interview guide, they were given the opportunity to provide any additional information they considered of importance or relevance to the research topic.

With regards to the sample population, as previously mentioned, this was composed of specialists on the theme of human trafficking and child assistance. The specialists were selected based on two criteria:

(a) *Their level of expertise*, which was foreseen to be of at least 9 years of experience in the particular field, in case of workers from public institutions and, regardless of the years of experience, at least 5 implemented projects on the specific topic or at least 50 assisted beneficiaries in the case of NGO workers.
(b) *The geographical position within the territory of Romania.* Aiming to analyse the issue of vulnerability of children left behind to human trafficking by taking into consideration regional differences, the following regions had been selected: West, South, East and the central part of Romania. The selection of particular counties from the selected regions took into account the number of trafficked victims from each county based on the official national statistics of the preceding year, 2015.

    Additionally, the issue of migration was taken into account. To this end, and based on the provisions of Law No. 544/2001 regarding Free Access to Information of Public Interest, two inquiries for official statistics were sent out. One inquiry was sent to the Romanian National Labour Agency and the other to the Romanian National Child Protection Agency.

    Through the inquiry sent to the Romanian National Labour Agency, the institution was requested to make a classification of the main counties of Romania, according to the number of persons working abroad.

Through the inquiry sent to the Romanian National Child Protection Agency, the institution was requested to provide a classification of the Romanian counties based on the number of children registered as having been left behind by parents who left Romania for work abroad.

The data provided was analysed and corroborated with the data on human trafficking and the regions already selected (West, South, East and Central part). Based on the results, the following counties were selected, including the capital city of Romania: Timiș, Arad (West), Bucharest (South), Bacău (East) and Cluj (the central part of Romania).

Out of the selected counties and based on the selection criteria of specialists, 21 persons were selected and 21 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The selected specialists were from both public institutions and non-governmental organizations. The institutions were: the Romanian National Agency Against Human Trafficking, the General Directorate of Social Assistance and Child Protection, and the Directorate for Development and Social Assistance. Additionally, *Law enforcement authorities* (such as chief commissioners and prosecutors) as well as *authoritative* NGO workers from NGOs *specializing* in assisting victims of human trafficking or working with children left behind *were interviewed.*

Given the open answer possibilities, characteristic to qualitative research, the answers provided by the specialists were converted into variables which could be statistically operationalized. For this purpose, similarities were identified in the answers collected, based on key words and recurrent phrases. From a semantic perspective, the consistency of the terms used throughout the interview guide was assured.

4.3.2 Research Outcomes

At the beginning of the research, in an interview conducted with "Social Worker 3" from a shelter for human trafficking victims from Timiș, the social worker was asked what the main vulnerability factors leading to human trafficking were. To this question, the social worker replied:

> In the case of sexually exploited Romanian girls, children left behind lack the presence of their mothers because they are working abroad. Even if they are living with their grandparents or fathers, they still look for attachment. The traffickers know this lack of affection, which they highly exploit. I connect the phenomenon of children left behind and human trafficking.

Despite the answer seeming to be obvious, the authors' concerns were whether it was a general statement or if the reply was dependent on factors which were not being taken into consideration in the context such as families who had already had problems (Irimescu and Lupu 2006).

However, Social Worker 3's reply was later confirmed by "Social Worker 11", who works for another shelter for human trafficking victims. Social Worker 11 added an important factor:

> This affects especially girls, who need affection. Girls who have stayed with their grandparents who are too old to take care of them (economically and emotionally). But these girls have no contact with their parents, after the departure; they do not maintain the contact with their parents.

These answers reflect the authors' focus on children vulnerable to human trafficking in cases where children are left behind either by both parents or one parent who has migrated abroad for work. In the least circumstance, the migration was by a parent who used to oversee the family and to whom the child related the most.

In the testimony of "Social worker 11," deeper insights were gained, aiding to affirm the influence factors. Therein it is asserted that the influence factors within the exposure to human trafficking are not only based on the parents' departure, but also on the lack of parental contact and the child's feeling of abandonment and marginalization within society. Consequently, to avoid the child's victimization, the parents should put in place "survival strategies" for the child to avoid experiencing feelings of abandonment (Irimescu and Lupu 2006).

Public studies and private researches (Stănculescu et al. 2012, 2011; Rentea and Rotărescu 2016) conducted on the topic of children left behind in Romania have revealed that the number and gender of the children also influences the choice of parents to go abroad (Irimescu and Lupu 2006).

Moreover, research on children left behind (Sănduleasa and Matei 2015) revealed that in the majority of cases, minors tend to replace their parents in domestic and agricultural tasks. Such responsibilities may often lead to absenteeism in school. In the absence of a healthy and capable adult, domestic tasks are usually performed by female adolescents who are obliged to leave school to fulfil those responsibilities and commit themselves to household tasks (Irimescu and Lupu 2006). Consequently, the marginalization from social environments and the isolation suffered by left-behind female children can lead them into a situation of suffering from lack of attention.

As mentioned in the interviews with the social workers assisting victims of human trafficking, through exploiting the lack of affection, traffickers tend to target mainly girls who are already marginalized and are highly vulnerable in their reasonable needs for attention. This has not only been verified in the physical absence of parents, but also in families in which parents were present physically but not emotionally.

Traffickers tend to be very aware of the emotional and material needs of vulnerable girls who come from disruptive families whether they are living in shelters or not, or whether they are left-behind children or not.

An example was described by "Social Worker 6", working in a shelter in the West of Romania that was confronted by a recruiter directly within the shelter. To easily target the victims, the traffickers profited from hosting a 15-year-old girl in the shelter and psychologically manipulated her in such a way so that they were able

to persuade and engage her to serve on their behalf as a recruiter. Through her presence in the shelter, the girl was able to persuade one 13-year-old girl to run away to her friend's house by using the strategies of false promises of "easy money" and by highlighting the "lack of freedom in the shelter". Eventually, the girl was abducted. The social services contacted the police and the search for the girl forced the traffickers to abandon the child near the shelter and flee to a foreign country. This is a practical illustration of how traffickers scrupulously target persons who might normally not be sought after their disappearance and who would appear to be unprotected, or at least not so by anyone of consequence. (Sandu 2016).

Law No. 272/2004 on the Protection and Promotion of the Child's Rights, under Section 4 – regarding protection of the child whose parents have migrated abroad for work, Art.104 stipulates that the parent who exercises parenting authority alone has the legal obligation to inform the local social services 40 days prior to his/her departure. They must report their intention to migrate and must nominate a person who will exercise guardianship over the minor while the parent is away for work. The situation is similar in cases in which both parents migrate, and the child remains in the home community with a third party who – as the same law states under Art. 105 – must be a member of the extended family.

Despite these legislative provisions which have the main aim to protect the child from harmful actions and which, as a general principle, are created in such a way as to have the wellbeing of the child as a primary focus, numerous parents who migrate abroad for work do not report to the competent authorities. They neglect to do so because they fear that the children left behind will be institutionalized. Such actions have as a main negative consequence the fact that the children left behind remain unregistered at the local authorities and thereby remain unprotected and unsupervised by a competent authority. Therefore, without the parents realizing the consequences of their failure to comply with the law, they are exposing the children to additional vulnerable situations. As revealed in another interview with "Psychologist 1" from Timișoara working with children left behind:

> They don't want to report, because they are scared of losing the children and they don't understand, since their educational level is very low and they don't understand lots of things. For instance I usually go to the countryside and speak to the parents within our prevention campaign on this project and I try to explain to them that there is nothing to be afraid of and nobody wants to take their children. After the discussion normally they understand and then they report to the social services. After school they come here and do their homework, so it is not governmental help, only third sector. They receive counselling. We do a lot of free time activities, like visiting museums for example and we are going with them to see films, we organize parties, play games, organize competitions etc. We try to make them forget their problems and develop life skills.

Another consideration may be that children going abroad with the parents is not something which necessarily will keep the children at risk away from entering the trafficking chain. According to "Social Worker 16" from Arad:

> Trafficking problems can develop even in the country where the parents work! The parents are at work all day long, the children want to socialize and because they are uninformed and unmonitored by their parents they can easily be targeted and recruited for different forms of

> exploitation, there, in the destination country! For example, I personally had such a case in Spain.

Other trafficking cases reported by law enforcement officials from Arad ("Police 1" and "Prosecutor 1"), social workers from ("Social Worker 18", "Social Worker 19") and Bucharest ("Social Worker 17") reflect that children can become victims of human trafficking because of a lack of attention of parents to the child's friends and the environment in which they spend their free time.

Moreover, there have been identified cases in which children left behind were trafficked by their own parents in the destination countries. To obtain money abroad illegally, such parents, after having travelled to the destination country to understand the conditions and the methods used there, return to the source country (Romania) to take their children. Returning with the children to the destination country, they exploit their children through forced begging and through having them commit petty theft crimes or pick-pocketing. In most cases within this context, such parents also exploit the legislative gaps of the destination country and obtain illegal financial benefits through the social services from the destination country.

A clear insight to this modus operandi was given by "Social Worker 19" from Bacău:

> We have also seen cases, especially in the Roma community, where the parents first went alone to the UK, Spain, France or Italy and then they came back to take their children to make more money. The very small children – babies – they would use to steer compassion from the passers-by, the older ones – 3–7 years – they would send them alone to beg, but under their supervision, and collect periodically the money from them. The young boys would be forced to commit crimes like stealing from pockets for example. Moreover, these boys would be used to wash the windows of the cars or to sell newspapers on the streets. Their living conditions are very bad – poor hygiene, lack of food and proper clothing, lack of a house where to live – mostly they live on the streets. However, it is affordable because they make a lot of money so this is a situation in which parents exploit their very own children…

One of the major investigations on such child trafficking cases from Țăndărei, Romania, to the UK resulted in one of the most notable Joint Investigation Teams "Operation Golf" between the Romanian and the UK law enforcement authorities. It has been extensively analysed by Fussey and Rawlinson (2017) in "Child Trafficking in the EU". The conclusions of the case study conducted revealed the magnitude to which organised crime networks primarily involving parents can develop: "Following evidence of their involvement with child trafficking for criminal exploitation, 26 gang members were charged in Romania with money laundering and membership of an organized criminal network. In the course of this investigation a further 181 victims of trafficking in the UK were revealed.[…] Fewer than half, eighty seven, of the children were recovered. In a now familiar occurrence, the rest had disappeared" (Fussey and Rawlinson 2017: 156).

With respect to the children left behind in the protection of the extended family, there have also been situations identified in which the children were exploited by the extended family members within household or for sexual purposes. "Psychologist 2" from an NGO supporting victims of human trafficking relates:

> We had a case in which the young children – two boys and a girl – were exploited by the uncle and aunt. During the day, they were put to work in the daily household and in agriculture, in the fields, doing activities which were way too much for their physical development. This was a typical form of domestic servitude. On the other hand, the girl was sexually exploited by her uncle after coming back from the field or during the weekends. He used to drink and then he used to abuse her. The children have seen no escape because they never spoke on the phone alone with their parents, they were afraid to run away and they had no other confidents.

From interviews conducted with other specialists from Timișoara and Bucharest ("Police 2" and "Psychologist 4"), another important aspect has been revealed regarding the vulnerabilities of children left behind, namely, the risk of them falling to the use of illegal drugs.

The information provided by the interviewed specialists has been clustered into the following categories:

(a) Children left behind whose parents earn a a large amount of money abroad and also send much money home, apparently attempting to fill in the absence gap with something material. The child, most often above 15-years, starts using drugs either because she perceives this to make the psychological pain go away or because it is "cool" and would help fit into a desired group of people. Such youngsters are usually left in the care of grandparents who are not aware of the indicators and are too old to relate to the child.
(b) Children left behind who do not receive much money from their parents and have entered small gangs dealing with illegal drug trade for the purpose of adding money to their monthly budget and taking life into their own hands. Often, these children also end up not only trading drugs but also in drug consumption.
(c) Children left behind and recruited by drug dealers and/or human traffickers. In this category there are usually girls whose lack of protection is exploited. They are either offered drugs to get them addicted and then send them for prostitution in order to obtain money for a new dose, or they are recruited by means of the "lover boy" method and are then given drugs. The drugs are perceived to help them not to be afraid, not to feel pain, cold, hunger or the consequences of diseases.

As "Psychologist 4" has reported:

> This really is a very difficult situation also from a procedural perspective because they are minors. It is not like with adults when anybody can come to receive a therapy.

The use of illegal drugs has become a global phenomenon and is present throughout Romania just like human trafficking.

Based on the Annual Report of the Romanian National Antidrug Agency, published in 2016, the Romanian population uses all sorts of drugs from very fragile ages on. According to the survey conducted by the National Agency, 8.1% of the 16 years old adolescents have used cannabis up to the moment of survey. Concerning Ecstasy, 2.1% of the youngsters have used this drug by the age of 16 and 3.3% of the youngsters have already used cocaine by 16. With respect to the exact way of

taking up drugs and the reasons highlighted by the users, the situation can differ very much.

> Given the negative effects both from a psychosocial perspective and a physical perspective on the minor consumer whose body is still developing, outlining the consumers profile with greater accuracy shows the enormous theoretical and practical importance of enabling the development and implementation of effective activities of prevention and the provision of specialized services that fold exactly on identified needs and enable recovery and social reintegration. ("Police 2")

The legal literature reveals different theories regarding the start of drug use. Theories include biological explanations, arguing that drug abuse is due to genetic and hereditary factors. Sociological theories and psychosocial theories also support the idea that this is a behavior learned and not inherited, appearing due to social, cultural or familial factors. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how the vulnerability factors identified through the psychosocial theories regarding initial drug use overlap the generally acknowledged vulnerability factors for human trafficking, moreover, how it overlaps the identified vulnerabilities of children left behind.

The general outcomes of the qualitative research conducted during 2016–2017 can be summarized as follows:

1. Because of emotional instability, some children left behind are at risk of being recruited. They are especially susceptible to the "lover boy" method and to being exploited through child pornography and sexual abuse. Recruitment through the "lover boy" method has the lure of offering the victims the emotional ties which they sometimes desperately need. This is particularly so in cases where the victims have an unstable family.
2. By not being in a protective environment, children left behind are an easy target for traffickers.
3. Because of emotional instability and a lack of parenting, children left behind are at risk of taking up drug use. Once addicted, the use of drugs acts as a double vulnerability factor exposing them to recruitment.
4. Children left behind are likely to be trafficked by the extended family and even their own parents. Case studies reveal that parents *have returned* to take their children to Western countries where they are using them for begging. Also, case studies reveal that *these children may* become victims of internal trafficking through domestic servitude or external trafficking for labour exploitation.
5. Female children left behind are exposed to internal sexual exploitation and sexual assault sometimes committed by guardians or by a member of the extended family.

4.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

Although globalization has opened up previously unhoped doors allowing the citizens of the globalized world to freely move and access services from all corners of the world, it has also brought along a series of disfunctionalities generating negative impacts on twenty-first century society.

"Globalization has intensified the trafficking of both women and children around the world, particularly in communities unsettled by conflict. The Balkans are in many ways the perfect illustration of this phenomenon. […] Thus, while law enforcement and political leaders still refuse to work with each other, young girls and boys from Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Romania, and Bosnia are left unprotected at the mercy of organized crime groups who see them as nothing more than a means of making money." (Kendall and Funk 2017: 65).

Today's world-wide figures of human trafficking victims are in continuous growth. From a positive perspective, this illustrates a higher and higher number of identified victims; and yet, from a negative perspective, this also highlights how low the number of identified victims is in contrast to formally reported figures.

"Interested groups have posited several different explanations for the low numbers of identified victims. Some claim the lower-than-expected numbers of prosecutions and identified victims are evidence that government officials are not doing enough to enforce the provisions of the TVPA and providing adequate resources for anti-trafficking programming. Others suggest the low numbers are evidence of insufficient coordination among agencies […] others argue that the low numbers of prosecuted trafficking cases demonstrate that the number of victims was never as high as politicians and advocates lobbying for the passage of anti-trafficking legislation claimed." (Segrave 2013: 310).

Given that the main feature of human trafficking is "change", this compels practitioners and scholars to always keep an eye on recent changes. However, "it is difficult and a continuous challenge for researchers to identify and apply new concepts and methods of investigation without 'reinventing the wheel to the cart'. We are in an unprecedented dynamics, in which the researchers that explore the individual in the context of social, political and economic life try to integrate education, research, theories and already existing knowledge, in order to come up with original and effective solutions for various vulnerable groups." (Tomiță 2014: 68).

Through common aspects between children left behind and children coming from dysfunctional families we can identify: lack of care and attention from parents, low level of information on human trafficking, low self-esteem, and lack of communication or inefficient communication with the parents.

Based on the research outcomes presented in the previous chapter, the authors recommend that the Romanian National Agency Against Human Trafficking provide periodic training sessions on the subject of human trafficking to teachers, targeting firstly the counties with the highest numbers of children left behind. Training sessions thus tailored would not only equip the school's teachers with the necessary knowledge on human trafficking indicators, but would also act as a catalyst for

opening up a fruitful contact with the local authorities. Furthermore, it would be advisable for the teachers to also dedicate a "*Dirigenție*"[6] class to the subject of human trafficking at least once a year to inform the pupil about what human trafficking is and how to protect themselves against it.

Next, the authors recommend a strategic and long-term examination of the subject of children left behind within the periodic multidisciplinary roundtables that take place in each county under the coordination of the Romanian National Agency Against Human Trafficking. Since these roundtables usually bring together key specialists from each county in all the relevant fields such as law enforcement (police and prosecution), social services (child protection, county labour protection, public health protection), education (school inspectorates and local universities) and civil society (local/national/international non-governmental organizations), the authors appreciate that approaching the subject in such a context is of high value to key actors exchanging information and supporting each other with unique tools each institution possesses that others do not possess. Given that the transposition of the provisions of Law 272/2004 still presents practical challenges, the complementarity of the diverse institutions in this recommended setting would be of enormous added value.

Furthermore, the authors recommend the creation and implementation of a monitoring system that not only monitors registered children left behind at county level but also does so at the rural level, since many migrant families are sourced from small, and sometimes isolated villages. This would prevent the implementation of information and prevention campaigns in communities in which such an issue does not represent a problem, thus leaving the affected ones out – an approach which has been identified in other prevention cases as well. (Tomiță et al. 2017).

Additionally, the authors recommend imposing the existing legal coercive measures in such a way that the *actual* number of recorded children in the civil status register *may have a chance to reflect their likely considerably higher numbers*. Undocumented children are children who do not exist. *Logically, getting lost doesn't make sense for children who do not exist.* As presented by Fussey and Rawlinson (2017: 80), the 2012 GRETA Report highlights the importance of "strengthening the prevention of trafficking in children, particularly through the recording of all children in the civil status register and by finding solutions for children left behind by their parents who have gone abroad to work, as well as street children."

[6] "Dirigentie" – Educational class in which the form master discusses different topics of interest with the pupil.

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Chapter 5
"Our Westerner": The Role of Romanian-naturalized Youth in Reconfiguring Moldavian Transnational Families

Iulia-Elena Hossu

5.1 Contextualization[1]

The history of relations between the current territories of Romania and the Republic of Moldova could explain why Moldavian citizens who are granted or reacquire Romanian citizenship came to embody an extremely important subject on the agenda of social research once Romania adhered to the European Union (EU) in 2007. Authors such as Wanda Dressler (2006), István Horváth (2011), Alexandra Toderiță et al. (2012), Constantin Iordachi (2013) and Costică Dumbravă (2016) have approached the problematic in their studies, analysing the different aspects and connections between the two territories. But there are few studies that have approached this relation on a micro level by calling on a qualitative type of research and taking into consideration the voices of those who experiment with the full spectrum of the legislation referring to this problematic at the level of their everyday living. An exception in this sense is the study by Eleanor Knott (2015), who analyses the connection between *kin state* and *kin communities* in the course of researching two cases: the case of Romanian identities taken on by citizens from the Republic of Moldova and that of Russian identities in Crimea. In addition, the same author has singled out, in a recent article, the lack of studies analysing the practices of reacquiring citizenship from the bottom-up (Knott 2017: 7). The present study

[1]I would like to thank participants in the conference, *Transnational Families: Generations, Differences, Solidarity* [http://csp.centre.ubbcluj.ro/transnational/about/], organized on 7–8 July 2017 in Cluj-Napoca, for the relevant comments that contributed to the structure of this article. In particular, I am grateful to Oksana Shmulyar Gréen, for discussing its incipient form, and Viorela Ducu, who initially suggested the idea of writing this study and for encouraging me to valorize the material obtained during the fieldwork in the Republic of Moldova. I would also like to thank Alexia Bloch for the relevant comments she brought to the revision of the first draft of this article, which have helped me improve it considerably.

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emphasizes the necessity expressed by other researchers as well, such as Silvia Marcu, who noted in her 2014 article about Moldavian citizens returning home: "*I suggest that the contemporary scholarly debates on citizenship, migration and transnationalism thus need to pay closer attention to the experience of migrants*" (Marcu 2014: 104). An additional argument for studying the relation between citizenship and the sphere of family relations is also given by the research carried out by Yossi Harpaz, whose observations relating to Israeli citizens applying for citizenship of a European state point to the fact that these studies should have in view and take place where the social and biological reproduction of citizenship takes place, that is, amongst the family (Harpaz 2013: 182).

In my analysis, I plan to complement the body of studies developed around the issue of Moldavian citizens being granted or reacquiring Romanian citizenship after 1989 by focusing on the youth.[2] The natural question would be: *what makes the youth important in this particular context?* The first point is represented by what Knott remarked about the youth in the Republic of Moldova, namely, that the post-Soviet generation is much more oriented towards Romania in comparison to their parents, simply because this generation has had the opportunity to progress in a different sociopolitical environment to that of their parents (Knott 2015: 853). The second point would be that, in this context and through the role that these young people occupy in their families of origin, I consider the young generation to largely represent the driving force throughout the process of reacquiring Romanian citizenship by Moldavian citizens.

The paper is organized as follows. In the first part, I introduce a few historical considerations meant to provide a sociohistorical frame and outline the connections between the two territories. This is followed by a section that reviews what is known about Moldavian migration, followed by another section describing the young population in this country in relation to characteristics taken from the data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Moldova. A few details about the methodology used throughout the research introduce the more general theoretical framework, which supported the analysis of fieldwork materials. The section presenting the case studies, which describe the situations and the ways in which Romanian citizenship are instrumentalized by young Moldavian citizens, reflects on the degree to which these new aspects of their existence structure the practices of the families of origin, as well as their importance for Romanian citizenship in terms of the educational journey chosen by the youth. The study closes with a few considerations regarding the importance of acquiring Romanian citizenship by young Moldavians in binding and/or (re)structuring their families of origin.

[2] It is important to mention that, when speaking about *youth* or *young people* in this study, I am talking about a category of the population aged between 18 and 30 years old. The bottom age limit was established in relation to the age when people finish high school studies in the Republic of Moldova.

5.2 A Few Historical Considerations: The Link Between Romania and the Republic of Moldova

Following the disintegration of the Tsarist Empire, the Republic of Moldova declared its independence, and, in 1918, united with the Kingdom of Romania, of which it remained a part until 1940 (Iordachi 2012b: 93–94). After 1940, Moldova became a Soviet republic. The country separated from the former USSR in 1991 and again declared its independence under the name of the Republic of Moldova (Marcu 2014: 95).

In 1991, the population of Moldova was 4,364,072. According to data provided by the National Bureau of Statistics (31 March 2017, based on the 2014 census), the Republic of Moldova currently has a population of 2,998,235 (including the territory of Transnistria).

5.3 What Do We Know About the Migration of Moldavian Citizens?

The Republic of Moldova is a country with a high rate of emigration related to the total population (Moldova currently counts around 3,500,000 persons, approximately 1 million of whom are migrants).[3] Although the exact number of migrants is unknown, it is estimated that, in the period from the republic's proclamation of independence until 2011, the number of migrants represented up to a quarter of the country's active population (Horváth 2011: 14), that is, around 600,000 people (Marcu 2014: 87). The 2014 statistics register the Russian Federation, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece as destination countries for Moldavian migrants. Romania is not listed among destination countries in these statistics. Instead, my fieldwork and studies such as Silvia Marcu's (2014: 88) confirm that each family has at least one member who has left, established her/himself or has lived in Romania at some point, that is, someone who has acquired or is in the process of reacquiring Romanian citizenship.

Migration from the Republic of Moldova was, to a great extent, caused by the rapid degradation of living conditions, with Moldova being declared the poorest European country in 1998 (Horváth 2011: 14). At present, the Republic of Moldova has become a country from where people emigrate on a massive scale (Marcu 2014: 87).

[3] At the same time, it is worth mentioning that, according to some statistics presented by the BBC in 2016, the Republic of Moldova is the country with the highest rate of population decline. This is due to multiple factors, among which migration is one of the most important: there are six deaths and four migrations to every five births (http://newsmoldova.info/2017/08/incotro-republica-moldova-statul-cu-cea-mai-mare-rata-de-scadere-a-populatiei-100-de-cetateni-parasesc-tara-zilnic/ [accessed in January 2018]).

5.3.1 The Migration Patterns of Moldavians

While there are few exact data about the migration of Moldavians, some studies provide guidance in analysing the profile (characteristics and behaviour) of those who migrate (Ghencea and Gudumac 2004; Cuc et al. 2005; Lücke et al. 2009). Concerning the number of migrants, we know it neared 50,000 in 1999 and reached 350,000 in 2007 (Siegel and Lücke 2013: 124), while it is now closer to the 1 million mark. According to these studies, it is possible to outline two migration patterns:

(a) The Russian Federation: A process that was also active during the USSR era, especially in the area of Moscow. Studies show that over 60% of those who migrate choose this destination. Migrants choosing this destination usually come from large families and rural areas, and have low economic capital (Lücke et al. 2007; Horváth 2011). As noted by Bloch, this choice of migration destination could be explained by the cultural proximity existing between members of the former Soviet states (Bloch 2014: 449).
(b) Other states in Western Europe (Italy, Spain): In this case, migrants usually come from the urban environment, and have a higher degree of education and higher economic capital. The costs of the emigration process are, in turn, much higher (Lücke et al. 2007; Ruggiero 2005; Cuc et al. 2005)

To these patterns, my research adds a third: migration to Romania. Young people are often those who choose Romania, being attracted to this country by the offers that its universities make to potential Moldavian students. Sooner or later, those who choose Romania opt to acquire Romanian citizenship, which diversifies their options in terms of migrating to other states in the EU.

The most solicitations for Romanian citizenship come from Moldavian citizens, with most of them opting for reacquiring citizenship. Soros statistics show that, between 1991 and 2012, over 400,000 people reacquired Romanian citizenship.[4] While not all these citizens live in the territory of Romania, they nevertheless represent the subject of proposed research and are non-residents who hold Romanian citizenship. To them, it is possible to add the children born of parents who possess citizenship and possessed Romanian citizenship at least until 2016. I will return to this detail throughout the article and discuss the situation concerning a cohort of Moldavian citizens who look to be stripped of their rights because of legislative modifications and interpretations.

[4] The number and flux of those who reacquire citizenship do not fall within the scope of the present article, but for more details and an analysis of these statistics, see Iordachi (2012b, 2013).

5.4 Young People in the Republic of Moldova in 2013: Who Were They?

5.4.1 The Demographic Situation

Young people in the Republic of Moldova (aged 15–29 years) represented 25% of the stable population on 1 January 2014. Around 21% of the total youth aged between 15 and 29 years are estimated to have left the country to work or find work abroad. They are young people coming from rural areas, approximately 75% of whom are men. The countries where most young people from Moldova work are no different from the destinations of migrants aged above 30 years (according to data from the National Bureau of Statistics; PSA, Gagauz 2016: 12). According to demographic projections, it is estimated that, in the coming years, the young population will continue to decrease because of mass migration (Görlich andTrebesch 2008), reaching 18% of the total stable population by 2025 (PSA, Gagauz 2016: 131). The case of Moldova is not exclusive in terms of the exodus of the young workforce across its borders. In their study on the aged population from rural Albania, Vullnetari and King (2008) mentioned that, in 2005, one out of two people with ages varying between 20 and 40 has emigrated. The case of Romania could be equally illustrative in this sense, since almost two and a half million people migrated from Romania in the years following the revolution in December 1989 (Horváth and Anghel 2009).

5.5 Methodology

The research is based on the qualitative analysis of data obtained from participant observations and 25 live audio and video semi-structured interviews with transnational family members and key people from three communities in the Republic of Moldova: two rural (Cornești, Funduri Vechi) and one urban (Chișinău). This represents only part of a more extensive piece of research entitled *Confronting difference through the practices of transnational families*. The respondents were members of transnational families and migrants. The sample structure is the result of the method used to select the interviewees, i.e., the snowball method. All data were collected during fieldwork in the Republic of Moldova (January–February 2017) and from interviews conducted with Moldavian citizens who were established in Romania (2016–2017). All those interviewed in Romania had Romanian citizenship at the time of conducting the interviews, which they acquired either following the process of reacquiring or pursuant to the process of acquiring citizenship by means of establishing their residence in the territory of Romania or by marrying a Romanian citizen. The interviews were semi-structured and the respondents were asked to talk about their families, as well as the way in which they decided to apply for acquiring/

reacquiring citizenship, whom in the family holds Romanian citizenship, and how possessing this citizenship influences their life choices.[5]

5.6 Theoretical Frame

Discussions and research concerning double citizenship have increased in scope since the 1990s. This situation took place against the backdrop of transformations at the macro level of society, namely, the accrued tolerance of states with regard to double citizenship. Admittedly, as Harpaz remarks, while this is not a novelty, its proliferation certainly is (Harpaz 2013: 172–173). Even so, there have been only a few studies that have tried to analyse double citizenship from an empirical perspective by focusing on the way in which people experiment and instrumentalize this condition or discussing how this influences other aspects of transnational family life.

Transnational families already represent a quotidian reality globally. The way in which they have reconfigured family life, as well as practising family, has been the focus of numerous researchers' work (Herrera Lima 2001; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Morgan 2011). The geographic landscape of transnational families is in a continuous change; countries that, up until the beginning of 2000, were only emigration countries have now become destination countries as well, as the contour of destination territories becomes increasingly fluid (Koser and Lutz 1998: 2). This process of reshaping the list of countries that turn from departure to destination countries for migrants is also influenced/determined by the large-scale extension of processes to acquire/reacquire double citizenship. As also observed by Faist et al., it is precisely in this context that the study of double citizenship in relation to migration (migration politics, the conditions in which double citizenship is conferred etc.) can reveal important aspects of the subject (Faist et al. 2007: 90).

Researchers have tended to analyse double citizenship at a macro level and usually emphasized perspectives informed by active legislation throughout different periods and sociopolitical contexts (Bauböck 2003; Culic 2008, 2009; Iordachi 2012a, 2013; Dumbravă 2016). The importance of the discussion about double citizenship, reacquiring Romanian citizenship, and the ways in which this influences the life of transnational families, has emerged throughout our research after the first interviews with Moldavian citizens. Although initially, during the fieldwork in the

[5] The relation between Romania and the Republic of Moldova has been very close throughout history. After World War I, in 1924, Romania gave Romanian citizenship to all the inhabitants of annexed provinces through the Law of Romanian Nationality. In 1940, the USSR annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. In June 1941, these territories were re-annexed to Romania and the citizens reacquired their status as Romanian citizens until 1944. In the same year, the Soviet Union reclaimed the two provinces, which it held until its disintegration in 1991. Since 1991, Romania has conferred the right to reacquire Romanian citizenship on inhabitants from the two provinces. For more details about the long history between the two territories, see Iordachi (2012a, b).

Republic of Moldova, the interviews with our informants did not revolve around Romanian citizenship and its reacquisition, we have come to realize, after a few meetings and discussions, its importance to them. Each of those interviewed in connection to family life in the context of migration sought to explore this subject, as well as the role it had in many key moments of their family life.

One approach to discussing the problematic of citizenship from a different perspective is that of Eleonora Knott (2015), who has analysed the strategies by which Romanian identity is constructed in the territory of Moldova in parallel with ways of constructing Russian identity across the territory of Crimea, and examined the lived experiences of informants in their complexity, beyond immediate action and political considerations.

Studies resulting from extensive research on the topic of Moldavian migration, such as that conducted by Cheianu-Andrei et al. (2011), tend to focus on the negative effects that migration has on family life, and especially on the young and elder persons who continue to live in the Republic of Moldova. While Mosneaga (2014) analyses the political problematic of Moldavian diasporas, the relation between the construction of gender roles in traditional Moldavian society and the way they are reconfigured under the impact of migration has been illustrated in Abiala's study (2014), which highlights the way in which gender is constructed depending on the sociocultural context; in the case of Moldova particularly, it relates to the norms of a traditional society where gender roles are clearly defined and rarely transgressed. Connected to an archaic, patriarchal type of mentality, women in Moldavian society were traditionally expected to get married, give birth to children and obey their husbands, as they often took over the inner spaces of the household. On the other hand, men are considered to be those who earn the money to support the family, yet are much freer from social constraints, as they are acknowledged as family leaders. Abiala also shows how, under the impact of migration, these traditional gender roles are subjected to questioning and, furthermore, how these roles are renegotiated because an increasing number of women migrate and become those who provide the family with financial support (Abiala 2014: 270–271, 285–286). These gender roles, predefined as such in pre-industrial traditional societies, absorbed and reproduced with few modifications in socialist and then post-socialist countries, underlie the gender inequality transmitted from generation to generation, as Gal & Kligman observes in the case of former communist states from Central and Eastern Europe (Gal and Kligman 2003).

The young Moldavians' families of origin are still largely shaped and well anchored in a traditionalist society, but connected to a socialist mentality (Leccardi and Feixa 2012: 5), where children occupy a central role. Looking at the way young Moldavians who reacquire or are granted Romanian citizenship instrumentalize a double determination in the context of their existential journey allows one to also understand how families of origin are restructured: a restructuring that is outlined and influenced by the double determination of being Moldavian citizens and Romanian citizens. An important aspect worth mentioning is that we have only been able to speak of this double determination since 2003 onwards, when Moldova too

started accepting double citizenship (Iordachi 2012b: 118); in Romania, this has been the case since 1991 (Harpaz 2013: 177).

The present study proposes a qualitative approach, which emphasizes the necessity of analysing this problematic from the perspective of everyday experiences, intimate lives and family practices.

5.6.1 Moldavian Youth: "Our Westerners"

Acquiring Romanian citizenship represents, in the case of Moldavian youth, not only a process that is many times resource- and time-consuming, but also an opportunity to reiterate family histories. The connection between citizenship and family is a profound one, with diverse implications, since citizenship is often acquired by appealing to the generation of grandparents to reacquire Romanian citizenship. Its procurement is often seen as the successful end of a journey in the life of a young person because, by accessing this citizenship, she/he becomes a "European" and many doors (the one of mobility in particular) now lie open. Such success often inspires their parents to also follow this example and reacquire Romanian citizenship.

Young Moldavians and elder family members who instrumentalize their citizenship, in view of establishing more effortless mobility across the European territory, represent a rather frequently met pattern when it comes to Moldavian families.

5.6.2 Moldavian Youths: The Driving Force in the Process of Family (Re)Structuring

By presenting a few cases below, I try to illustrate how the process of migration and acquiring Romanian citizenship reconfigures the structure of families from the Republic of Moldova. Notably, young people, who are either in high school or wish to pursue university studies, often choose to continue their studies in Romania as the country encourages this "exodus" by awarding scholarships to young Moldavians. For that matter, it has been observed that more subjects have been taught in Romania in a first phase precisely because of such scholarships, which seemed a very good alternative to pursuing university studies in Chișinău, where sustenance costs are pretty high and much more difficult to bear without material support.[6] Some of the interviewees reported a frequently met situation experienced by many families from the Republic of Moldova, namely, the existence of one or more family members

[6] For more details about the collaboration between the two states in the field of education, see the communiqué on the official webpage of the Government of Romania: http://gov.ro/ro/guvernul/sedinte-guvern/romania-i-republica-moldova-continua-colaborarea-in-domeniul-educatiei-in-perioada-2016-2019

working away from home or even abroad. People who were interviewed recount the moment following the dissolution of the USSR, when a large part of the adult population were left without a place of work. As a consequence of the increasingly precarious socio-economic situation, some of them have chosen to migrate to European countries, mostly without the benefit of any legal situation waiting for them at their destination. This has automatically led to long periods of time during which their children were left in the care of their grandparents or close relatives. In this context, i.e., having at least one parent who works abroad, the decisions to leave under certain legal conditions and study in Romania (a journey facilitated by the different types of support offered by the Romanian state to Moldavian pupils/students) has been at least seen as desirable and, in some cases, the ideal model to follow. A large part of the interventions speak about the fact that, as early as gymnasium studies, young people have been encouraged to study very hard in order to receive a scholarship to Romania.

Given this context, those children who have found their way to Romania, by pursuing their studies and often finding themselves a working place or a partner, have chosen to establish themselves here and usually apply for acquiring the citizenship of their adoptive state. Evidently, in some of these cases, there is a powerful component that translates into an emotional attachment towards Romania. There are families who educate their children with a strong sentiment of attachment to the Romanian identity, which for a good period of time was constantly eluded by the USSR through an intense process of Russification, which the entire population of Moldova suffered, regardless of ethnic status (see Deletant 1990; Hegarty 2001; Beks and Graur 2006). In this context, both young people who largely constitute those applying for Romanian citizenship and their parents have found themselves in a position to apply for citizenship, in order to more easily travel between the two states once their children have established themselves in Romania.[7]

There are also cases where young people who possess Romanian citizenship establish themselves in a European country that does not accept holding double citizenship (e.g., Spain), such that they choose to give up their Romanian citizenship. In such cases, it is possible to talk about the absolute instrumentalization of Romanian citizenship, since it exists and serves its holder only for a limited period of time, until she/he is granted a more desirable citizenship in comparison with the Romanian one. This is an extremely complex phenomenon and essentially reflects a non-emotional adherence, similar to acquiring a product solely for its functional characteristics, as Harpaz observed in the case of Israelis who reacquire citizenship of other states, especially European ones, only so that they possess a European passport. In the case of Israelis, this passport is seen as a luxury product and an investment with future potential (Harpaz 2013: 182).

[7] This article focuses on the Moldavian population from the territory of the present-day republic and not on non-Moldavians. Therefore, the ideas advanced here refer to this population and the way in which it relates to its kin state, Romania. For other ethnic groups from the Republic of Moldova, see, for example, Knott (2015) and W. Rogers Brubaker (1992).

The selected case illustrates the patterns of migration tracks of young Moldavians who have acquired Romanian citizenship and, at the same time, the ways in which their journeys have influenced their family structures, relations and practices.

5.7 Case Studies

In her study on the double citizenship of Moldavians, Eleanor Knott constructs a typology of those who apply for this citizenship. The typology also reflects the various ways in which individuals relate to identity, as well as the importance of the profound connection that exists between family experiences and the decision to acquire/reacquire citizenship (Knott 2017). The presentation of the following cases reflects, from the bottom-up, the main strategies that individuals activate in the process of acquiring/reacquiring Romanian citizenship, as well as the ways in which it is instrumentalized in different contexts.

5.7.1 John: Between Romania and the Republic of Moldova

John first came to Romania to study at university. After a while he applied for Romanian citizenship. Until acquiring citizenship, he endured a lengthy process during which time he often thought of different ingenious ways of acquiring it.

"Now, when I wanted to apply for citizenship it was very complicated… I was in a fluster with both my mother's and my father's line. I didn't know which one of them was eligible and the solution was to stay for five or seven years with a residency permit, history and language exams, and so forth, because that's how things went, super complicated, and after that, at one point, my dad says, first rather jokingly: what if you got married to a little Romanian girl? And, at first, I laughed and so… well, I didn't seek to actually get married, but after that he said: why, you can have a fake marriage! I didn't know the term or that such a thing existed and so I started to inquire about this. And I started to look around and I know my dad kept telling me: hey, you pay there, I don't know how much and… Yes, and I found out that, in fictitious marriages, I talked about this again with some Moldavians, who got married for real. Now I don't know if they got married for real or not because [laughs, *my note*]… maybe they resorted to this too! But, marriages between Moldavian and Romanian citizens, I know the registrar or police officer came down once in a while, unannounced and checked: you had to have photo albums together, you had to show you attended festivities together, to show them the bedroom, to… this was something that was checked, you know? And I said, well, if I find one, I take her to Ukraine, we… take photos at festivities, we do that… well, if it so happens that I also fall in love with her and stay with her, it's even better, you know? [Laughs, *my note.*] I repeat, I laugh now, but then I look at this as… as a solution

coming from Russia for a Moldavian in the process of becoming Romanian. But it was good that I did it the right way and I became a citizen legally." (John).

John then acquired citizenship after several years and brought his younger brother to Romania, who has recently become a Romanian citizen himself. Their parents work abroad in Moscow and the family is split between Russia and Romania. As a matter of fact, their situation is a rather typical one when it comes to Moldavian families, with parents (the generation who are 50 years old) choosing to migrate to the territories of the Russian Federation, while their children leave for Romania to start high school or university at the latest. Even now, John lives between Romania and Moldova and has not yet decided where he will stay. This has happened ever since John received his Romanian citizenship. It is, for that matter, a situation that can often be identified in the case of those who legalize their stay in the state of destination and are no longer sure about whether they wish to return to their motherland (Pinger 2010: 167).

"It was 2008 when I first came to Cluj. It was pre-election year, when there was still neo-communism, if I can call it that. I called it so, although I don't think the term is correct. Communists were still in power in Moldova, things were pretty unsettled and, up to that point, somehow, I was looking for, I liked geography very much. I sought to develop myself towards the hydrometeo[rological] area. And I did find some school in Russia, my dad had already gone to Russia to work around 2004–2005, precisely because of the hard living conditions in Moldova, where we could not ensure a living. We were three children with our parents. And the normal way was for me to also go to Russia, somehow, because, in Moldova, the education conditions, corruption was soaring in education and the entire system, the chances of assertion afterwards, so the track was anyway, inevitably, pointing to go somewhere abroad. And, evidently, Russia [was] accessible because of the similar native language, the Russian language, which I spoke. Ah… and somehow, in the penultimate year, when I was in the 11th grade, in 2007, my father came with a proposal, [on account of] being in Russia, he came with the proposal: look, Romania, a country in the European Union, there you are, things looked to be apparently better here and he told me what [would happen] if I applied." (John).

There is a recurrent situation throughout the process of reacquiring citizenship that I have encountered with almost every single one of the informants, that of translating the names and documents associated with the prepared file. When someone decides to apply for reacquiring Romanian citizenship, they have to choose between either the mother's or the father's lineage, that is, to reconstruct the genealogy back to at least the generation of their grandparents (*bunei*) and prove with documents that they have been citizens of Greater Romania.[8] This is a long process and full of various hitches, which have become the subject of jokes that informants like to tell, but which at that time were far from being funny.

"Yes, citizenship was the logical step after finishing in my faculty here, evidently wishing to stay and live here… I tried following the family line, but it was not possible, as some documents were missing, there were all sorts of aberrant papers, and

[8] See note 5.

then there was also the problem that, when [Bessarabia] was annexed to the Soviet Union, all names were Russianized and, when Moldova became the Republic of Moldova again, the Romanian Nicolai was different in Russian. After that, it became Nicholas, here and there it was Nicolai, here and there it was Nicholas and Nekolai, and all sorts of things like this. It seems funny that a single letter makes the difference, but for a letter like that I have looked for papers through Chișinău and only my mum knows, because she dealt with citizenship, with my Moldavian file, so to speak." (John).

John is a typical case for the subject of my analysis: he comes from a family where his parents went away to work in the Soviet Union, while his brother and him were left in the care of their mother's parents, which is why that they later choose Romania for their studies. In his family, their grandparents (grandparents on their mother's line) have represented, for his younger brother, an opportunity to bypass the complicated bureaucratic process to acquire Romanian citizenship that John had to go through. At present, John has convinced his parents, who are thinking about returning to the Republic of Moldova, to apply in their turn for reacquiring Romanian citizenship and consider relocating to Romania, so that they can be closer to their two children.

5.7.2 Anastasia: Romanian Citizenship, "a passport to Italy"

As also observed by Iordachi, the Romanian Citizenship Law, which regulates the acquiring and reacquiring of Romanian citizenship, is a law whose contents are among the most unstable of the entire body of post-communist Romanian legislation. In the two decades since its adoption (between 1991 and 2010), the law was modified through nine urgent ordinances and 11 laws adopted by the Parliament (Iordachi 2012a, b: 124). All these modifications have brought about major differences in treatment of those who have applied for reacquiring citizenship, depending on the date when they presented their requests (Iordachi 2012b: 130–131).

Article 25 (2) of the Citizenship Law stipulates that: "Romanian citizenship cannot be withdrawn from a person who acquired it by birth." While it has been effectual since 1999 and this guarantee was extended in 2009, to also include those who lost their Romanian citizenship acquired by birth before 1989 and their descendants (Iordachi 2012b: 131), there are still cases such as that of Anastasia, which I will set out below.

Anastasia acquired a Romanian CNP [Personal Numeric Code] and passport based on her father's Romanian citizenship. With these documents, she left, 6 years ago, for Italy to study, as a Romanian citizen. When her passport expired, she found that she was no longer a Romanian citizen and that the law under which her rights were first granted had been modified and did not apply retroactively. In turn, she lost her right to work in Italy because, according to the new law, "her citizenship expired", and so she returned to the Republic of Moldova. She has been waiting for more than half a year for the Romanian state to acknowledge her again as citizen.

She is currently being passed by Romanian authorities between the Passports General Directorate, the National Citizenship Authority and the Directorate for Persons’ Record and Databases’ Management. Her case is not unique, as there are currently thousands of Moldavian citizens in the same situation and their number is rising constantly.

“In 2011, I acquired citizenship based on my father’s documents, who has been a Romanian citizen since 2002. I left for university in Italy as a Romanian citizen. On my Italian papers, I am also registered as a Romanian citizen. After graduation, I got a good job and, in May 2016, I applied for the renewal of my Romanian passport at the consulate in Milan. My application was rejected and I was redirected to the National Citizenship Authority. When my passport expired, my stay had become illegal. I came to Moldova to try to obtain an Italian working visa with the Moldavian passport, but I was refused because ‘I am EU citizen and have no right to a visa’. They told me to bring proof that I have lost citizenship; only then would they give me my visa. I was no longer a Romanian citizen, and the Moldavian citizenship could not save me either. I have consulted several lawyers, but no one wanted to go against the Romanian state. They advised me to apply for reacquiring [citizenship], because the procedure would be shorter than a trial.

“I have lost everything. At home, I applied for reacquiring citizenship. I was told that the problem was that we had a registered CNP, which is invalid. We should retract the CNP [through the courts] and ask for citizenship once again. They want us to retract something that they do not acknowledge as valid. I have never come across a bigger absurdity.” (Anastasia).

This case does not reflect a particular situation. More than 10,000 young persons are currently in the same situation: they acquired Romanian citizenship based on their parents’ citizenship, which was withdrawn once they turned 18 years old. The entire situation was caused by the modification of an article in the Citizenship Law, which, instead of clarifying its interpretation, has led to unclear interpretations. It has resulted in the blocking of thousands of young people in different European states, a number which continues to grow by the day, as their passports expire and they have to renew them. The blocking of these young people in countries where they currently live or, worse, the obligation for them to return to the territory of the Republic of Moldova until their situation is clarified (a process that already lasts for more than 2 years) involves major costs for these people, caught between various bureaucratic levels. Anastasia has lost her job and the living conditions she built until now, and has returned to the Republic of Moldova. Together with other young people who found themselves in this situation, she has initiated a group trying to reacquire citizenship. The multiple legislative modifications and the instability caused by this process have affected not only those applying for Romanian citizenship, but also some of those who have already acquired this citizenship, namely, young people who possess Romanian citizenship based on their parents’ citizenship but who do not have a citizenship ordinance issued in their name.

5.7.3 Rada: "My Country Is Romania, I am Romanian"

Rada grew up in a family of Moldavian intellectuals. She was constantly infused with the idea that she is Romanian and her country is Romania. Both she and her sister came to study in Romania, became Romanian citizens and established themselves here on a permanent basis. Rada graduated the Faculty of History, out of a desire to better understand "her own history". She is married to a Romanian citizen, yet she acquired citizenship by resorting to the process of reacquiring citizenship instead of marriage. Basically, she became the mother of a Romanian citizen (her son was born 4 years ago) before she actually acquired Romanian citizenship herself. Rada recalls that, essentially, she did not even consider that she "is not Romanian" until she met her husband and his family. This history is common, as a matter of fact, to all Moldavian females I interviewed who are married to Romanian citizens and who speak of how they confronted this new perspective towards their identity in different contexts.

"From my family, I never felt that they see my husband as a foreigner. Yet, from his family, I felt a sort of scepticism. They did not easily get used to the idea that I am from there [Republic of Moldova]. Well, there were all sorts of deeply rooted judgements about the Republic of Moldova. I know that my husband even had a dispute with his family in the beginning and they did not speak for a while precisely because of this.

"I never felt I am anything other than Romanian. This is simply what I knew. When I arrived here, I felt that I had arrived home. I was very happy when I arrived here. But, if I pause to contemplate, I recall there were also colleagues who always looked at me as if I were a foreigner, and professors too. And I was very upset because I could not understand, for I am Romanian." (Rada).

Rada is among those young people who were raised in a family environment that promoted the Romanian identity connection. She is practically among the Moldavians that Knott refers to in her study, *Organic Romanians*, that is, people for whom being Moldavian is the same thing as or overlaps with being Romanian (Knott 2015). After establishing herself in Romania and acquiring citizenship, she persuaded her parents to apply for reacquiring Romanian citizenship, which they use in order to ensure easier mobility when visiting their two daughters who are now established in Romania. Details about these constant redefinitions of identity, in light of the different cultural politics that have shaped or influenced the population across the territory of Moldova, as well as dependence on the contexts in which people find themselves, can be found in the studies of King (1994, 1999) and Ihrig (2007).

5.7.4 *Raluca: "If I Have to Choose Between the Two Citizenships, I Choose the Moldavian One"*

I discussed Raluca's case with her parents. She came to study in Romania thanks to their support. From Romania, where she graduated from the Faculty of Journalism, she returned to Moldova, hopeful of being a part of the change that she thought would take place there as well. After a few years of work, she announced to her parents that she no longer had any hope that things would change for the better and that she would return to Romania, based on the fact that she had acquired Romanian citizenship a few years before. From Romania, she left to make a documentary in Spain, where she met her current husband, a Spaniard, and where she settled after their marriage. Her parents recounted how she decided to choose Moldavian rather than Romanian citizenship one because, in Spain, one cannot have three citizenships. The main considerations when making her choice concerned her family and her desire to have the freedom to visit them without obstacles and take care of them when the need arises. This preoccupation among those who migrate about the parents/relatives they leave behind at home, while maintaining close relations with them, is also indicated in family and migration studies (Baldassar and Baldock 2000; Baldock 2000; Baldassar 2001; Lücke et al. 2009).

Peter [father]: "She [Raluca] will now, in half a year's time, have to… They got married legitimately, everything as they should, and now, [in] half a year, she will take Spanish citizenship and that's the thing, she couldn't take a third [citizenship]. [Her] mother suggested her to be Romanian and Spanish."

Ellen [mother]: "Yes, and she [said]… 'But, what if a dictator comes and I cannot come and see you?' And, look, indeed, you know it [would be possible in this case] to go only to Romania and [not] on this side of the Prut to see us. So, she decided: 'Good or bad, it's my country!' So, she kept [her] Moldavian and will get Spanish citizenship."

The parents' generation is the link between that of the children and grandparents. They are often left with the task of mediating between the younger and elder generations when they wish to apply for reacquiring citizenship.

Parents who are mostly around 50 years old are a connective generation between grandparents and young children. It is essentially through this connective relation that the entire process of reacquiring citizenship can be activated. If grandparents enable the triggering and effectuating of the process, the children/younger family members will be the driving force in reactivating this right, as the parents (the middle generation) are usually placed somewhere on a neutral terrain. One of the conclusions made in Grant et al.'s (2009: 5) study is that elder generations who remain home have no other option but to reconsider and restructure their lives by adapting to this new context created by the migration of the younger generations.

Since they no longer hold onto any other chance to start their lives all over, elder generations (the parents and rarely the grandparents) most often activate their

Romanian citizenship when they wish to be more mobile in order to visit their own children rather than pursue their personal interests. The grandparents' generation, which has endured through numerous regime changes and continues to fear and doubt the ways in which politics can change their destiny, is the guarantor for reacquiring citizenship, while the parents' generation is more involved in administrative and bureaucratic matters that ensure the acquiring of citizenship. The process of reacquiring citizenship thus becomes a connective bond between generations, the subject of discussions and family history rediscoveries, as well as a means to maintain family cohesion.[9]

Throughout this process, family relations are often restructured and realigned. If children had traditionally settled close to their parents, the physical distance that now separates them would affect these families and their relations from within. Parents mostly apply for reacquiring citizenship so that they have the freedom to travel without restrictions across Europe and visit their children. Children, in turn, who enjoy the freedom that an EU state citizenship gives them (after Romania adhered to the EU in 2007), are much more mobile and often prefer to practise a mobile existence until they establish their own families (they often live in Romania during their studies, then choose to migrate to another state within the EU due to the nature of their work or depending on their chosen partners. In what concerns gender differences, most often, women are those who choose to establish themselves in Romania, largely because they often start their families by marrying a Romanian partner. Men are more mobile, as their migration journeys continue either by returning to the Republic of Moldova or by migrating to another European country.

5.8 Final Remarks

The fall of Communism has seen many Eastern European youth choosing to study in the West, whether at high school or in higher education. After completing their studies, many have stayed in the West in order to go forward with their lives, with some even receiving Western citizenship. In the Romanian context, this is a double-sided phenomenon: many Romanian youth study in the West as described above, but many Moldavian youth choose Romania as a country for study and self-affirmation.

The present article reflects on the importance of researching the relation between the acquisition of double citizenship by Moldavian citizens and the (re)structuring of family practices in the context of migration: a realignment of the relations between children, parents and grandparents. The article has marked out the existence of different patterns concerning how Moldavian citizens relate to this double

[9] For that matter, on how family cohesion is maintained despite the impact of massive migration (this time, in relation to the population from Romania), see the study by Hossu (2018), Family cohesion: "Diffuse family" practices and the transnational perspective", accepted for publication by the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 2018.

citizenship, an aspect which is also reflected in the way they practise/experiment 'doing family' every day. This allows us to talk about (re)structuring family practices from within and outside the intimate space, as noted by Morgan, with regard to the multiple effects of migration on families (Morgan 2011: 86). But, family practices alone do not change, along with migration. Kristina Abiala's study has analysed the changes that take place in gender roles and gender identities within Moldavian families, illustrating the tensions between the norms of traditional (patriarchal) Moldavian society and the experience of migration (Abiala 2014).

Moldavian Citizens Who Live in Romania This group often represents the major driving force in determining the parents' generation to initiate the process of (re) acquiring Romanian citizenship. What is often considered in these cases is the parents' relocation to Romania, especially since the language is in no way a barrier or an impediment to them. They represent a more traditionalist category, closer to practising family as was desirably the case in Moldavian society: children and parents who live close by, helping each other out and offering their immediate support, an aspect that is facilitated by physical proximity.

Moldavian Citizens Who Choose to Make Use of Their Romanian Citizenship in Order to Establish Themselves in Other States This group often encompass an extremely mobile category and could come under what is called transnational families. This type of relation is outlined by the logic of physical distance, where contact is also facilitated by modern technology (telephony and now the Internet). In spite of any physical distance, the existence of an emotional proximity cannot be negated; the acquiring of Romanian citizenship by parents who do not already possess it reflects the desire of these families to maintain their cohesion, visit each other more often, and be free of the bureaucratic constraints that not owning a EU passport entails.

Moldavian citizens who acquire Romanian citizenship, not because of emotional attachments, but rather because it enables them to practise mobility more easily (whether to visit their children, go on holiday, or have insurance against uncertain futures that are often discussed in current international developments and political contexts), continue to live in the Republic of Moldova, unwilling to ever leave for good; they can be associated with what Harpaz has called, in the case of Israeli citizens, "long-distance citizens" (Harpaz 2015). The same subjects could be considered holders of a citizenship type that Linda Bosniak (2000) refers to as a flexible, "denationalized citizenship".

I consider that, by studying the itineraries of these young people in the process of becoming "Romanian" and the role these "Westerners" play in the lives of Moldavian transnational families, it is possible to outline a subject of inquiry that can be further developed, adding surplus value to studies that seek to investigate the particularities of transnational families.

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Chapter 6
Who Cares for the Children and the Elderly? Gender and Transnational Families

Yu-Kang Fan and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas

6.1 Isabelle's Story and the Societal Context of Transnational Migrant Families

Isabelle, a 21-year-old woman, has been apart from her migrant mother, a medical technician, for most of her life. As she explained,

> [When I was seven years old,] my mom went to Malaysia first, for one to two years. Then she went to Saudi Arabia and then from Saudi Arabia, she went straight to the US [United States]. When she went to the [United States], that was the longest –10 years – that we did not see each other at all. She came back and when we saw each other, I was already 21 years old (Isabelle Tirador, Philippines).

Isabelle's situation is not unique. In the Philippines, non-governmental organizations claim there to be approximately nine million children growing up without at least one migrant parent. This figure represents approximately 27% of the overall youth population in the Philippines.

How did Isabelle fare from the migration of her mother? From her perspective, she both won and lost. Without question, she and her siblings saw vast improvements in their material well-being. However, they felt abandoned, not only by their mother but also by their father. Isabelle claimed that they were left with little guidance after their mother's migration. While they were left under the care of their father, he maintained what we could describe as an absent presence, which Isabelle illustrated by punctuating in the rest of the interview his failure to attend Parent-Teacher meetings and other school activities as well as his refusal to do housework. After the migration of her mother, Isabelle and her sister were left to do the cooking, cleaning, and caring for their brother. This resulted in the rebellion of Isabelle's

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sister, who got pregnant as a teenager, and the brother's subsequent drug addiction. Isabelle is surviving but saw her performance in school drastically decline after her mother relocated to Malaysia.

Isabelle's narrative offers a window to not just the challenges of children in transnational families but also to the shifts in gender and intergenerational relations encouraged by the reorganization of the family. The transnational migrant family is arguably just one of many family configurations that fall under what sociologist Judith Stacey calls a "postmodern family (1998)." By postmodern families, Stacey refers to the increasing diversity of household forms that result from shifts in economic and social norms including the rise in women's labor market participation, the greater likelihood of individuals relocating for work, and among others the greater acceptance of LGBT lifestyles. These transformations have resulted in the decline of a traditional nuclear family with a breadwinner father and stay-at-home mother and the according rise of two-income earning families, single parent families, divorce, step-parenting, no child families, and we would add transnational migrant families.

Yet, society has not necessarily accepted the rise of postmodern families including transnational migrant families. They are often rejected and perceived as the "wrong kind of family." In the case of Poland, we see this clearly in the perception of children in transnational migrant families as "Euro Orphans." In Sri Lanka, where it is believed that 90 percent of the nearly 600,000 migrant women workers are mothers, society worries that "children's misbehaviors increase when their mothers migrate to abroad" because "society thinks that mothers teach good habits and lead the children in the exact way which the society expects a child to be in the society with good characters and moral behaviors."[1] Perhaps it is for this reason that on March 7, 2007, Sri Lanka's ministerial cabinet approved a proposal advanced by the Minister for Child Development and Women's Empowerment, which would ban the labor migration of women with children under 5 years of age. While this law was never implemented, it symbolically sent the message that it should be mothers and no one else who should be caring for young children.

The reaction of Philippine society to transnational migrant families is not any different from those we see in Poland and Sri Lanka. In the Philippines, the public views children in transnational families as abandoned but they see children such as Isabelle, that is children of migrant mothers, as larger victims than children left behind by migrant fathers. This is the case because in the Philippines, the prevailing view is (1) a proximate family is better than a transnational family and (2) if one parent must migrate, then it is better that a father and not a mother does so.

[1] See blog: https://www.worldpulse.com/en/community/users/aberamy/posts/34607

6.2 Mr. Ho's Story and the Societal Context of Transnational Immigrant Families

Mr. Ho felt ambivalent about the international migration of his adult children. Mr. Ho cared about the career advancements and solid marriages of his adult children, but he knew it came at the expense of their proximity as a family. Mr. Ho saw a gendered flow of eldercare from his son in China and daughter in the United States. With the daughter caring more and the son caring less, Mr. Ho explained,

> She [The immigrant daughter] sends messages via Line [a chat application] from time to time. She calls us asking if we have done with meals or sleep well; she reminds us of putting on additional clothes as the weather becomes colder. The son makes fewer calls. Daughters are generally more caring (Mr. Ho, Taiwan).

In fact, Mr. Ho's daughter in Los Angeles complained about her brother's irresponsibility, "My brother works in the same time zone of Taiwan. How couldn't he often check on the parents? His wife is terrible, too. She does not care of her spouse's parents as much as I do for my spouse's parents."

Mr. Ho's story does not only suggest that gender also haunts the transnational households of elderly parents with migrating adult children, but it also indicates that the traditions of Taiwanese eldercare provision, which emphasize proximate care, are disrupted. His situation is not unique as Taiwan is now a major source country of highly skilled expatriates around the world.[2] Adult children, who are supposed to the primary source of eldercare in Taiwan, have become less available because of domestic and international migration.

Similar to the decline of intergenerational coresidence during the past century in the United States (Ruggles 2007), the Chinese family system has undergone a major transformation in the last three decades, due to industrialization, urbanization, and social transition that gives equal education opportunities to men and women in Taiwan and leads to the rise in the female labor force (Jones 2007; Thornton and Lin 1994; Tsai et al. 1994; Whyte 2004). Despite these shifts in multigenerational families, the Taiwanese still cultivate their filial obligations. The Senior Citizens Welfare Act in Taiwan penalizes "unfilial (adult) children," who are guilty of carelessness, abuse and/or the abandonment of their elderly parents with a fine or shames them publicly by publishing their names or requires them to attend family counseling sessions.

While global migration challenges the childcare of migrant adults to left-behind children, immigration raises the question of "who cares for the elderly" as adult children immigrate and elderly parents stay behind. How does society and elderly parents perceive adult children's immigration in regards to eldercare arrangement? The Senior Citizens Welfare Act in Taiwan reflects a cultural belief that adult children have responsibilities of filial care to the elderly parents, but moral regulations do prevail more significantly than law enforcement. It is speculated that adult children who immigrate abroad are most likely to be accused of abandoning elderly

[2] See report: http://www.oecd.org/migration/mig/33868740.pdf

parents. Unlike the adult children residing in other areas of the island who remain able to care in person, immigrant adult children face challenges of fulfilling their cultural obligation of eldercare provision.

6.3 Goals

In this chapter, we examine the constitution of gender in transnational families by asking the questions "who cares for the children" and "who cares for the elderly." We compare the experiences of the children of migrant fathers and mothers as well as the experiences of the elderly parents of immigrant sons and daughters. By migrant transnational families, we refer to families whose second-generation is rooted in the country of origin. They refer to families with migrant parents abroad and children residing in the country of origin. In contrast, immigrant transnational families do not have second-generation members in the country of origin. Instead, it is the zero-generation (meaning, grandparents) that ties them to the country of origin. As we illustrate, women in these two types of transnational families maintain responsibility for the care work across national borders.

In the case of the families of migrant mothers, we see a stall in the gender revolution instigated by the migration of mothers; the men left behind—men such as Isabelle's father—prefer not to perform childcare and are at most reluctant caregivers. In contrast, women are saddled with care work, specifically other women including daughters such as Isabelle, aunts, grandmothers, or paid household help. The stalled gender revolution is also found in the case of immigrant daughters and sons. While Taiwanese adult children immigrate abroad, immigrant daughters (including in-laws) offer more emotional support to stay-behind elderly parents across borders than immigrant sons do. Besides these filial daughters abroad, the women who stay behind—other daughters and daughters-in-law—and the women who migrate from Southeast Asia—paid caregivers—provide round-the-clock care at home in Taiwan. The sons are likewise reluctant caregivers, but often prefer to transfer care labor to their spouse or paid caregivers.

6.3.1 Methodology

This chapter is drawn from two studies, and both of them employ in-depth interviews. The analysis of migrant transnational families draws from a study on children growing up in transnational migrant families in the Philippines, conducted for 18 months between 2000 and 2001. The experiences of children who are growing up with (a) a transnational migrant mother, (b) a transnational migrant father, and (c) both a transnational migrant mother and father are compared. The analysis of immigrant transnational families is based on interviews with 31 Taiwanese elderly, whose son or daughter has emigrated, between 2013 and 2014. Their experience

was compared to explore the role of gender in the provision of transnational eldercare. A total of 23 of their immigrant adult children who are living in Los Angeles also participated in a broader research project on transnational eldercare.

Drawing from these two separate studies, this chapter examines the constitution of gender in transnational families. It begins with an overview of the growing literature on gender and transnational families. Then, it focuses on the case of the Philippines, drawing on interviews with children of migrant parents but also domestic workers in Dubai, Singapore, Rome and Los Angeles, to address the question "who cares for the children." To further strengthen our argument, it then looks at a second case, specifically of Taiwan, and examines the care of elderly parents.

6.4 Literature Review

In the last decade, we have seen an explosion of studies on transnational families. By transnational migrant families, we refer to households residing in at least two nation-states. The central relational node of the transnational migrant families that we speak of in the case of the Philippines is those of migrant parents and dependent children. In the definition, we strategically exclude the transnational migrant families of adult migrants and elderly parents, which is the focus of study of scholars such as Loretta Baldassar (2007) and Cora Baldock (2000). Yet, we specifically engage with the discussion of transnational eldercare with the case of Taiwanese immigrant families composed of adult immigrants and stay-behind elderly parents.

A great deal of studies on transnational migrant families have focused on the question of gender. Empirically, studies have asked two questions to get to a discussion of gender relations in transnational migrant families: "who cares for the children" (Abrego 2014; Dreby 2010; Gamburd 2008; McKay 2012; Mazzucato and Schans 2011) and "how mothering is practiced" (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Madianou and Miller 2012).

Studies on gender and transnational families are largely differentiated by the feminist thoughts that inform them. For instance, studies are divided over the question "do men do care work or not?" One group led by the likes of Deirdre McKay (2012) and Martin Manalansan (2006) insists they do. Drawing from her ethnography of a migrant sending community in the Philippines, the geographer Deirdre McKay insists that men respond positively to women's outmigration and accordingly care for children. Yet, as we see with the story of Isabelle, it is not unheard of for fathers left behind to reject care work. However, McKay asserts that any insistence on women's continued maternal responsibilities upon migration, "assumes a universal understanding of intimacy" and "reflects contemporary, commonsense understandings of gendered family roles that predominate in the middle-class northern European West" (McKay 2012, p. 116). McKay assumes a universal difference between the West and the Rest; she romanticizes the Philippines as a non-western space inhabited by the Other and she assumes that by this very fact women in the

Philippines must have uniquely different problems from women in the West. This is actually an exemplary example of colonial feminism or orientalism.

Most studies actually disagree with McKay and find that women are more likely to care for children in transnational migrant families. Abrego (2014), for instance, found that migrant mothers are apt to remit a greater portion of their earnings to their children in El Salvador than are migrant fathers. Dreby (2010), in her study of Mexican transnational families, found that it is "middlewomen" who care for children in transnational families. Indeed, she found that the vast majority of children of migrant mothers who are left behind in Mexico are cared for by not just a grandmother but in particular a maternal grandmother.

Maternal grandmothers are those most likely to care for children because migrant women seek those who can act as their extension or temporary replacement, which in effect magnifies not just women's but the mother's continued responsibility for being the primary nurturer of their children. Situating Dreby (2010) in a feminist lens, we could say that she employs not a universal framework as someone like McKay (2012) would insist but instead she utilizes a transnational feminist framework. As developed by Grewal and Kaplan (1994), women are tied by "scattered hegemonies"; women, we must acknowledge, may face similar social problems from each of their own societal context. Thus, a woman in Mexico or the Philippines could be plagued by an unequal division of labor as much as their counterparts in Europe.

Also examining gender's constitution in transnational families are those who study the practice of transnational mothering. One group insists that transnational mothering does not retain gender per se but instead leads to its reconfiguration. Coined by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997), "transnational mothering" refers to the organizational reconstitution and rearrangement of motherhood to accommodate the temporal and spatial separations forced by migration. They found that this arrangement forms new meanings of motherhood and specifically expands mothering to encompass breadwinning, thus signaling an advancement for women. Similarly, Madianou and Miller (2012), who significantly advanced our understanding of transnational communication with their notion of polymedia, i.e., the view that the contours of intimate relations change from one medium to the next, found that transnational migrant mothers neither reject nor fully retain their nurturance of children but they maintain feelings of ambivalence. In the process, these mothers question traditional notions of child rearing. Yet, the practice of gender does not speak to the structures of gender. The performances of mothering described by them, i.e., their expansion or ambivalence, do not erase the continued responsibility of women for nurturance. Missing from both the aforementioned discussions on transnational mothering is not only the societal but also the relational context in which it occurs. Unfortunately, the analysis of Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) and Madianou and Miller (2012) put transnational mothering in a vacuum. How does society receive the efforts of migrant mothers to reconfigure mothering? More significantly, how do their children, other relatives, and friends perceive their efforts?

The question of a gendered care deficit also applies to immigrant families, in which adult immigrants are required to offer eldercare to stay-behind parents across borders. The topic of family eldercare is usually assumed as a cultural issue; for instance, based on the cultural belief of *xiao*, East Asian children are raised to respect their parents, provide them with material and non-material support, and generally please them. Consequently, the family is the primary source of support and care for Asian parents in their old age (Ikels 2004; Whyte 2004; Zhan and Montgomery 2003). The culture of *xiao*, however, results in the greater burden of Asian immigrant women to provide eldercare (Amin and Ingman 2014; Kim 2012; Sun 2012). It is a burden they share with European and Latino immigrant women across the globe (Baldassar 2007; Baldassar et al. 2007; Merla 2015; Senyurekli and Detzner 2008).

Research questions on immigrants' transnational care of the older generation mirror those of transnational parents of young children left behind. Scholars ask who cares for the elderly and how adult children fulfill their filial obligations from afar (Amin and Ingman 2014; Baldassar et al. 2007; Merla 2015; Merla and Baldassar 2011; Sun 2012). Existing studies have found that adult immigrants' sense of filial duty to older parents does not disappear after immigration. Adult children's filial duty has been reconstituted and rearranged to respond to spatial separations. For instance, immigrants make phone and video calls to stay-behind parents. They visit the elderly parents in the homeland (Amin and Ingman 2014; Merla and Baldassar 2011; Sun 2012). Research also finds that adult women provide more substantial eldercare to parents, compared to adult men. Baldassar and her colleagues argue that daughters instead of sons are seen as primary caregivers. As they noted, "a daughter who is abroad may become defined as a 'bad daughter', whereas a son may be seen as a 'good son'—regardless of the amount of caregiving and support each has accomplished" (Baldassar et al. 2007: 104). As they noted, posing an exception are the Chinese-Singaporean women who settled in Australia and expressed a legitimate excuse not to care from a distance because of their marital status as married women.

However, Baldassar and her colleagues do not account for local notions of filial duty that transfer these gendered responsibilities of care to the parents-in-law. The role of daughters-in-law plays a crucial role in family eldercare, and this gendered structure of eldercare does not transform after immigration. While the immigrant sons bear the moral obligations to care for the stay-behind parents, they usually transfer this labor to their spouses. For instance, married women of Taiwanese and Bangladeshi immigrants not only cared about their own parents but also reinforced their cultural role as daughters-in-law by performing eldercare from afar on behalf of their spouses (Amin and Ingman 2014; Sun 2012). Why do married women of some groups offer eldercare on their spouse's behalf? It could be explained through the lens of culture, but it is better explained by accounting for the gender structure that remains underpinned in the immigrant family.

By linking the cases of transnational migrant families and transnational immigrant families, the chapter argues that the gender reconstitution prompted by migration does not completely dislodge the gender inequalities in the household division

of labor. This is evidenced by women's greater practice of transnational parenting and transnational eldercare provision.

6.5 Who Cares for the Children?

As we wish to address the question of "who cares for the children," we establish that it is women and not men who do so. It is not a job men necessarily do so willingly.

6.5.1 Fathers

Fathers—whether as migrants or men left behind—rarely nurture their children. If they could, they reject care work and leave this responsibility to other women—daughters, domestic workers, aunts, and grandmothers. In the transnational families of migrant men observed by Parreñas (2005) in the Philippines, fathers reduced their parental responsibilities to their monthly remittance and communicated with their children minimally. Likewise, in the transnational families of migrant women, fathers rarely had primary responsibility for nurturing their children. Instead, most fathers had not just relegated this work to other women but they guaranteed their avoidance of housework by relocating to a different region of the Philippines. This situation is reminiscent of the "stalled revolution" identified by Arlie Hochschild (1989) among dual income earning couples in the United States. Men back then did not increase their housework despite women's greater economic contributions to the household.

However, fathers left behind do not completely turn their back on the needs of their children. Some men do care. For instance, some working class men found themselves having to do housework as they had been without the resources needed to rely on other women. In contrast, middle-class men often hired domestic workers. Yet, regardless of class, if men did do housework, they did not do that much. The women left behind—eldest daughters, aunts, grandmothers, and domestic workers—did more care work than fathers.

By insisting on the minimal work of men, we do not mean to imply that the institutional rearrangement of the household has not forced some men to take on certain aspects of women's work. For example, one father Lurenzo Lacuesta had to quit his job as a security guard and found himself the stay at home father of his 11-year-old son upon the sudden death of his mother, that is the paternal grandmother of his son. Yet, interestingly, Lurenzo does not think of the care he did for his son as women's work, but instead he considered the work to be an extension of his previous duties in the military.

Describing the cooking and cleaning he did at home, Lurenzo states: "This is just the skills I learned during my military training as a soldier. I was trained to do this work as a soldier." As suggested by the case of Lurenzo, men cannot always avoid

female gendered care work. These are usually mundane tasks we often overlook but carry with them in their performance far-reaching gender implications. They include grocery shopping, attending meetings at school, and doing various activities in public with their children, such as walking them to school. These activities underscore and make visible the absence of mothers from the country. Although men seem to resist the changes forced by the institutional rearrangement of their households, they have sometimes found themselves with no other choice but to adjust accordingly to their new household arrangement. This fact leaves us with a glimmer of hope that transformations in gender ideologies could eventually follow suit in the transnational families of migrant mothers.

6.5.2 Mothers

What about the mothers? As I acknowledged earlier, migration forces the reorganization of the family, inviting the reconstitution of the traditional gender division of labor, and as some functionalist scholars insist would unavoidably result in men's performance of care work. Missing from this discussion however is the persistence of cultural norms, whether it is the ideology of women's domesticity, which stigmatizes the caring work done by men left behind, or the cultural expectation for intimacy in transnational families to replicate those of proximate families, which is an expectation that results in greater burdens for women. We see this latter cultural expectation in the literature on transnational mothering and its celebration of the frequency of communication allowed by technological advancements.

As Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) noted two decades ago, communication technology allows migrant mothers to maintain the traditional responsibility of being an involved caregiver even from a distance. New media, others agree, provides "a kind of solution (however imperfect) to the cultural contradictions of mothering and migration" (Madianou and Miller 2012: 13). Claims the sociologist Valerie Francisco: "frequent communication, digital face to digital face exchanges, and instant updates allow families to be in sync instantaneously even if they are separated across space" (Francisco 2015: 175). From a distance, migrant mothers could give instructions on how to spend remittances, lend emotional support to their friends, and even advice their children about schoolwork. With these intimate labors of projecting instantaneity, migrant mothers can maintain what Pertierra (2005) calls an "absent presence" in the lives of family in the Philippines (an "absent presence" that is contradictory to the type maintained by fathers left behind, who are physically present but might as well be absent).

In a nutshell, what is celebrated is this—there is nothing wrong with transnational mothering, because despite the distance, mothers are "here and there," mothers manage to "magically" be present across great distances, and mothers are always available to their children. Let us put this in another way: it is okay for women to migrate and live apart from their children because they don't threaten the ideology of female domesticity. Because of technology, women can still nurture, retain

proximity with, and be involved in the day-to-day lives of their children. But this is arguably an unfair expectation of migrant mothers. It is one notably not expected of migrant men who need not achieve instantaneity to fulfill traditional fathering roles of breadwinning and disciplining. Migrant fathers have been found not to communicate with their children left behind as much as mothers do; at the same time, they are not faulted the same way mothers would be if they did not do so. As Dreby (2010) notes of the gender dynamics in Mexican transnational families, "Children evaluate mothers more harshly for having left them. Migrant mothers bear the moral burdens of transnational parenting" (Dreby 2010: 204). In other words, they are the ones who have to establish an "absent presence." In some cases, this is an impossible expectation for transnational mothers to fulfill—particularly among those whose children reside in rural areas or whose employers deny them access to communication as we see with domestic workers in the Middle East (Parreñas 2017).

To achieve some semblance of intimacy, mothers attempt to make regular communication part of the weekly routine of transnational family life. For instance, the mother of 19-year-old Cheryl Gonzaga, who has worked outside the country for at least 14 years, never fails to call her three children at three o' clock every Sunday afternoon. Although she contributes a larger share than does her husband to the household income, she still maintains greater involvement with her children than he does. The father of Cheryl runs their family business—a fish pond located in another island—and returns only once a month to see his children. Elaborating on the caring work of her migrant mother, Cheryl describes:

> Sometimes she calls three times a week. Especially if one of us is sick (she and her two brothers), then she will call one day, then she will call again a day later. Sometimes she is busy. So she will only call on Sunday at 3 pm. That is why we are all home on Sundays. This is when she checks up on us. She asks us if we are happy with our food. She is kind of strict. When it comes to our food and our health, she is strict. So it has been a couple of years since we stopped using MSG [monosodium glutamate]. We don't use that anymore because it is supposed to be bad for our health…. With MSG, I get a headache. According to my mother, MSG causes it. She would know, because she is a nutritionist (Cheryl Gonzaga, a stay-behind daughter).

In addition to providing health advice, the mother also plans their menu for the week. She talks to her children about their school, teachers, and activities outside the classroom. She even gives them advice on their school projects. While we should commend the efforts of migrant mothers to provide care from afar, we should ask: in the context of men's avoidance of housework, how do these long-distance intimacies promote the retention of the ideology of women's domesticity?

6.5.3 The Role of Other Women

The question "who cares for the children" requires a much richer discussion for the transnational families of migrant mothers than migrant fathers. In the families of migrant fathers, it is the mother left behind who is solely caring for their children.

Indeed, these families almost mirror nuclear households with the only difference being the geographic distance of the father's job. Instead of coming home every night, he comes home every 6 months. In contrast, the transnational families of migrant mothers are embedded in a wider kin network. There is an invisible group of caregivers in transnational families. And these are "other women," specifically eldest daughters and other female kin—aunts and grandmothers. They are the ones who are most likely saddled with housework and care work when women migrate.

What motivates "other women" to provide care for the children of migrant mothers is not necessarily the financial assistance they potentially secure from the migrant mother but instead the burden of societal expectation. While migrant mothers are perceived as "bad mothers" for prioritizing the financial security of migration over the emotional security of their children, society likewise sees "other women" who refuse to assist in the maintenance of transnational families as unfit.

Yet this is not a responsibility they welcome with open arms. Most eldest daughters complain that they do more housework than do their father or brothers. Female kin left behind in the Philippines are often bitter and frustrated over their unwanted responsibilities. One such woman is Quirina Belleza, who helps look after the three children of her brother and his migrant wife. Quirina does not at all rely on the remittances sent by her sister-in-law from Hong Kong, because she herself receives a greater monthly allowance from her husband who works as a seafarer. Yet, Quirina still does a significant amount of household work for her brother's family. As she describes,

> Before, I would wonder why I was willing to carry them all on my shoulder. I would ask myself that question. Why do I make all these sacrifices? I would ask that too. I only have one child, and yet I make all these sacrifices. Oh, sometimes I would just be overwhelmed by the work. There would be piles and piles of clothes that I need to sort. I would need to clean after so many people. I have to cook before a certain time. I would cook lunch right before noon. When they all get home, all the food is cooked. My schedule would be, I would take my child to school, then I would go to the market, then I would cook. Then after the food is cooked, I would take food to my child at school. But the food for Phoebe and her siblings would be there waiting for them. I take care of everything. The only thing their mother needs to do is give them an allowance. Then, I take care of all the needs in the households. I do this because I do not want the studies of the children adversely affected, which it could be if they had household responsibilities at home (Quirina Belleza, a stay-behind woman).

Quirina helps run two transnational households—one initiated by her husband's migration and the other by her sister-in-law's departure for Hong Kong.

Extended kin, as we see with the case of Quirina, are often overextended. This suggests that it is dangerous for us to romanticize extended kinship ties and celebrate their work as a symbol of collective family unity, one that contests the norms of modern nuclear families. The help they provide points out that inequalities of gender do not only hurt migrant mothers but also other women in the family. This is likewise the case for adults who provide eldercare in transnational immigrant families.

6.6 Who Cares for the Elderly?

The eldercare provision of immigrant families likewise remains gendered. Women offer support to stay-behind parents more so than men.

6.6.1 Sons

Mr. and Mrs. Wang, who are in their 80s, were regarded as socially privileged by the social workers and other elderly residents of the senior home because they studied at a college in the 1940s. One of their sons settled in Los Angeles after obtaining an advanced degree in the United States; the other son works as a vice principal of a public university in Taiwan. Their residence in a senior home raises moral questions among the social workers and other elderly. As Mrs. Wang expressed,

> Being parents, we should wish the best development for the children. We are fine living at the senior home. We feel free, too. We dine out for the Chinese New Year Eve with the son who stays behind; we got a call from the son residing in the States. I am not that old-fashioned (Mrs. Wang, a stay-behind elderly mother).

While Mrs. Wang expressed their independence in old age by emphasizing her progressive attitudes toward the Chinese eldercare culture, she removes the negative implications of the hands-off approach of her sons by embracing a modern and western notion of eldercare. Yet, her progressive ideology of eldercare actually does not include gender. In fact, while Mrs. Wang has started to care for her fragile husband, her sons have not increased their provision of personal care. It is Mrs. Wang, the registered nurses, and the social workers who check on the health and well-being of Mr. Wang. Meanwhile, her sons are freed of accusation of morals deficit as well as the burden of care. Mr. Lin, a stay-behind father of an immigrant son, explained: "Adult children are not baby birds and they should spread their wings and fly."

However, immigrant sons who provide care are celebrated when doing so. In one news article, a Taiwanese man was, for example, celebrated when he returned from Los Angeles to Taipei to visit his 109-year-old grandmother every month for 11 years. Some immigrant sons rather than their spouse do return to Taiwan for family emergencies. However, this was usually the case because wives had to stay behind and care for school-aged children in the United States. The gendered structure of family care is seemingly dislodged by immigrant men's return in family emergencies, but the hope of transformations is made glim by the notion of women being better nurturers for children.

Generally stay-behind parents with an immigrant son receive fewer contacts from immigrant children than those parents with an immigrant daughter. Mr. Tsao, one of the immigrant sons, does not frequently contact his parents via international calls. He describes his limited conversation with his father, "I could not talk to my father for very long to express my care. I think it was about two minutes on average,

just like my sex life. It is probably because men dislike having a conversation, especially between father and son. I never know what to say and neither does he." To justify their minimal contact, sons tend to relegate eldercare labor to women. They presume it's women's labor, i.e. daughters and daughters-in-law.

6.6.2 Daughters

Mrs. Hsu, a widow in her 60s, is retired and spends most of her time at home or with former colleagues. Breaking the monotony of her days, Mrs. Hsu always looks forward to the video calls from her immigrant daughter in Los Angeles. They often chat about cooking:

> My daughter missed my flavor of three-cup chicken. I guided her over the video call how to cook in my way. In addition to the portions of sesame oil, rice wine, and soy sauce, it is very important to sauté ginger and garlic with sesame oil until fragrant. I tell you, the flavor cannot be that authentic because it is hard to buy Chinese basil in the States in her neighborhood (Mrs. Hsu, a stay-behind elderly mother).

Mrs. Chi, another stay-behind mother, also feels close to her immigrant daughter. Facilitating their close relationship are technology advancements in telecommunication as well as the continuing efforts of her daughter to provide transnational eldercare. Her immigrant daughter in Los Angeles explained the temporal juggling she often does, "5–6pm in L.A. is 8–9am [the next day] in Taipei. I can initiate a video call with my mother from 5pm to 9pm, and even continue to midnight in Los Angeles. This time works for us. With video calls, my mother won't feel too lonely at home in Taipei. She won't feel that I am far away. She cooks or watches television and the computer is always on for video calls."

While Mrs. Chi had surgery because of a car accident, she hid her accident from her immigrant daughter in Los Angeles and the son in Taiwan. Instead, Mrs. Chi asked her sister for assistance. Mrs. Chi describes, "I could handle it and it is not necessary to inform the children." But, her daughter in Los Angles expressed her anger, "Do you know how I found out about it? I could sense that my mother was tired from her voice on the phone. I asked her what was wrong and she just said, 'I feel exhausted after my volunteer work at the hospital.' I thought she sounded strange, so I called my aunt to check and she told me, 'You mother was injured.'" The immigrant daughter flew back to Taiwan to care for the mother.

It is not only daughters but also daughters-in-law who provide care from a distance. Ching-Yi, a business administrator and a mother of a toddler and a young child in the United States, has set routines of placing international video calls to her stay-behind parents and parents-in-law before and after work.

> My mother likes to talk to me because I have two younger brothers and I am the only daughter. She always pours her heart out to me on Skype. She shares both good and bad things about my family. I have a video call that probably lasts for at least half an hour with my parents-in-law in the afternoon of every day or two days because they want to see their

> beloved grandchildren. I just have to put the camera facing the place where the children are playing and running around and they are happy (Ching-Yi, an immigrant woman).

Communication in the immigrant family life is commonly characterized by free video calls via the internet. Thus, this communication enables a co-present experience for immigrants, their American-born children, and their stay-behind parents in Taiwan. Interestingly, men, particularly married men, are sparsely involved in these active transnational connections and kin-keeping labor.

6.6.3 Other Women

As adult children immigrate abroad, the elderly parents usually receive personal care from daughters(−in-law), female migrant caregivers, female relatives, and other female caregivers, who together thereby form a gendered care network. Doris, a hairstylist in Los Angles, and her siblings tried to arrange for their elderly parents to live with their stay-behind sister who remains single, but the father refused. Doris explained, "He lives with my brother because my father only has one son. The Taiwanese like to rely on their son. He [the brother] is the only son. Who can he shift his responsibility to? …Their norms are really ingrained." Because of their father's instance, Doris felt grateful to her sister-in-law who in fact acts as the primary caregiver for her husband. She added, "My sister-in-law can check on my father. She prepares meals everyday." As a result, the women who live with the father, both Doris's mother and sister-in-law, acted as the primary caregivers.

Yet, not all daughters-in-law embrace the gendered cultural expectations of eldercare. For instance, Mr. and Mrs. Xia learned this the hard way. After suffering from a stroke, Mr. Xia was expected to live with his son and the son's wife. However, the son recruited an Indonesia migrant woman to care for him and help his wife with household chores. As Fan observed during his 3 days of stay with this family, it is the migrant caregiver who gave the father claps on the back for postoperative rehabilitation and dealt with his medication and showers. The daughter-in-law never went upstairs to care for the father. The son explained:

> I needed to pay attention to my children's education and I wanted a better school district. I know what you aimed to ask, but I had lived with and cared for the parents on my own for years. All siblings are not nearby. Despite the fact that I succeeded the family factory, I also sacrificed a lot. What will you think if you only have a high school diploma but your siblings have a bachelor one? My younger brother used family savings to study at medical schools while I worked alone and with frustrations in Africa to expand business because my father requested. It's unfair, right? I am done with my part [of eldercare provision] (Irene's stay-behind brother).

As traditions dictated, the stay-behind son was "forced" to take this filial duty on the siblings' behalf. The eldercare provision in Mr. and Mrs. Xia's family suggests the multiple transfers of care labor from men to women and from women to other women. As sons are culturally assumed to be the primary caregiver, their wives are expected to offer the actual intimate labor. Although the gender transfer has its

cultural legitimacy, not all local women follow this tradition. As a result, recruiting a live-in migrant caregiver has become a popular option for newly rich Taiwanese (Lan 2006). The market transfer – from women in the family to those in the market—addresses both the parents' preference for cohabitation and the necessity of their adult children to care of them. Regardless of the types of care labor transfers, the structure of family care has not been challenged with respect to gender. It is daughters(in-law), the elderly's sisters, and female paid caregivers who are still domesticized to do eldercare labor.

6.7 Conclusion: Areas for Future Studies

There is now a robust discussion on the constitution of gender in transnational families with a greater number of scholars noting (and celebrating) shifts and transformations that women's migration have instigated in the gender division of labor in the transnational family. However, our analysis of transnational families in the Philippines and Taiwan shows that gender is more stubborn than malleable. Women we find do more care work than men and this includes not just the transnational mothers and daughters but also the other women left behind. They do more care work than men who (im)migrate and men who stay behind. Stalling gender transformations in the transnational family are various social forces including a) migrant women's labor market segregation in domestic work (which retains the view that house work is women's work); b) the societal rejection of transnational families, particularly those of migrant mothers, as the wrong kind of family, with this rejection projected in not just media reports on these families but also the cultural norms promoted at schools and churches; and finally c) the ideology of women's domesticity.

We could still do more to advance our knowledge of gender and its constitution in transnational families. We wish to end by identifying areas of research that are ripe for investigation. First, we need more studies that examine how class would differentiate the expectations and experiences of children and elderly parents in transnational families. For instance, we need to compare the experiences of children whose mothers are nurses and domestic workers or whose fathers are engineers and factory workers. Indeed, we found that children in working-class transnational households had greater responsibilities than their middle-class counterparts. We need to compare the experience of elderly parents whose sons and daughters are professional, entrepreneur, and low-skilled immigrants. Elderly parents of upper-class immigrants are more likely to receive care from paid caregivers than family caregivers (Fan 2017). At the same time, both the stay-behind and elderly parents are less likely to complain and view themselves as victims. Potentially explaining our different findings from those of Deirdre McKay (2012)—who found that men indeed do housework upon the migration of their wives—is the concentration of her study in a working-class community, where families are less likely to have the resources to outsource such labor.

Second, we need more studies that situate transnational families in their larger context. At the moment, many studies examine these families in a vacuum. For instance, discussions on the meanings of transnational motherhood tend not to consider its reception. Mothers might be redefining mothering to include breadwinning as so argued by the likes of Mirca Madianou (2012) in her discussion of "ambient mothering," but is society accepting their efforts to redefine mothering? Are friends and family accordingly reciprocating? Elderly parents of immigrant families have experienced a double decline of traditional eldercare: One is immigration that disconnects the parents and adult children; the other is the transformation of local society, which falls in a dilemma between the movement towards the postmodern society/family and the moral struggle of the society/family for maintaining the traditions of eldercare.

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Part II
Challenges of Migration in Parenting

Chapter 7
Daddy's Dividends: Modernization of Fatherhood in Transnational Families of Ukrainian Migrant Women

Alissa V. Tolstokorova

7.1 Introduction

"Between the Scylla of unemployment and Charybdis of care migration": this is how I define the situation of Ukrainian women throughout the years of free market reforms (Tolstokorova 2010a). Their new status of being "locally neglected and globally engaged", which has put great numbers of them on the move, has been discussed at length in my other works (Tolstokorova 2008, 2009, 2010a, b, 2012, 2013a, b, c), which show that a high degree of Ukrainian migrant women have husbands who stay at home and take care of family and children: 26% of minors in transnational families are left behind to be cared for by their fathers (UISR 2006: 6). This is indicative of the fact that a new category of fathers has recently emerged in Ukraine, the so-called "Penelopes of Postmodernity" (Tolstokorova 2016a), who are immobile men staying behind and waiting for the return of their wives from working abroad. While "their bonnie lies over the ocean", as a popular folk song goes, they are induced to master new roles of social reproduction and assume traditional feminine duties, with some of them doing successfully and others less, as my research has shown.

In other words, the process of feminizing economic migration from the country of origin (see Tolstokorova 2009) has become a conditioning factor for crucial transformations of traditional paternity roles and caregiving practices of men left behind. On the one hand, the challenges of migrant fathers who perform their paternity duties at great geographical distances have already attracted the attention of researchers.[1] On the other, the situation of males who assume responsibilities regarding childcare and the family household, as well as the concurrent emotional,

[1] For an overview of the literature on issues of fatherhood in the context of migration and transnationalism see Tolstokorova (2014a, 2016b).

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psychological, financial and matrimonial collision they face in relationships with their financially independent wives at a distance, remains an area that requires immediate attention. The gendered effect of transgressing "norms of hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1995) on the self-identification of these men, with only a few exceptions (Tolstokorova 2014a, b, 2016b), has not been an object of focused research. The paper aims to fill this gap by looking at the case of men from transnational families of Ukrainian migrant women in particular. As such, I employ the concept of fatherhood as a lens through which to look at and understand the dynamics of the masculinity for males left behind, leading to the modernization of paternity as an institution.

In pursuing this goal, I structure this chapter in the following format. First, I explain the conceptual framework from where I depart in my study and outline my research methodology. Then, I cast light on the process of the modernization of fatherhood in transnational families. These sections are followed by a discussion on fieldwork findings, which define two major types of paternity among Ukrainian fathers who are left behind, that is, responsible and irresponsible, each represented by two models of fathering practices. The following four models of fathering will be discussed: two models of *responsible paternity*, which are *house husband daddies* and *Theresas fathers*, and two models of *irresponsible fatherhood,* that is, *stranded bon vivants* and *Peter Pan daddies*.

7.2 Conceptual Framework and Analytical Tools of the Study

I depart from LaRossa's stance on the "modernization of fatherhood", which reflects the extent of fathers' involvement with their children in the Machine Age and the political commitment to gender equality in the context of fatherhood (LaRossa 1997). I argue that this framework is useful in tracing the dynamics of the institution of paternity in transnational families of Ukrainian labour migrants, which is confronting the challenge of the rearrangement of family roles due to the increasing out-migration of women to work abroad and the growing numbers of husbands who stay behind at home to take care of their family and children.

I also depart from the theory of "responsible fathering", which reflects a recent shift among academics and professionals away from value-free language and towards a more explicit value advocacy approach to paternity (Doherty et al. 1998). The concept of "responsible fathering", on the one hand, suggests a set of desired norms for evaluating fathers' behaviour and, on the other, conveys a moral meaning of what may be right and wrong in fathering, implying that some fathering could be judged as "irresponsible". I apply this notion in order to measure the extent of fathers' involvement with their children in the "age of migration" (Castles and Miller 2003), when men are confronting the need to "negotiate the changes and potential conflicts that their involvement in reproductive labour may entail" (Gallo and Scrinzi 2016: 2).

A useful analytical tool to study transformations of the institution of fatherhood within the transnational family space is the concept of "patriarchal dividends" (Greig et al. 2000: 7), collectively arising from men's higher incomes, higher labour force participation, unequal property ownership and greater access to institutional power (Connell 1995: 82–83). As a ramification of this notion in the familial setting, I use the concept of "fatherhood (or paternity) dividends" (Tolstokorova 2014a, 2016b) to refer to the various ramifications of patriarchal dividends, secured in the form of benefits for men's social status and emotional well-being, due to the paternity status vis-à-vis the "minimal investment required for parenting" (Thornhill 1980; Thornhill and Palmer 2000), which is conventional for men in a patriarchal society. When regarded in a migration setting, fatherhood dividends may be conceived as a variety of "social dividends of migration" (Tolstokorova 2013b), that is, an added value of migratory experience in the form of individual non-material accumulations: social, ethic, cultural and aesthetic, educational, civic, gastronomic and culinary capitals[2] etc. used by migrants for the benefit of their personal development and well-being.

Departing from this analytical framework, the paper seeks to identify the impact of transnational family contexts on the modernization of paternity roles in families of Ukrainian migrant women, with an accent on gender specificities in the dynamics of the institution of fatherhood among this category of families. While pursuing this objective, I consider the argument that paternal participation in child-rearing is a necessary precondition for gender equality in the family (Chodorow 1999). A narrower objective of the paper is to trace the dynamics of the masculinity status for transnational husbands staying behind.

7.3 Research Methodology

This research is a part of my larger ongoing multistaged project with the overarching theme of gendered dimensions of Ukrainian labour migration.[3] Initially, neither the issues of transnational family per se, nor the challenges of fathers left behind have been the focus of this research. Even so, interviews with experts, migrants themselves and members of transnational families have suggested the emergence of clearly observable gender transformations in the institution of transnational fatherhood. This in turn calls for more in-depth research on these issues to highlight paternal experiences, concerns and constraints of men left behind.

The project draws on the results of a multisited and multistaged field research project. This started with non-participant observation,[4] which involved members

[2] For gastronomic and culinary capitals and respective social dividends of Ukrainian labour migrants, see Tolstokorova (2016c).

[3] See more on the methodological challenges and limitations of this project at Tolstokorova (2016d).

[4] See more on "non-participant observation" in Liu and Maitlis (2010).

of various social groups, directly or indirectly related to migrant social networks: representatives of educational and municipal administrations, businessmen, owners of local retail networks and other members of local communities who have direct contacts with migrants and their families. Interviews with experts in migration issues, gender and social policy were carried out in 2008 in Kiev and Lviv. In-depth interviews and two focus group discussions covered 25 experts in all, including NGO activists, journalists, researchers at research institutions and think tanks, policymakers at ministries, municipalities, employment centres, embassies, and representatives of international organizations, such as IOM and Amnesty International.

Interviewing the target group of informants involved 44 Ukrainian labour migrants (31 women and 13 men) working in low-cost labour, including members of their families and extended migrant networks, mainly in urban communities (neighbours, relatives, co-workers). Among our responders were returnees and current migrants: both those who came home visiting from their respective countries of work and circular migrants who temporarily stayed in Ukraine in-between spells of employment abroad. Additionally, the group of respondents included women involved in au pair work in Austria and Germany. In Ukraine, interviews were conducted in Kherson, Kirovograd and Kiev, and small towns in the Kherson Oblast. Others were interviewed in their respective countries of work or on aircraft, in airport lounges and on airport shuttle buses during the author's international travels. Interviews were carried out under the condition that the real identities of the responders would not be disclosed, in order to maintain their privacy. This was necessary because experience has shown that many migrants are reluctant to discuss issues related to their personal life and that of their family members out of the fear that the confidential information could be disclosed to outsiders. As such, conducting interviews via the telephone, Skype and email messaging was very helpful. Additionally, two focus groups were organized with members of transnational families, including both migrants who came home for visiting and their relatives left behind at home. Interviewing was based on a semi-structured questionnaire with open-ended questions, covering different stages of the migration cycle and reflecting on the gendered experiences of migrants. The interviewing process followed a snowball sampling method, whereby new respondents were contacted by previous respondents.

Non-participant observation draws on the results of informal socialization with people and communities belonging to migrants' informal social networks: officials of municipal services responsible for work with families of migrants and their children, school teachers and administration officials, businessmen and owners of local retail networks involved in commercial relations with those left behind, etc.

The data of field research were supplemented by desk-based work, which included the analysis of secondary theoretical sources and a content analysis on media resources focused on labour migration from Ukraine.

7.4 Modernization of Fatherhood in Transnational Families

The results of my research concur with the argument that migration serves to reorient and question commonsensical 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 2004: 316). Under these conditions, as Williams argues, "fatherhood is becoming increasingly individualized, as fathers are forced to confront change within the family and within society more broadly and as traditional models of fatherhood are progressively called into question by partners and by a range of social institutions including the media and government" (Williams 2008: 488).

These transformations in gender roles result in a tangible impact on the masculinity status for men in transnational families. In particular, the formation of a cohort of "new fathers" (Coltrane and Allan 1994) is being observed, accompanied by paradigmatic changes in the institution of fatherhood as it is. It has been argued that, nowadays, to be "new fathers", men not only need to be breadwinners, but are also expected to master a new "father mission" of social reproduction, that is, to be caring, protecting and a good role model for their children, who helps develop their potential (Liong 2017: 3). In other words, fatherhood as a parenting institution is being modernized in the direction of becoming more demanding, insofar as modern parents are increasingly required to take greater responsibility and be more morally accountable for their children's welfare and progress (Brannen 2016: 179).

Meanwhile, the available literature on families of Ukrainian migrants reflects a view on males as "non-gendered humans" (Hibbins and Pease 2009: 5) and the "second sex" in social reproduction (Inhorn et al. 2009), who are not regarded as "reproductive in their own right" (Inhorn et al. 2014: 2).

My paper contests this view and argues that the experience of men left behind is not only gendered, but can even be "regendered" and "degendered': that is, in the absence of mothers, some fathers can progress towards more responsible parenting and even become the "first sex" in social reproduction. Some others degrade fathers by claiming that they manipulate and trade their paternal rights to secure financial dividends. In either case, their reproductive roles do not lose their significance, but in fact acquire dynamism.

The findings of my field research point to two major trends in paternity practices among fathers left behind: one is the *reconceptualization of the masculinity status* associated with the *househusbandization* of men, which is manifested in two models of *responsible paternity,* such as *househusband daddies* and *Theresas fathers*, whereas the other trend reflects the *devaluation of the masculinity status* for fathers left behind and the concurrent *mercantilization of fathering*, which entails two models of *irresponsible fathering,* such as *stranded bon vivants* and *Peters Pans*.

7.5 "Househusbandization" of Home-Staying Men in Families of Migrant Women: Models of Responsible Fathering

As follows from the field research data, the emergence of transnational family spaces and cross-border kin relationships entails the process of *regenderization*[5] of family functions among men left behind, putting pressure on them to *reconceptualize their masculinity status* in order to fit in with the realities of the modern "age of feminization of migration" (Lutz 2007: 189). 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 towards the area of domesticity in homemaking and caring roles. Nowadays, it is the husbands of migrant wives who follow the track of "housewifization". By analogy, in this paper, I prefer to speak about *househusbandization*, thus complying with Parreňas's definition of men left behind as "househusbands" (Parreňas 2005: 331). This process leads to the emergence of such models of responsible fathering as *househusband fathers* and *Theresas fathers*.

7.5.1 Househusband Fathers Model

The process of redistributing traditional gender roles and the divisions of labour in families of migrant women is at play, even in families where husbands join their wives abroad. This stems from the fact that women's overloading under conditions of migrancy entails the necessity to delegate the traditional role of carers and household managers to their husbands, who often find their life to be ordered around their wives' working schedule and their children's needs. In the absence of adequate childcare, husbands become "both mother and father" to their offspring (Ducu 2011: 24). They may even quit their job to take care of children while their wife works (George 2005: 40; Ahmad 2008: 166).

This implies that husbands of migrant women may adjust well to the functions of social reproduction and master the roles of "househusbands", thus confirming LaRossa's view of the "modernization of fatherhood" in families of Ukrainian migrant women by way of the feminization of paternity patterns. This was testified by informants:

> When I learned about an opportunity to earning money abroad, I decided that it was me who had to leave. You see, I did 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

[5] 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 conceive regenderization as the reversal of gender role models of members of transnational families (see Tolstokorova 2018).

> and obeyed him. Now, I see that, although I am away from home, my boys are taken care of well, and all my guys get along with each other. Now that I have a short amount of annual leave in which to go home, I am busy with present-hunting for my ex, to thank him for being a good father to our sons. (Anastasia, 38, working in the service sector in Monaco).

Another illustrative case is that of divorced mother Irina who, before leaving to work in Poland, had left her toddler son in the care of her mother. That said, it was hard for a grandmother of a pre-retirement age to juggle childcare and full-time employment, and soon Irina had to return home. But, her income in Ukraine was insufficient to provide for the family and she decided to earning money abroad again, this time delegating childcare duties for her son to his father, Irina's ex-husband. The latter already had another family, but agreed to assume responsibility for his son, which enabled Irina to leave to work in Greece.

On the downside of this model of fathering, as reported by both experts and informants, as well as in other studies, is the limitation of fathers left behind to undertake all the tasks once performed by mothers and to fully understand the feelings of their children, especially daughters, in the absence of their mothers (Rentea and Rotărescu 2016: 159). This means that, although fathers invest time and energy in their new family roles, their paternity dividends may by low or even absent. Yet, they may have a positive value if househusbands make efforts to develop closer emotional contact with their children, due to greater involvement with them in the absence of the mother, due to working abroad.

This said, "involved fatherhood" (Wall and Arnold 2007) is not a widespread phenomenon in Ukraine, given that 34% of children of single migrant mothers stay behind at home unattended (Women's Perspectives 2003). My research shows that the reconstitution of gender role models in mother-away migrant families occurs mainly while women are away from home, while it is expected that, after their repatriation to Ukraine, the traditional gender contract will be reactivated. This was exemplified in a focus group discussion with experts from a women's NGO:

Expert 1*: "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."*

Expert 2: *"I have a brother who had been taking care of two teenage boys for two years while his wife was in Italy, and it was not a problem. It was OK."*

Interviewer: *"And when she came back home, did anything change?"*

Expert 2: *"When she came back, it was the same as it had been before. You are back to Ukraine now!"*

Expert 3: *"It's always an apology for Ukrainian men."*

Experts underscored that such situations are uncommon, which complies with the observation that, in Ukrainian transnational families, men left behind do not completely take over women's roles as carers of the home and children (Haidinger 2008: 138). As elsewhere, they often seek the help of extended family members, mainly females, who help to fill the care deficit created by the mother's absence (Bruijn et al. 1992; Gamburd 2000).

Interviewer: *"When a woman migrates, the man left behind, the husband, will do the domestic work and caring work, looking after kids. So, if a woman goes away, if she is not divorced, and the man starts to do the main things in the house, do you think it changes gender roles?"*

Expert (in migration issues from a state research institute): *I think that, in some cases, it may be so, but I don't think it's typical. As a La Strada study shows, mostly children are left not in the care of fathers, but mainly in the care of grandmothers, aunts, older siblings. Then the problems of men are mostly with drinking and idleness"*.

Yet, studies show that "idleness" is not the key challenge to male home-stayers, because often they simply cannot find jobs with a decent income. For them, even more devastating than the effects of changing from being the sole provider for the family to a dual-earner household is the disempowerment and emasculation that unemployment brings with it (Hibbins 2009), as the inability of men to provide for the family at all leads to the loss of respect, dignity, power and paternal authority (Haggis and Schech 2009). This is in line with the above trend towards the "devaluation of masculinity" among men in families of migrant women, and points to the fact that their fatherhood dividends can have a negative value.

7.5.2 Theresas Fathers Model

The data from my field research concur with the observation that "men are responding to the global forces in creative and unprecedented ways as fathers" (Inhorn et al. 2014: 9). One of these global forces is increasingly feminized international migration. As follows from the interviews, a mass outflow of women abroad has led to the emergence among Ukrainian transnational families of a new, although not extensive, category of fathers who take responsibility for out-of-wedlock children conceived by their wives during their stints abroad.

Most often, mothers leave these newborns in maternity houses and become "nobody's children", who are taken care of by public social services (Pavliv 2003). In other cases, the responsibility for these babies is taken over by grandparents left behind in Ukraine, yet husbands also can take care of them. Respectively, a new model of fathering was shaped, which I identify as a *Therese fathers model*. My informants even mentioned families in which men fostered a few out-of-wedlock children belonging to their wives. This was intimated by Lena who worked in Russia:

> You are asking about women, how they live there [abroad] and how their families live here, how their children left behind get along. But, do you know that there are also 'nobody's children' who are conceived or even born abroad, not [fathered by] the husbands? They [these women] bring them here and leave them with their husbands. And then, in a few years, they come again with a new child. And these men, their 'Theresas fathers', they have to take care of them, because they depend on their wives' earnings abroad. There are many families who live this way. I know a family where a husband takes care of three such [children].

An overview of the media confirms this tendency. One Ukrainian television programme covered a dramatic story of a family in which a migrant woman had an out-of-wedlock child while working in Italy. She wanted to get rid of it by leaving the baby at the door of the home of a childless couple. But the biological mother of the child was soon identified and the woman was convicted over the neglect of her parental duties. When her husband learned about this situation, he appealed to the court to grant mercy to his wife and offered to adopt her toddler. He explained that he did not want his own children to stay without their mother, who was the only breadwinner in the family and a responsible parent. She committed a misdemeanour as a result of unfavourable life circumstances and because of the sense of guilt to her children and family.

In this situation, by adopting his wife's child, in order to preserve the reputation of the family and his own children's well-being, the man strengthened his paternal authority on the one hand, but forfeited his paternity dividends, on the other, by assuming responsibility for this out-of-wedlock child.

7.6 Devaluation of the Masculinity Status and the Mercantilization of Fathering Among Fathers Left Behind: Models of Irresponsible Fathering

The findings of the current research validate the observation that, when a mother is a migrant and a breadwinner, the father's traditional role in the household and his authority are often undermined (Coupe and Vakhitova 2013: 8). Husbands of migrant women lose their autonomy and patriarchal status, while experiencing downward mobility, given that they become dependent on their wives or on secondary providers. This dependence goes beyond financial aspects to include a social dimension (George 2005: 40). Many feel bitter and disempowered by the limits of their dominance in a family and, in larger terms, in a society that permits women to stand up for rigid forms of patriarchy. This can have a psychologically demoralizing effect on husbands (Ahmad 2008: 166) and a negative impact on their masculine self-identity, which may be associated with the above-mentioned process of "degenderization (Saxonberg 2014). In turn, this trend entails an irresponsible attitude towards family and paternal duties, manifested in such models of fathering as *stranded bon vivants* and *Peters Pan daddies*.

7.6.1 Stranded Bon Vivants Model

The interviews exposed a few stories of husbands of migrant women who received generous remittances from abroad, which ensured their comfortable and affluent life. Despite that, these men failed to cope with the new role of married bachelors and felt degraded both socially and morally. The overview of media content concurs

with my findings. Thus, as Mychko (2011) shows, these collisions experienced by men hinge on the transversal of gender role models in transnational families:

> [The] stern sex confronts a painful deconstruction of basic psychological stereotypes. 'A breadwinner should be only me!' – it is like a nail in a man's mind, that is why already on a subconscious level they start treating their wives in a hostile manner, accusing them in all possible sins. Hanging out on money sent by wives is also a manifestation of a resultant inferiority complex.

There are instances of social frustration, socio-emotional maladjustment and behavioural problems occurring among husbands in the absence of their migrant wives and among single males who cannot find marriage partners because women have out-migrated for stints abroad. In conditions involving the deficit of female involvement in the social life of family and community, these men may fail to find a proper way of socialization and self-realization. Lacking an active life position, they are often unemployed, lead an antisocial way of life, and neglect their familial, paternal and household duties, thus forfeiting their fatherhood dividends altogether. Men from this group are reported to engage in random unprotected sexual relations, which entails challenges to reproductive health. Interviews provided numerous examples of men left behind who ended up as alcoholics and drug addicts, while their offspring were forced to live on the streets. Such corruptive behaviours eventually lead to a dramatic increase in male mortality. This can be conceptualized as the devaluation of the masculinity status for males in this category of families of Ukrainian migrant women.

7.6.2 Peters Pans Model

Field research showed that husbands staying at home often benefit from the financial leadership of their migrant wives. They try to reduce their share of the family budget and may even avoid their paternal duties altogether:

> In some families, it becomes even harder… First, a man agrees to stay with the kids, but a woman cannot install a video camera to watch him… There are a few men who agree to stay and fulfil both father and mother roles. So, mostly, it's the grandparents who take care of the children. (Expert from a women's NGO)

Not infrequently, men quit working and live on remittances sent by their wives. As one respondent intimated in her interview:

> Here, in small towns in the south of Ukraine, around 40% of men live on remittances of their migrant wives and take care of the household.[6] In the west of Ukraine, their share is even higher, probably over 50%… My sister lives in Moldova and I know that, there, such men make no less than 70% of the total male population. (Varvara, retired, a mother of a man working in Russia)

[6] For gendered aspects of remittances from Ukraine, see Tolstokorova (2012, 2014c).

This tendency was underscored by academic experts from the west of Ukraine where the outflow of women is exceptionally high, as Myroslav Marynovych, a provost of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, observed:

> While socializing with the families of those whose wives have left for earnings abroad I confronted the fact that there are a few men, I know them personally, who do not want to work in principle. They conceive such job proposals as house repair or whitewashing as denigrating for themselves. Although they subjectively position themselves as poor and say they do not have jobs, have hard lives, meantime, when they are offered jobs for 2-3 thousand (UAH) in Lviv, they do not want to accept it. (Zhukovsky 2010)

Orest Drul, analyst from the Western Analytical Group, commented on this situation in the following way:

> They make a comparison between efforts necessary to earn money by themselves with the money arriving from abroad without any efforts. In this situation, any work appears to be more notorious then sitting and waiting for this money. It is a strong incentive not to work. (Zhukovsky 2010)

Ukrainian experts point to the tendency of the "changing nature of masculinity" (Cherninska 2007) among husbands and sons of migrant women. I would argue that these changes go in the direction of devaluating the masculinity status of men. This is exemplified by a new trend in the economic life of the West Ukrainian region with its high unemployment rate. Until 2006, unemployment was widespread there and the regional administration made tangible efforts to secure funding necessary to create new work opportunities. Yet, when funding eventually arrived, it turned out that there was a lack of a workforce to take on the newly created employment. This was because males refused to accept the locally available employment even when the remuneration offered for their work exceeded average income rates in the capital city of Kiev. Public hearings, jointly organized by local administrations and private businesses, demonstrated that males were reluctant to work, even in high-salaried jobs, because remittances they received from their migrant wives exceeded, by far, the wages offered by local employers. This is how it was commented on by our experts:

> For example, I have already told you about Ternopil. It is an oblast [province] with the lowest income rate and the highest unemployment and out-migration rates. Nevertheless, according to the data from employment centres, men reject job proposals that they are offered, because they receive tangibly more from their wives who work in Italy. (Expert in migration issues)

Such transformations in the masculinity status among males who are left behind are observed across different regions in Ukraine. For example, Valeria from the Kherson Oblast in the southern region of Ukraine said that, when she worked in Greece and Cyprus, her husband quit his job and lived on money that she sent home:

> I am a smoker myself, but when I worked there, I could not afford it, at least, not often. If, sometimes, I could afford to buy a few cigarettes, it was something not very expensive. And I suffered a lot from this. And then I come back home, and, ha, what do I see? He (husband) has a pack of cigarettes daily, at least 'Dunhill' or something even more expensive. If he goes out, he will never miss a local bar, grudgingly stating: 'What is wrong if I have glass of cognac?' I was shocked. I am not saying that he had lots of women around him while I

> was away. And what do I hear? 'What do you want? Not a surprise for a man whose wife is away.' My neighbours have already told me lots of stories about his adventures here while I was away. But I don't care. God be with him!

Even more than that, upon coming back home, some women discovered that their husbands had started new families while they were away:

> It's hard to restructure a relationship, especially when women send money here and men have new families. It's a problem for about 93% of people who are going [abroad] illegally. If you stay there for one or two years, you cannot see your family… And they stay a lot of time apart. What is the problem? It's exactly the life problem. He found a new wife, she came back… (Expert from a women's NGO).

Some men were even reported as having 'kicked out' their joint children along with their migrant wife from home, thus leaving them on streets.

This is indicative of the "Peter Pan syndrome" (Kiley 1984), which affects husbands of migrant women. It manifests itself in a model of fathering, characterized by the lack of will and social skills among socially immature males who fail to accept responsibility for their families and assume the roles of "boys who never grow up". According to UN-INSTRAW (2006), this tendency is observed in many sending societies, where some home-staying men from transnational families leave their job and live on financial transfers from their wives, whereas others continue working but spend their income entirely on themselves, not on the family. This means that the predominance of matrifocal households among migrant families, where women bear the main responsibilities for all aspects of the remitting process, generates a family model in which men's involvement becomes less important, resulting in the decline and marginalization of their family roles and the devaluation of the masculinity status, while increasing the family burdens on women.

By acknowledging women as breadwinners, husbands of migrant wives refute patriarchal values and traditional gender roles. Sometimes, they assume the functions of childminders and homemakers, but usually only during the absence of their wives. Apart from these duties, they may be involved in petty trade or assume the responsibilities of executive managers in businesses run by their wives. Hence, according to a new gender contract in transnational families of women guest workers, their husbands are able to perform subordinate roles if they provide financial dividends. That is, husbands of migrant women may refute their paternity dividends if this might lead to financial and materials dividends.

During my non-participant observations, civil servants from municipalities in the western border regions intimated that local courts deal with many civil cases initiated by migrant women, seeking to remove paternal rights from their ex-husbands because of their alcoholism or other kinds of antisocial behaviour. These irresponsible fathers fail to perform their paternal duties but enjoy paternal authority, often blackmailing their ex-wives. Thus, they may refuse to give the mothers official permission to take their children abroad to live with them or demand penalties for their consent to renounce their paternal rights. These collisions are caused not by the dedication of the fathers towards their offspring, but by their mercantile intentions to earn fatherhood dividends from their rights as fathers.

Hence, the two models of irresponsible fathering discussed above – Peter Pans and stranded bon vivants – are indicative of a trend of the *mercantilization* of the fatherly role in families of migrant women, accompanied by a reversal of gender role models in favour of mothers whose responsibilities increase whereas family duties of men dwindle. This is also illustrative of the process of the devaluation of the masculinity status of men in families of migrant women and respective transformations in the institution of paternity vis-à-vis the decline of paternal status and the vagueness of its ethical boundaries.

7.7 Final Remarks

Drawing on an analysis of the empirical material, this chapter offered new (i.e., previously unavailable) knowledge on the process of modernizing the institution of paternity in transnational families among men who are left behind. My research shows that family roles of these men, during the absence of their wives abroad, are not static but dynamic, as they undergo changes in two directions.

On the one hand, they may lead to more responsible paternity, which manifests itself in the *houshusbandization* of men left behind when they assume responsibilities not only towards their own children, but even towards out-of-wedlock children who were born to their wives abroad. These gendered transformations of the institution of fatherhood testify to the process of the "familization of men" (Holland 1970) and a drift towards "active fatherhood" (Burgess 2006). Meanwhile, the process of *regenderization* that migration elicits, i.e., the assumption by men concerning feminized, invisible and unpaid domestic chores, may entail the devaluation of the masculinity status for these "househusbands", which may not necessarily yield positive "paternity dividends".

On the other hand, family roles of husbands left behind may degrade or even decline if they fail to cope with their new roles as *grass widowers* and successfully master the ethics of "involved fatherhood" (King 1994). This may be accompanied by the tendency towards the *mercantilization* of paternity when men try to earn their fatherhood dividends by trading their paternal rights and even responsibilities.

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Chapter 8
Parenting from a Distance: The Shifting Topology of Care in the Net Era

Carlotta Monini

8.1 Introduction

It is Sunday morning; 8 a.m., Dora, a Ukrainian domestic worker settled in Italy, starts her day together with Mrs. Lina, her Italian 94-year old employer with whom she has lived with for 10 years. Her duty therefore is to wake up her *granny*, prepare her clothes and breakfast, check discretely from the other side of the toilet door that "everything is all right". If Mrs. Lina's family is late, as they often are, Dora needs to make sure that she can leave Mrs. Lina safely on the sofa, discuss and finally convince her not to move from the seat until her family shows up. According to her contract conditions as a live-in domestic worker, she is normally entitled to leave her elderly employer in the care of the family at 8 a.m. and enjoy her day off from work. Thus, domestic workers know that the live-in arrangement has its own special rules "*without the clock"* and that it is simply impossible to respect pre-stabilized timetables. However, before the advent of the *skype and whatsapp era*, Sunday mornings were sacred: Dora knew that by 10 a.m. she needed to get to the city center and join the queue of her compatriots at the taxi phones as soon as possible, so she can call home to Ukraine. At the other end of the phone line, her two little daughters and her mother have also had to make efforts to communicate with her. In their little village in north Ukraine, they had to wake up early and go to their neighbor's house, who owns a landline, to finally receive her call. These memories seem very far away now, sitting next to one another surrounded by communication technology: a computer in her room and a tablet in her hands, she embodies the emblematic figure of the *connected migrant* (Diminescu 2009), far away from home but co-*present at a distance* in many moments of the daily family life. Dora explains to

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me how communication technology has made her life more meaningful while she smiles and states, "*without technology, life doesn't exist!*". Her sense of time has also radically changed, "*days go faster*" when they are punctuated by regular chats and virtual meetings with relatives. Most of all, she feels more useful and *closer* to her daughters by offering and receiving emotional support and personal care giving at a distance (Baldassar and Merla 2014): Finally; she's able to carry out a proper check-up on her mum's diabetes, help her daughters in maths, physics and literature homework and accompany them whilst providing advice in daily life as well as in exceptional decision-making processes. This, of course, raised other issues concerning the daily routine with Mrs. Lina who doesn't understand her *intermittent absence* (Urry 2004) from the house. *Proper times to call home* therefore became the object of long negotiations, producing rules and more precise time schedules which would allow her to call in the evening or during the siesta time in the afternoon. Nevertheless Dora feels lucky "*Because elderly people can be very jealous, like little babies, some of them get very angry or simply kick you out when they see you on the phone*".

This is one of the main issues of migrant workers who live in such *secluded* conditions (Gambino 2003). Their placement in the employee house clearly reinforces the overlap of work, leisure and resting times (Gambino 2003: 104–107), in a space that is hardly conceived nor represented as a working place (Paperman 2013). Within such context, personal competences and new interdependencies in between the people involved deeply contribute to the barrier-building of the in day-to-day home and work perimeters. Suspected of not doing enough and, simultaneously, of being too familiar, one of the main challenges for migrant domestic workers is to preserve moments of intimacy in the space of others, through a complex dressage of lines of contact and separation. Whether it is accepted or experienced as a problematic matter, migrant domestic workers are not only providers of care, but also potential care receivers themselves and fundamental caregivers for their relatives. As largely assessed, transnational families as well as many other multi-local families and non-dispersed ones, are also shaped by asymmetrical and reciprocal solidarities and are likely to exchange (Degrave and Merla 2016; Baldassar and Merla 2014) different forms of emotional, moral, personal, financial and practical support (Finch and Mason 1993). The observation of the working day of migrant domestic workers shows the extent of the search for continuity in family ties – expressed as a desire of emotional closeness and meaningful, affective exchanges with the left-behind kin lays at the heart of the migration process to them. Thus, the rapid development and affordability of ICT technologies has important implications in the social organization of intimacy and sociability in multi-local family life.

As a driver of family interactions, communication technologies introduce new complexities in the network of care, facilitating the circulation of care and affects across different sites that dispersed among both material and virtual spaces. Arguably, the use of technological tools allow distant carers to participate through different forms of ICT-mediated co-presences in everyday family life and exchange, on a daily basis, emotional and practical support despite their remote location from the proximate family arrangement. In line with the most recent outcomes of

transnational families' studies, the new ICT's patterns in family communications may also contribute to increase emotional closeness and the sense of togetherness in family ties, allowing to keep alive and nourish the sense of the distant other, as an embodied family member (Morgan 2013). The paper will especially assess ICT's consumption of migrant domestic workers as a way to engage in caregiving towards the left-behind kin and, above all, to endorse their parenting duties as transnational mothers (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997) from afar. Parenting across distances emerge as one of the salient features among a wider set of shared transnational practices, that are highly valued and intensively enacted in everyday life to the greatest extent possible given current developments of the ubiquitous ICTs regime. By putting emphasis on family ties as a dynamic and constantly negotiated on-going process *to do* rather than a fixed idealized entity (Morgan 2013), I will therefore draw particular attention to the *routinization* of family life at a distance (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016) that is displayed by significant forms of ICT-mediated co-presences between transnational mothers and their children left-behind.

The ethnographic research gathers accounts of live-in domestic workers from the former soviet republics of whom, during their first years of settlement in Italy, went through very suffering experiences of deterritorialized child rearing due to their illegal status and a general lack of communications technologies. A decade after their first departure from home, the study cast light on the enduring commitment and emotional attachment displayed in the mother-child relationship and the important implications of ICT mediated-parenting routines to develop a sense of connection and security to the benefit of migrant mothers and their children left-behind. I will consider therefore the changes underway in parent-child relationships with a particular focus on ICT-mediated mothering practices towards teenager and young adult' sons. As Brown (2016) and Liebelt (2013) relate in their ethnographies on Filipino domestic workers in Israel, ICTs represent an essential "locative media for self-expression" (Franklin 2004: 161) and a potential space for coping and mutual support (Brown 2016; Franklin 2004) that are able to emplace family practices beyond the familiar sites of home. Yet, despite the very regimented and confined dwelling circumstances experienced in the live-in domestic setting, ubiquitous ICTs regime enables migrants to temporarily transcend the spatial constraints of the elderly home and to dislocate part of their personal attendance towards the utmost significant others left-behind. Following this perspective, I will argue that the use of ICT technologies open up the potential to use virtual space as a means for homing practices (Boccagni 2017) and to reproduce several features of the day-to-day family life chorus (Schier 2016) across a geographical distance.

The article particularly reflects this reality and engages in debates around the portability of care (Huang et al. 2012) supported by polymedia environment (Madianou and Miller 2012) in the context of the global service economy. It successively provides a better insight on ICTs consumption as a meaning-making process that allows this specific type of transnational family to negotiate identities, care-related expectations and mother-child relationships across distance. The first part of my renderings highlight that the ICT allow migrant domestic workers to encompass the radical divide of their work-family arrangement and in parallel requires them to

develop a polymorphic orientation of time in order to manage *here* and *there* their personal attendance as mothers and care workers in day-to-day domestic routines. The state of hyper-connectivity that migrant mothers experience increase, in turn, their moral responsibility and doubts of whether their motherly duties can be properly fulfilled from a distance. Pursuant to what Mirca Madianou defines as an *accentuated state of ambivalence* (2012) to describe transnational mothers' ongoing negotiation of their contradictory roles, the second part of the article focuses on the tensions attached to the deterritorialized care scenario within which mother-child relationships take place predominantly. The enquiry particularly casts a light on the specific issues raised in this stage of family life where the search for autonomy in young adults oscillates between the pursuit for family belonging and a logic of differentiation in the attempt to be recognized as individuals of their own. Thus, ethnographic research assesses *ICT-mediated routines* (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016) as ordinary ways that transnational mothers use for responding to the needs of their children left-behind. Mothers' ambivalent feelings are particularly reflected in the tension experienced along their ICT-mediated parenting activities between the protection they aim to provide, on the one hand, and control they inflict, on the other. The appreciation of these diverse parenting activities contribute to mirror the specific functioning of transnational families and in conclusion, to enlighten the ways ICT consumption is susceptible to sustain contemporary family norms of distance/separation along with affective interdependency and reciprocity among transnational mothers and their children left behind.

8.2 Research Background: Female Care Migrations Among Southern Europe and Post-socialist Republics

In Southern European context, female care migrations started as an illegal phenomenon towards the end of the 90s and were gradually endorsed by temporary labour policies within the domestic market (Nare 2011, 2013). They are particularly linked to the lack of welfare states provisions and policy-planning over the societal aging process. Thus, in such institutional and societal context, middle-class elderly people in need of assistance and willing to age at home largely depends from the marketization of care provisions and the cost-effective offer of mobile migrant workforce coming from poorer social contexts. Among southern European countries, this phenomenon has particularly developed in Italy where the increasing demands for elderly supplies combined with the shifts in work and family patterns intensified the reliance of familialist welfare state on mobile domestic workforce, the great majority of whom come from Eastern Europe.[1] Within the Italian national borders, where the hiring of migrant workers was massively encouraged, scholars refer that

[1] According to quantitative estimations, female domestic workers in 2010 were for the 26,3% Rumanians, 16,1% Ukrainians, 10,9% philippinians, 7,1% Moldavians, 4,5 Peruvians, 4,3% polonaises, 4,1% Ecuadorians. See: Fondazione Moressa 2010.

currently 2.1 million elderly dependent people are assisted within a residential setting[2] and that around 600,000 to 700,000 domestic workers (of whom 90% are migrant) actually work within a live-in arrangement (Pasquinelli and Rusmini 2013). Raised from the rest of the aristocratic domesticity (Sarti 2004), the live-in care setting strengthens the asymmetrical and high debt-bondage character of the employment relationship and finally lead to the emergence of a new non-qualified caregiver profile called *badante*, a term that conveys a large set of gender and ethnic stereotypes as constitutively part of the care work and of the domestic *niche* in itself (Scrinzi 2004).

The rapid enlargement of this domestic *niche* is mainly underpinned by feminine migratory waves from Eastern Europe that followed the fall of the Soviet Union. In this destabilized context, the collapse of state institutions and the growth of social inequalities triggered a process of geographical mobility among the male and female adult population as a mean for survival and household strategies (Morokvasic 2004). In fact, as some studies point out, migrant women channeled in the domestic sector were mostly qualified middle-class workers during the Soviet-Union who downgraded rapidly given the lack of social supports to face many current problems in family life, for example; divorce, lone-parenting, unemployment and chronic diseases within the family members (Torre et al. 2009). As much as man migrants, women's migratory project is therefore developed at a relatively advanced stage of family life-cycle in order to fight back their social downfall and ensure the previous level of wealth and economic security to their families. According to this migratory project, the live-in arrangement weave together several economic interests and care needs among two private solidarities intertwined within the unequal context of the global service economy: on one side, it ensures protection to illegal workers and a greater maximization of incomes for the pursuit of household strategies. On the other hand, dependent employers can benefit from 24/h assistance, including overnight surveillance and a constant availability, given the migrants distance from their own families and from their kin obligations, on a daily basis (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). More broadly, this complex interplay of household transactions among Southern Europe and Post-Socialist Republics bring into debate a very important number of questions concerning the intersection of welfare state policies and feminine care migrations (Kofman 2008) and the way the latter is supposed to fill the gap of reconciliation and familial duties policies. Thus, if in southern Europe, feminine care migrations are generally recognized as displaying a key role in the social dependency issues, there is still little acknowledgment on how these shifting patterns of care affect in return migrant domestic workforce and their work-family arrangements.

A first contribution to this debate is represented by the global care chain literature, which particularly allowed reflecting upon the asymmetrical withdrawal of care structured in the international division of reproductive labour. Through this lens, migrants' choices to avoid family reunions and the care drain largely

[2] Instat, *Disabilità in cifre,* « Stima delle persone con disabilità », 2016. http://www.disabilitaincifre.it/index.asp

experienced by migrant families left-behind are framed by deep gendered and social inequalities which place migrants' household strategies in places full of uncertainties (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Parreñas 2001, 2005). The most recent outcomes related to the ethnographic field of transnational families of domestic workers (Brown 2016; Fresnoza-Flot 2009; Liebelt 2013; Madianou 2012; Mozère 2005) assess the position of feminine care migrations as emblematic of the multidirectional and asymmetrical flows of care taking place within the global service economy. Attention therefore is rather drawn towards the broad setting of care exchange that is performed in both proximate and distant care scenarios between "What we might call, *local* and *distant informal carers* such as family, neighbors, friends, and *paid local carers* and their care recipients" (Baldassar 2016: 150). As shown in Dora's previous narrative, the dislocation of care practices and caregivers themselves produce a multifaceted interplay of actors and space-times configurations through which caregiving is carried out: Whilst Italian families *care about* their elderly relatives and experience the moral dilemma of organizing and monitoring the quality of material care provided by paid care workers, migrant care workers also try to combine their personal attendance in both proximate and distant care scenarios, maintaining strong bound and obligations towards their family left-behind.

Thus, while classical studies on contemporary migrations have emphasized the importance of migrants' remittances in the home-making process, it is also important to note that migrants families develop extended principles of mutual care and long-term commitments and, for that purpose, they also undertake a complex set of moral and material exchanges on daily basis notwithstanding the physical separation. Following this perspective, the analysis of live-in domestic workers' family life across distance aims therefore to reflect their *situated transnationalism* (Kilkey and Merla 2013), a notion that particularly frame the large deterritorialization of family practices within the current developments of ITCs ubiquitous regime but also as critically contingent to the structural constrains of migratory, welfare and employment regimes of both sending and receiving countries (Merla 2015). By adopting a bottom-up, actor-centered perspective, the paper gathers several findings on migrant domestic workers' migratory strategies as a way to enact a significant political shift at the micro-level of everyday life, calling upon external alliances while maintaining strong bounds and obligations towards their social group of origin (Quesnel and del Rey 2005). In line with Liane Mozère (2005) etymological reflections on *entrepreneurial competences* displayed by Filipino' domestic workers in Paris, their stories of resilience and survival strategies suggest that the quotidian bridging activities in-between *here* and *there* can be particularly interpreted as the *execution of a design*, in the attempt to gain some control over both one's personal life and one's social environment.

8.3 Research Methods in the New Polymedia Environment

The multi-local family life of migrant domestic workers is deeply affected by restrictive migration policies and the national legacies. As assessed by the global care chain literature, the dramatic disjuncture of work and family arrangements develops very important space-time inequalities in family life. By schematizing, the family configuration of mobile live-in workers from Eastern Europe can be characterized through two fundamental temporal sequences: A space-time of long separation between the migrant and the relatives left-behind is combined with a short space-time of family gatherings during the annual leave of migrant women (1 or 2 months on average). According to the dominant representations of kinship, the first space-time is often conceived as the most fragile since the duplication of living spaces leads to a major fragmentation of the spatial and temporal organization of family life. The second, implies the return to family co-residence, is particularly valued as the *gold standard of family life* (Baldassar 2008) among migrant mothers and their left-behind kin as it allows to endorse practical and material caregiving towards the children-left behind and, more broadly, to make tangible the migrants' ongoing commitment and belonging towards his or her family and community. Yet, beyond the social representations attached to the definition of a *desirable* or *defective* family functioning, migrants and their relatives alternate different logics of *doing family* (Morgan 2013) amongst these two polarized space-time settings. Not surprisingly, the accounts of migrant mothers and their relatives testify to the fact that the periodical migrant return rather displays a *logic of extraordinary* (Guichard-Claudic 2006) and that, in parallel to, other central aspects in the mother-child relationship can be developed along the period of separation through a wide set of ordinary family routines across distance. Thus, even if physical co-presence is still considered nowadays as the *loci* par excellence of family caregiving, accounts on ICT consumption show that ICT technologies play an important role to reaffirm continuity in family ties over time.

By focusing on the current construction of caregiving in transnational family life, the research considers the rise of ICT technologies and their use as a means to increase care portability (Huang et al. 2012) among several material and virtual spaces. More specifically, as argued by Madianou and Miller, media technologies represent a new context of "proliferating communicative opportunities" that "leads to a different environment of relationships themselves" finally raising "different kind of mediated interactions multilayered of meanings, functions and consequences" (Madianou and Miller 2012: 14). ICT technologies can, in fact, be conceived as an additional layer in social life experience which allow people to blur the boundaries between emotional proximity and geographical distance and to broaden the set of social interactions with *significant others* that can be located very far away.

The paper gathers several findings collected between 2013 and 2017 for a larger doctoral research which particularly address the transnational domestic market for elderly care in Southern Europe. Accounts on ICT consumption were collected in

interviews with fifty migrant care workers from the former soviet-republics (Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine). Interviews were also implemented by a multi-situ ethnography held in Italy within the elderly live-in arrangement and in Ukraine among five families of migrant domestic workers. Most of the migrants that I have encountered left their homeland and came to settle in Italy as live-in domestic workers during the early 2000s and had to make the experience of long physical separation from their families due to their illegal status and expensive costs in travel and communication technologies. When referring to these first years of settlement, the relationship with their children left-behind is described with suffering tones, often characterized by strong feelings of loss and culpability, as traumatic experiences or, in its most corporal expression of *separateness* from the family-body "*as a part that was cut from me and never came back"*. Interviews cast a light over the decrease of these feelings of rupture among time, remarkably attenuated thanks to the development of commuting strategies, regular family gatherings and meaningful ICT-mediated connections with their sedentary counterparts on a daily basis. In order to capture digital ubiquity of migrant domestic workers, I have also developed a budget-time record on ICT consumption during 2 days of workaday living, respectively for one working day and 1 day off. In such technological context, the discriminatory variable to determine the familiarity and the affective proximity is no longer related to geographical distance but strongly conveyed by the frequency of contacts and exchanges. Following this perspective, the research assesses ICT-mediated mothering activities as an essential feature in the current transnational family patterns, whose richness and creativity emerge in all their states from both a quantitative and qualitative point of view.

8.4 Gendered Moral Economies of Female Care Migrations: Double Stigmatization Among the Home and the Settlement Countries

The understanding of migrant domestic workers' family life has to be situated in a complex interplay of economic and political interests and ongoing contested social processes between the sending and receiving countries of female care migrations. Similarly, scholars accounts on Filipino care migrations, structural factors such as exclusionary migration regimes combined with the persistence of conservative family and gender ideologies in both Southern and Eastern European contexts, appear particularly influential in the construction of care-related expectations and practices in transnational family life. The meanings and definitions of transnational motherhood are shaped in a contested arena where the prevailing cultural norms of family models hardly recognize the efforts migrant women put in combining their multiple identities and needs as mothers, workers and citizens among a transnational framework.

In order to acknowledge the complex negotiation of gendered roles and meanings of an *appropriate motherhood* (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997), attentions need first to be drawn towards debates around female care migrations that are developed in both sending and receiving countries. Devaluations towards migrant domestic workers *womanhood* are, in fact, quite common in Southern Europe, where ideologies historically are attached to domesticity, restore the circulation of significant stereotypes (Scrinzi 2004). Discourses widely oscillate between paternalistic rhetoric, therefore defining domestic workers as *the angel of the house* or *daughter-like*, to a discriminatory one such as *intruder* or *gold digger* of the home intimacy going up to *stealer of man* and *prostitute*. In the same way, public debates and diffused common-sense in the migrants' homeland tend to stigmatize female care migrations. As acknowledged by Cinzia Solari (2014) with particular attention towards the Ukrainian national context, public debates contribute to frame migrant women as *defectors* towards their homeland, *prostitutes* towards their husbands and most of all *selfish* and *abandonic mothers* towards their children left-behind. More broadly, in the context of post-soviet transition, whilst male migration is seen to naturally embrace the breadwinner model and is interpreted as a valuable export labour strategy put at the service of the economic growth, the migratory path of women -who leave their families behind to work as domestic workers in Italy- is publicly condemned in many respects by influential political leaders and religious authorities. This significant differential in the assessment of female and male migrations has to be referred to the gender division of roles established during the nation-building process in Post-Soviet Republics. Women migrations appear to particularly challenge the neo-traditional model of motherhood, according to which child rearing is conceived as exclusively the mother's duty and preferably ensured in proximate family arrangements.

Thus, ethnographic research particularly assess that public discourses around *female migration issues* and the negative representations of *defective motherhood* related to them illuminates the ways that migrants try to negotiate their multiple roles and intersect their personal moral economy. In this specific field, the analytical concept of moral economy tries to frame "the ways in which family members reflect upon the decisions they have made in the course of day-to-day family living" (Morgan 2013: 112) and aim to capture the mixed and very ambivalent feelings surrounding migrant women's experiences and views of mothering. Most of the migrants encountered during the field research tend to adhere to the traditional family ideal of intensive motherhood, even if they are not able to fit in it. Hence, the divergence from this ideal is a potential source of suffering and culpability, above all in critical family moments. Hence, they also attempt to transform the meaning of motherhood by addressing their sacrifices as a migrant breadwinner and the efficient custody arrangements she succeeded to organize for them. Especially for those migrants from the countryside, mobility and parental absence in family life far away from being unknown are also bounded to past family memories in the context of the labour-intensive soviet economy and still represent valuable narrative-repertory for their current decision making in family life. The main reference for this generation of women is more related to the gender egalitarian ideology, largely outlined by the

altruistic-courageous mother figure rather than the unreachable ideal of *housewife mother* promoted in post-soviet era.

Yet, on the top of it, another emerging argument to acknowledge their mothering activities pertains the various forms of ICT-mediated co-presences developed in the new polymedia environment as a way to embrace the opposing pulls of her work-family arrangement and *care about* her children from afar. Particularly, for the oldest settling migrants who have achieved to raise their children left behind, accounts on the ICT-mediated routines with their teenagers and young adult sons put a particular accent on the performance of emotional and affective care and the coordination of material care they manage to offer at distance. The rearrangement of mother-child interaction produced by daily ICT communications facilitate the reformulation of mothering conception in terms of guidance, and frame parent-child relationships as particularly intimate and democratic: Emotional support, comprehensive listening, advising and supervising children from afar have become central aspects of an appropriate mothering in migrants' perception. These aspects reflect in many respects the moral economy that migrant mothers have developed to cope with their family daily life and to fight back the main stigmas of *individualist gold diggers* that were attached to them at the beginning of the migratory waves.

8.5 ITC-Mediated Ordinary Routines Between Transnational Mothers and Children Left-behind

8.5.1 The Daily Juggling of Secluded Domestic Workers Through Ubiquitous ICT Regimes

In the host country, live-in domestic workers are introduced in the closed universe of the elderly and they assist without being a *natural* member of the home. Officially entitled to exit the house at specific times and days during the week, they are subjected, *de facto,* to a semi-liberty regime and are induced to advance the employer's interests: The ideal of sacrifice, discretion, loyal and trustworthy relations and, above all, constant availability represent the main qualities listed by their employers. Because material habits crystallize domestic morals (Douglas 1966), the daily organization of the live-in arrangement reflects in many respects a binding morality according to which each member must be *fair* and contribute to the collective good, leading to important prohibitions to holders and temporary residents, from behaving as a *foreigner*. Glossing over the sacrifice of personal space and time, live-in domestic workers are often required to behave *as if* they were part of the family, displaying a constant empathic attitude and emotional involvement towards their care-recipients (Anderson 2000). Thus, habits and domestic assignments also evoke the different degrees and possibilities of intimacy given to permanent and temporary inhabitants within the *home* space, shaping the serene or suffering tones of domestic workers

daily life. Even if the barrier-building of the in day-to-day home and work perimeters vary enormously in this field, all the records assess that the migrant domestic workers' intimacy is displayed very little in terms of material space in the house and, thus, has to be constantly negotiated by people and their daily routines within an area where public and private spheres are basically blurred.

Under these totalizing working conditions (Goffman 1961), the everyday life carried out with the care recipient is often described as a *trapped* life, despoiled from many of its most significant features. Domestic workers tend therefore to live in a constant *temporal displacement* (Boccagni 2017) which brings them to particularly relate their own life and relationships with the most dear ones to the past tense and, at the same time, project it and procrastinate it *ab limitum* towards a better future. Thus, this exilistic subjective positioning typically framed by *secluded* labour migrants, need to be slightly nuanced and combined with the most recent accounts of their everyday life, which display the important changes occurred in the last decade, and the new capabilities that are developed to hold significant emotional, sensorial and cognitive traits of their personal life in the host country as well as across distance with the left-behind kin. In line with the most recent outcomes on transnational family ICT consumption, the empirical research highlights the *liminal* function displayed by ICT devices and tries to grasp the different thresholds of domesticity (Boccagni and Brighenti 2017) where mobile domestic workers have access and can experience some intimacy and free sociality with their relatives left behind. Regular and direct relationships are enjoyed in more intimate contexts: in the evening while going to bed, early in the morning before work starts, "*when the nostalgia makes one feels willing to call*" or "*during short breaks from work*". Intimate conversations take place sitting on the park banks in free time, in supermarkets during the grocery shopping, or walking on the road while pushing silent elderly people in their wheelchairs (Brown 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2017). As a result, the daily monotonous routine held in the elderly' home perimeters by live-in domestic workers is nowadays remarkably enriched by many ICT-mediated co-presences.

Empowered by the new polymedia environment, migrants can now embody a part of themselves that go far beyond the role assignment framed by the asymmetrical employment relationship (Brown 2016). Especially, as underlined by Dora's case study at the beginning of this paper, many domestic workers face the challenges in working towards the goal of being involved mothers day-after-day. Thus, the constant lack of time but also its constitutive porosity, transforms the condition of *double absence* (Sayad 1999) of migrant domestic workers in very complex sets of *ubiquitous presences* dealing with polychromic demands of family life. In order to manage its connected presences and absences, effective planning and the development of polychronic orientation to time is often required, leading to a *daily juggling* (Madianou 2012) between the domestic activities carried out with the care recipient and the day-to-day domestic life of their family left behind in the homeland. This implies wider repertories and multi-tasking orientations to time (Bessin 2014): As much as in proximate arrangements, family caregiving at a distance requires organization, sacrifices, foresight, planning and coordination of activities

between family members. Thus, given the current widespread of ICTs platforms, we need to compel for a better understanding of the new communications patterns displayed in mother-child relationships during the longstanding separation period. More specifically, the use and democratization of portable devices has extensively increased communications on an everyday basis to such a degree that scholars tend to define these exchanges as *ordinary co-presence routines* (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016).

8.5.2 Monitoring from Afar the Day-to-Day Domestic Routine: Mothering Between Control and Protection

The sample I specifically refer to for this study gathers a group of migrant women who left their children in the homeland and constantly organized their custody from afar since the beginning of their settlement in Italy during the 2000. Their children therefore are now teenagers and young adults (from 15 to 26 years of age) that gradually started to communicate with their mothers on regular basis following the development of ICTs platforms. Especially, the research addresses that the emergence of ITCs-mediated routines have innovatively extended mothering practices in transnational spaces. Supported by the new polymedia environment, mothering practices appear certainly very common, such as; talking about daily life, check-ups on children's health, discussing when problems surge or, in practical matters, giving rules about domestic life and hygiene, offering a supportive and comprehensive ear, doing homework together or teaching family recipes. All these kind of emotional and practical disembodied caregivings enhance discrete forms of control and supervision but are also aimed to provide emotional support and protection through regular and ordinary exchanges. As much as in proximate mothering, in both these aspects *repetition* is considered as a key issue. Repetition allows migrants to have better insight of their children's wellbeing and develop discrete monitoring and inspections over their time-tables and activities. Particularly, migrant mothers claim agency over the day-to-day domestic routine that structure their children's lives:

> I call both my daughters in the morning while they're going to university and school, then I call them again when they have finished, and in the evening of course to see what they are doing. Sometimes I yell at them when they don't clean the house, like last weekend I discussed with the little one, because her sister was coming back home, that she had to prepare dinner for her! They are so lazy sometimes". (Alina, Romanian mother, 40 y.o., divorced, 2 children, settled in Italy as live-in domestic workers since eight years)

Thus, passing from a condition of semi-unavailability to a state of permanent availability, several forms of surveillance and protection appear remarkably improved towards the children left-behind. Hyper connectivity of migrant mothers can be used as a strategy to register abnormalities or problems when they occur and to face them together: "*From their voices I hear when there is something wrong*." "*I tell them everything i do and they tell me everything they do, all the family things*

you know". It also helps to readjust the proximate care arrangement and monitor the action of intermediaries for the actualization of caregiving:

> During the first years of migration I was never sure if everything was alright, one time my three year old daughter was in hospital for a week and they only told me once she came out. But now, if my mum doesn't feel ok… Of course they still try to hide it from me, but I understand it very quickly, you know, when she's not able to wake up from bed… I can see it. (Dora, Ukrainian mother, 43 y.o., divorced, settled in Italy as live-in domestic worker since fifteen years)

Migrants' mothers put a particular accent in their ability to anticipate and adapt to relative's rhythms and habits. Ambient and imagined co-presences of their family life into being are strategically used to catch the right moment to call their children or avoid contact as a way to respect their privacy. The increased awareness about their children's life and daily activities facilitate mothers to catch the *momento,* the important moments that in past times mothers knew about only afterwards through accounts *at posteriori*, now can be shared through synchronic communications. Mothers can take part and participate in important family events or call their children in the most demanding and crucial moments, like this mother who states that:

> When I see that my daughter gets online again it means that she has finished the exam, so now I can call and ask directly how it went, reassure her, tell her to go to relax and to talk about nice things that she could do after all this stress because she never know how to do it. Before it wasn't like that, they were coming back from school and telling all the excitement to grandma… and by the time I was calling the emotion was already gone they were just telling me what happened. Now I can really catch the emotion!. (Natasha, Ukrainian mother, 40 y.o., married, settled in Italy as live-in domestic worker since ten years)

These intensive communication practices contribute to build a common temporality across space enhancing a *sense of togetherness* and affective continuity between mothers and their children. The *temporal compression* among different spatial contexts generates the feeling of living together across distance and, as a matter of fact, has also drastically attenuated migrants' feeling of isolation and abandonment in recent years: "*Without technologies? What am I gonna do? Nothing… Staying here isolated!*". Nevertheless, the cases study gathered in this paper account that a higher level of reciprocity supported by cost-free ICT platforms remarkably increases expectations among family members that cannot always be satisfied or reciprocated. This in part is linked to the quality and level of intimacy previously established in mother-child relations but it also pertains the ways young adults deal with their mothers in this specific stage of life where the search for autonomy compels for a progressive separation from the family choral life and the affirmation of its own personal reality (Ramos 2006). Similarly to what happens in non-dispersed families, mothers need to face the fact that their "*children have their own life"* or that sometimes "*it is difficult to reach them on the phone",* and once it happens "*they don't talk that much about themselves"*. ICTs-mediated communications are far away from being found and satisfactory and they can also cast new doubts and raise anxieties whether the parental role can be properly fulfilled across distance.

8.5.3 *Mothers Ambivalences in the New ICT Communication Environment*

Supported by the new polymedia environment migrant mothers have largely managed to broaden transnational parenting activities such as spending quality time and free sociality with children as well as surveillance over their behavior and reprobation when transgression occurs. However, accounts of migrant mothers also dress several issues about ICT-mediated communications and express concerns about the proper and more adapted mothering modalities that should be performed in the polymedia environment. Despite the very important similarities with family functioning at proximity, transnational caring appears for several aspects as particularly challenging: As described in seafarers' families functioning, the period of separation among migrant mothers and the left-behind kin "does not prohibit any form of communication, but prescribes its forms and contents" (Guichard-Claudic 2006: 60). Namely, important family issues and tensions appear often difficult to express under conditions of long-standing physical separation. Thus, whilst in past times it was simpler to hide and postpone problems, hyperconnectivity restate this issue through the creation of preventive strategies to circumvent conflicts. This is particularly manifested by migrant mother's frequent fears about "*having to please the other"*, desisting from having boring conversations and discussions in order to avoid children *offline* strategies.

These accounts suggest that the normative expressions of feelings defined within the polymedia environments contribute to shape new patterns in mother-child interaction and also induce mothers to readjust the meanings and definitions of *appropriate parenting* accordingly. Because expression of tensions and family issues are often judged inappropriate and unmanageable within such a deterritorialized context, migrant mothers tend therefore to enact more in an egalitarian and friend-like relationship. Accent is put, for example, on advising and in comprehensive listening as a strategy to modify children's behavior. Thus, analysis casts a light on the persistent doubts of whether it is possible to exert authority and affirm a critical point of view on their children's behavior "*while you are not there"*. The occurrence of misunderstanding or off-line strategies particularly reinforces fears of being treated as a mere human-wallet, see, to become an *outsider* completely forgotten by the family left behind. Mother's self-blaming (Baldassar 2010; Boccagni 2012) commonly refers to their absence during child rearing but it is also increasingly related to the new communication patterns offered by polymedia environments, revealing strong and enduring insecurities about how mothers feel entitled to supervise children and express their opinion on their life choices and behaviors.

However, the ambivalences displayed by transnational mothers are always combined with a strong awareness that their daily involvement can make the difference in children's growth and in their future life choices. In summary, even if mothering across distance is often experienced with anxiety and guilty tones, the increased sense of moral responsibility enhanced by ICT consumption on a daily basis represents an essential source of comfort and fulfillment for migrant mothers and a

cognitive reminder of the plurality of roles and purposes that their migratory project involve going far beyond the role assignment as domestic workers.

8.6 Conclusive Remarks

The research assesses the important contribution of ordinary co-presence routines in reorienting care practices towards children left-behind through regular and predictable daily communications. ICT-mediated ubiquitous regimes create in fact a "feeling of anchorage making possible to move not only from the past to the future but also to one present from another" (Donnan et al. 2017: 15) enlarging the space-time within which family practices are conducted. As a result, mothering practices can be reproduced in a range of places that overlap the classic dichotomies of near/far, absence/presence, sedentary/mobile (Duminiscu 2009; Tarrius 2002).

The research particularly highlights that ICT-mediated routines allow transnational mothers to reproduce some significant features of their maternal duties across distance and to adapt it according to the specific needs of this stage of family lifecycle where the search for autonomy in young adults requires a progressive redefinition of roles in family arrangement between teenagers' search for separation from the family group and the ongoing need for parental care and guidance. Whilst in non-dispersed families; the imposition of parental rules, shared moments of family conviviality and the progressive definition of children's personal space are particularly displayed in the domestic site of the home (Ramos 2002), transnational mothers try to reproduce these essential features of family life across distance.

Thus, the specific ICTs communication patterns shape in many respects the possibility and limits of transnational mothering. In order to avoid children's *off line* strategies, accent is put on the maintenance of supportive and friend-like interactions rather than on asymmetrical and strict parental authority. This displays a specific ideal of mother-child relationship in terms of emotional support and affective interdependence expressed by free talks, comprehensive listening and advising on a daily basis. Furthermore, emphasis on repetition and active involvement in ordinary ICT-mediates routines enhance value to family practices rather than on the fixed material setting of the home. In summary, ICT consumption in mother-child relationships contribute to develop a more flexible definition of motherhood and familyhood, extensively performed at the level of everyday life and displayed through a complex choreography of timetables, reciprocal commitments and emotional engagements (Schier 2016). Arguably, for those migrants who have achieved to raise their children from afar, the migratory projects change accordingly. Very often, the return option is not taken into account not only because of the lack of jobs and future perspectives in the homeland but also because meanwhile "*children have already built their own families*" or "*they are studying and making a career*". By keeping a distant position and *being present from afar*, materially and emotionally, migrant mothers find a way to navigate and better combine their *double living*. The sense of loss and culpability is counterbalanced by the feeling of being able to

preserve, by not returning, a personal autonomy – now fully appreciated- and, at the same time, to maintain the ongoing commitment towards their children left-behind in the long term and on daily basis.

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Chapter 9
Trajectories of Situated Transnational Parenting – Caregiving Arrangements of East European Labour Migrants in Sweden

Charlotte Melander and Oksana Shmulyar Green

9.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the trajectories of situated transnational parenting among migrants in Sweden from two East European post-socialist countries, Poland and Romania. By employing the theoretical model of situated transnational caregiving arrangements (Kilkey and Merla 2014), combined with analytical concepts of the life course perspective (Elder 1998; Brannen and Nilsen 2013; Wingens et al. 2011), the chapter explores the decisions to migrate, caregiving arrangements with children at a distance and the decision to reunite. Mirroring wider European tendencies, most of the recent arrivals to Sweden and other Nordic countries are from Poland, and lately from Romania, two countries that have been deeply impacted by emigration and circular labour mobility since the enlargement (Friberg and Eldring 2013; Delmi 2016).

Research on transnational parenting is a specific field within a much broader and well-established area of studies on transnational families, which until fairly recently, has mainly been concerned with transnational families in the North American context (Parrenas 2005; Carling et al. 2012). Rapidly growing research on families across European borders (Moskal 2011; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012), and more specifically on motherhood (Astilean 2016; Xhaho and Caro 2016; Ducu 2014) and fatherhood (Perrons et al. 2010; Pustulka et al. 2015), has brought to our attention that since 2004, mobility and migration between east and west of the EU became a life strategy for hundreds of thousands of people, many of whom are parents. Escaping precarious economic conditions and significantly downsized welfare states, characterized by *implicit familialism* (Jarovnik 2014), parents make the decision to migrate not only to search for better incomes and employment opportunities,

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but also to improve life chances for themselves and their families. The context of the post-accession Europe, with a particular focus on Nordic societies, thus presents a unique empirical and theoretical case to interrogate the question of what constitutes a transnational family life and caregiving at a distance (White 2010; Bell and Bivand Erdal 2015).

The notion of care is a central feature of family practices neatly associated with 'doing family'. Caregiving and care receiving in all families bind family members of different generations together through the exchange or expectation of reciprocity, obligation, trust and love, but these processes can also produce tensions and unequal power relations (Baldassar and Merla 2013). In transnational families, relations around care have been regarded as a sign of continuity of "familyhood" (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002:3), and a glue to its enduring ties. With increased mobility and improvements in travel and communication technologies, transnational families and caregiving arrangements have been celebrated as "transnationalism from below" (Baldassar and Merla 2013:33). However, due to a growing awareness of the limits to migrant transnationalism, it has been acknowledged that for many parents who migrate in pursuit of better livelihoods, engagement in transnational care practices "mostly takes the contours of a forced transnationality" (Bonizzoni and Boccagni 2013:85). Thus, the viability of transnational care practices depends not only on individual strategies of migrating parents, their sense of obligations and accumulated commitments to their kin, but also, to a greater extent, on how these strategies are capacitated within the specific national circumstances in which migrating parents operate.

Following the critical insights outlined above, we focus our analysis on caregiving arrangements within families, where one or both parents migrate to Sweden for work, while their children initially remain at home. 'Living apart together' is primarily regarded by researchers to be a temporary form of transnational family life, and indeed, most of the parents we interviewed during the project have, after some period of time, brought the family along and settled in Sweden, which is usually perceived as a 'family friendly', equal and inclusive society (Widding Isaksen 2010). However, we have chosen to focus on this particular stage of "doing family" across borders because it allows us to tease out what happens to the care dynamics and negotiations regarding caregiving within the families and its networks when their everyday lives are embedded in more than one national context over a considerable period of time. The chapter proceeds as follows. We begin by introducing the theoretical framework of situated transnationalism and the contribution that a life course perspective makes to our understanding of transnational caregiving arrangements. Thereafter, we outline our methodology and describe the rational for the choice of empirical cases illustrating our findings. Moving on to the analysis, we present a historical background to the Polish and Romanian generations on the move, including their mobility to Sweden. We discuss our findings in three subsections. In the first, we deal with the questions of how and why parents make the decision to move and arrange care at a distance. In the second, we analyse how caregiving arrangements are practiced at a distance, and resources that are required. Finally, we discuss how care relationships change through the trajectory of

transnational parenting, particularly in relation to decisions to reunite in Sweden. The chapter concludes by highlighting critical dimensions that the theoretical model of situated transnational caregiving and the life course perspective bring into research on transnational parenting.

9.2 Situated Transnationalism Through a Life Course Perspective: A Theoretical Framework

There is continuing debate within a vast scholarship on transnational families pointing out that class, gender norms and global social inequalities, as well as in the context of the EU, pose significant challenges to the circulation of transnational care (Carling et al. 2012; Perrons et al. 2010; Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2016). The model of situated transnationalism by Kilkey and Merla (2014) attempts to embrace a great number of these challenges in a systematic way. Central to their argument is an understanding that institutional contexts, in which migrants with parental obligations are embedded, are of crucial importance to their capabilities to access recourses in order to arrange care across national borders. This model identifies institutional opportunity structures, as well as constraints with specific relevance to transnational parenting, generated within the institutional regimes for care, work, migration, communication, welfare and transportation in both the host and home societies of labour migrants (Kilkey and Merla 2014:7).

In contrast to previous studies with a predominant focus on the migrating parents per se, and migrating mothers in particular, the model includes both mobile and immobile care providers and receivers. Mobility can occur by short-term visits, long-term re/expatriation and circulation within family networks. Kilkey and Merla (ibid.:4) identify spatial and temporal aspects of transnational caregiving that significantly structure the types of involvement into care provision, including direct provision of care, coordination and delegation of care activities. However, institutions are not the sole factor. Rather, the individual agency of migrant parents in close affinity with families' negotiated commitments and a sense of obligation are the key factors in configuring caregiving arrangements (Baldassar 2007).

Each type of involvement into transnational care requires a different set of resources that makes it possible for parents to provide different levels of support. For instance, to provide care directly with physical co-presence, parents require mobility and time, as well as finances, to travel and to nurture social relations of mutual trust and obligation. Coordination and/or direct provision at a distance first require communication and time to organize the support that is needed, as well as finances, knowledge, social relations and appropriate housing. Various types of delegation of care to others also require resources, where both finances and social relations are crucial.

What the model does not account for are the dynamics and fluidity in parental care strategies that bring to the fore aspects of time and historical contexts in which

migration takes place, specific stages in migration, work and family trajectories, age of the caregiver and receiver, and the quality of mutual interaction between them. These dimensions become crucial when we analyse the intertwining of structural and individual factors that affect migrant parent–child relationships within a transnational space. To elucidate the dynamic and fluid nature of mobilities in which the recent European migrants in Sweden are involved, we expand the insights from the situated transnationalism model to include concepts of the life course perspective. The key idea of the sociological life course perspective stems from the complex "interrelationships of societal structuring forces and biographical plans and actions in historical course of time" (Wingens et al. 2011:6). The theoretical underpinnings of the life course perspective derive from a seminal study of child development during the Great Depression carried out by Elder (1998). Elder's original conceptualisation of the life course approach presents a highly complex research paradigm that consists of various interconnected assumptions, principles and concepts. The four main principles defined by Elder (1998) are *historical time and place*, *timing in lives, linked lives* and *human agency* (Elder 1998:3–4). Analytical tools from the life course perspective that allow the mapping of ongoing changes in family dynamics across time include *cohort*, *trajectory*, *life events*, *turning points* and *transition*. In this chapter, the trajectory of transnational parenting includes the decisions to migrate and the phases of initial separation, living apart together and reuniting (see more in Wingens et al. 2011:13–14; Brannen and Nilsen 2013:11–14).

9.3 Methodology

This chapter draws on the findings from a broader research project[1] on the caregiving strategies within families of recent EU labour migrants in Sweden who were exercising the right to free movement as a result of EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007. The empirical data used in this chapter come from qualitative interviews with 22 parents[2] who migrated from Poland (11), Romania (10) and Latvia (1) to Sweden as a lead or joining parent.

The interviews were conducted between September 2015 and January 2017 in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Our sample was composed of slightly more migrant mothers (13) than migrant fathers (9). The majority of our respondents (17) were lead movers (7 women and 10 men), and three women were joining parents. The age

[1] The project in question is called 'Caregiving arrangements in the enlarged Europe: migrants' parental strategies and the role of institutional context in Sweden' [2014–0731] and is funded by the Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare during 2015–2018. The people involved in the project are: the authors, who are the principal investigators, and the leader of the project, Prof. Ingrid Höjer.

[2] Alltogether, we conducted 22 interviews with migrant parents, among whom there were two female migrants we interviewed twice, two couples where the husband and wife were interviewed separately, one female respondent who was interviewed in the presence of her husband, and one male respondent who was interviewed in presence of his female partner.

of the participants varied from the early 30s to the early 50s. At the moment of the interview, three parents were divorced (all of them mothers), and most of the respondents had two to three children ranging in age between 8 months and 27 years.[3] Most of the respondents had a college education, but only a few were highly educated. A larger group of parents had been employed prior to migration to Sweden, mainly in low-income occupations. Some parents, mainly mothers, were stay-at-home parents. In Sweden, we found that most of the parents were within an increasingly booming sector of the lower-income and qualified jobs, with clearly gendered patterns: men working in the construction and building industries, and women working in domestic services, cleaning, hotel industries, food production, etc.[4]

For the purpose of this chapter, we analyse a few purposeful selected cases. Inspired by Smart (2007:42), we argue that "a few lives – purposively selected – can capture a complex picture of social change and connections with networks of kin". To present a plurality of the transnational caregiving arrangements and a variety of interdependencies between family members in the course of migration, our focus is on three main strategies of transnational parenting, all of which result in reunification of families in Sweden after some period of time. The first strategy, represented by Amelia and Nicolae from Romania, is the one of jointly migrating couples who delegate the daily personal care of their children to close relatives in the home country. The second, represented by Ada from Poland, is the mother migrating for work as the lead mover while the other parent stays with the children in the home country. The family of David (lead mover) and his wife Diana (second mover), also from Poland, illustrates the third strategy, in which the father moves first while their spouse and children initially remain back home. Our primary focus on these three strategies does not entirely exhaust other trajectories of the situated transnational parenting identified in our sample. However, giving priority to these three strategies helps us to delineate important life events and transitions also emerging in other migrant stories, yet at the same time, allows us to delve into the complexity and diversification of transnational family lives ending with reunification in Sweden.

9.4 A Generation on the Move – Polish and Romanian Migrants in the EU

The mobility patterns from Poland and Romania within the EU free movement space serve as a broader frame for migration trajectories of the whole cohort of post-accession migrants in the EU. Poland and Romania, where most of our respondents originate from, are two formerly state socialist countries, which during the last two

[3] The age for the respondents and their children corresponds with the point in time they were interviewed for the project, not when the parents migrated to Sweden.

[4] In Sweden, as in the other EU countries, the majority of the intra-European labour migrants can be found within these sectors of the economy, which are often characterised by a larger degree of informalization with insecure and underpaid jobs (Likic-Brboric et al. 2013).

and a half decades, have experienced profound societal transformations on the path from authoritarian and centrally planned economic to democratic and capitalist regimes. One signifying feature of these transformations is an increasing propensity to move and seek paid employment in other, more prosperous European countries, which some researchers have described as a phenomenon of *A Continent Moving West?* (Black et al. 2010). Although sharing several common societal and economic patterns in their historical past, these two countries represent quite different heritages when it comes to migration.

Poland had been a significant sending country of migrant labour both to Europe and globally even prior the collapse of communism, where many people crossed borders, mainly illegally and for a short time, in order "to accumulate goods and money" (Iglicka 2000:72) to be spent at home. In Romania, on the other hand, emigration was strictly limited and controlled by the state before the fall of the Iron Curtain (Anghel 2013; Andrén and Roman 2014). One of the most signifying features of the fall of communism was an enhanced opportunity for millions of Central and Eastern Europeans (CEE)[5] to travel and seek paid employment in the West. Both Polish and Romanian migration for work intensified during the 1990s, and culminated after both countries joined the EU; however, this occurred with some delay because Romania joined the EU 3 years after Poland (Fihel et al. 2012; Andrén and Roman 2014).[6] Several authors attribute increasing mobility within the EU to the unprecedented differences in living standards, the declining welfare states, and disparities in employment possibilities and wages between the 'old' and 'new' EU member states (Black et al. 2010; Perrons et al. 2010). Another aspect underlined in the research on Poles and Romanians at their destinations is that the ethnic networks of the established co-nationals play a crucial role as magnets for mobility (Ryan et al. 2009; Anghel 2013).

9.4.1 Sweden as a Destination Country

Along with other Nordic welfare states, Sweden is a relatively new destination country for post-2004 mobile workers. Mobility from CEE peaked in 2008, but continued to grow several years after the economic crisis (Friberg and Eldring 2013:24–25). In all Nordic countries, more than 600,000 workers from the new EU member states are estimated to have entered the labour market between 2004 and 2011 (Friberg and Eldring 2013:12). In Sweden alone, statistics from 2008 indicate that 40,000 individuals originating from some of the CEE countries were registered

[5] Following the argument by Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri (2016:15) we refer to migrants from Poland and Romania as Eastern European migrants, while historically and culturally these and other countries belong to the territoty of Central and Eastern Europe.

[6] Sweden, as well as the UK and Ireland, continued their open-door policy even during the 2007 wave of accession, and thus did not apply any transition rules toward the migrants from the two new EU countries.

as settled migrants. If the number of registered non-settled workers is added, the figure is more than doubled (ibid.:29). In 2013, 28 EU nationals comprised almost 23% of all new immigrants arriving and registering in Sweden (Hassel and Wagner 2016:84). According to Delmi (2016), among nationals from 28 EU countries residing in Sweden in 2016, 89,000 were born in Poland and 28,000 in Romania. To these should be added approximately 19,000 children and young people born in Poland and Romania residing in Sweden together with their families (SCB 2015). The fact that male and female migrants are equally represented among the adults migrating from Poland and Romania, together with a growing number of children from these countries residing in Sweden, reflects an important pattern in the post-accession mobility, namely that many families tend to reunite in Sweden.

9.5 Trajectories of Situated Transnational Parenting

9.5.1 Decisions to Migrate – Negotiations of Intergenerational Care Responsibilities

The starting point of the trajectories of transnational parenting can be traced back to a number of significant episodes in migrant parents' lives leading to the decision to migrate (Wingens et al. 2011). Following the theoretical principle of historical time and space, we understand the decision to migrate as a personal event embedded in a specific historical time and geographic space. Thus, being a part of a larger cohort on the move, the migrant parents interviewed in our project made their decisions to migrate against the backdrop of major economic upheavals in Poland and Romania. In fact, many parents reckon that they were forced to migrate due to the loss of employment, economic shortages, poor housing conditions, and the post-socialist states' withdrawal from providing health and childcare, all amounting to what Pine (2014) describes as "loss of opportunity and abandonment of hope for entire populations" in the post-socialist space. Seen in this way, every individual decision to migrate becomes part of a collective strategy among a whole generation on the move, rather than a strategy of individual parents.

At the same time, as King et al. (2006) suggest, migration decisions should not be seen as single acts of relocation from one country to another, but rather as complex negotiation processes, where individual motives relate to changing opportunities and constraints within transnational institutional settings, including the regimes of welfare, migration, work and care. For families with dependent children, migration decisions are also negotiated as caregiving contracts, according to our results, through which migrant parents are given a "license to leave" (Baldassar 2007:393). Spouses, older children and other kin remaining in charge of children's care needs back home have a significant role within the intergenerational networks of mutual obligations that many migrants are highly dependent on (Finch and Mason 1993).

Amelia and Nicolae's migration trajectory began at a specific moment of their life course as a young couple without kids. In 2007, Amelia, then a young university student without financial resources to finish her studies, met her husband in Spain, where she was able to go, because of the opening of the European borders, and pursue a travel adventure she had always dreamt of. Together they lived a vagabond kind of life, visiting different countries for 2 weeks at a time, sleeping in the rough and getting food and clothes through Christian and other Non Governmental Organizations(NGOs) in different European countries, including Sweden. While circulating between Romania, Finland and Sweden, the couple became parents to two children. In summer 2012, when Amelia was pregnant with their third child, the family had to go back to Romania and move in with Nicolae's relatives. The parents also realised that their older son had special needs that they could not properly address while living such an unstable life. For them, leaving Romania for a third time was done for obvious reasons:

> The problem was that there was not enough space for all of us. There were only two persons [in the household] working in the winter, autumn and spring time. So, having about two, four, five hundred Euro for thirteen persons, think about it. It has been very difficult. …And a lot of diapers for the kids. So it has been very difficult. [The relatives] said that we needed to do something because they had no chance to take us for a longer time. So, we said we need to go.

As with many other young couples with kids, Amelia and Nicolae lacked support from the Romanian welfare state (Basten and Frejka 2015; Ducu and Telegdi-Csetri 2016). At the same time, weak job opportunities and no housing of their own put them in a precarious situation. In addition, their extended family did not have the capacity to support them financially in the long run. Repeated migration to Sweden, facilitated by the European free mobility regime, has thus been the only available option. The choice of Sweden was also motivated by their previous experience of it being friendlier towards migrants compared with other EU states.

Another type of strategy for parents with small children is represented by Ada, who, similar to many other Poles, migrated in search of a steady or at least a better paid job abroad (White 2010). Ada and her husband were both working, but their incomes were not enough to earn a living for a family with a small child. They were dependent on their parents to manage their everyday expenses. Initially, Ada's motive for migration was to gain financial independence from her parents and parents-in-law, and to save enough money to be able to move to another city in Poland. At the time, in 2003, it was rare that mothers with young children migrated first. Calculating the risks of her eventual move to Sweden, Ada and her husband reasoned that for a family as a whole, it was less of a hazard for her to leave her underpaid job than for her husband to do the same. He had more secure employment and was the main bread-winner at the time. Strong care obligations and informal networks in Sweden facilitating a job offer as a cleaner in private houses in Sweden were decisive for her motives to migrate. As with many other migrant mothers, she was hoping to return soon because she considered migration "an intensive saving project" (Wall and Bolzman 2013:69).

The family of David and Diana from Poland represents the third and more long-standing strategy of transnational parenting, when the bread-winner father migrates first and leaves his family behind (Perrons et al. 2010; Wall and Bolzman 2013). David has been a bread-winning father at a distance since the 1980s. Similar to other parents in our sample, David considered his migration a necessary part of life: *to earn bread*, as he called it. Working as a teacher at a building college, he earned too little to provide financially for a family with three kids. He came to Sweden in 2006 and easily found a job in construction through an online advertisement. Although the job was informal, without a contract or a registration with the Swedish authorities, he did not complain. His Swedish employer valued him as a *good worker*, and he did not lack either the time or finances to live as a frequent 'reap-pearer' back in Poland (Kilkey and Merla 2014).

As indicated earlier, decisions to migrate were also the results of negotiations processes between parents and/or within intergenerational networks of support (Finch and Mason 1993). According to the principle of linked lives, migration was triggered by events in the lives of parents and even dependent children (Wingens et al. 2011). As other research confirms, children are often informed about parents' migration, but parents act on their own perceptions of children's needs without actively engaging children in the decision-making (Bushin 2009; Moskal 2011). Applying the principle of timing in lives also illustrates the importance of children's age for how understandable the decisions to migrate are for them. Both Ada and Amelia and Nicolae left their 2-year-old kids back home when they migrated. Given the low competency of small children in migration decision-making (Bushin 2009), Amelia and Nicolae, as other parents with small kids, described the decision to leave their 2-year old child with relatives as a result of a complex negotiation process situated within their intergenerational network. Amelia recalled:

> We've been thinking and speaking and fighting about the kids and about our leaving Romania again. How should we do it, whom should we leave behind? We wanted to leave the boy in Romania because he was the one with troubles and to send him money to go to the doctor.

Nicolae added with concern:

> [We wanted] to make his life easier. So that he wouldn't need to sleep in the station (in Gothenburg) with us.

Describing the difficult negotiation process of leaving their daughter with the extended family, Amelia admitted:

> *[Nicolae's] sister and her husband said they are not able to take care of a child who is ill, so they suggested we could leave the girl behind. They ensured: Let her stay with us because we will take care of her.*

Leaving a small child behind felt like *abandoning her,* which is a common theme in many other interviews we collected, as well as in the existing research (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012; Wall and Bolzman 2013; Ducu 2014; Rentea and Rotarescu 2016). In the context of cuts in public expenditure on care and the weakening responsibility on behalf of post-socialist welfare states, the negotiation

processes regarding migration are situated within the discourse of necessity rather than opportunity (Wall and Bolzman 2013). Respondents' inclusion into the Swedish labour market and welfare services is also highly conditional, and based on their earlier experiences, Amelia and Nicolae knew that the Swedish authorities would not support families without formal job contracts and residence permits. Denied the possibility of leaving their older son with relatives, the only option was to bring him back with them to Sweden in the hopes of establishing a better base for the whole family to reunite.

Negotiations in the families when one of the parents leaves first is anchored primarily in the nuclear family between the father and a mother (Wall and Bolzman 2013). In Ada's case, the grandmothers on both sides were actively involved in direct care for their 2-year-old grandson while the father was working. The grandparent's involvement in caring for the grandchild intensified even more during the 6 months when both Ada and her husband took a step to establish their family life in Sweden. Remembering her arrival to Sweden, Ada spoke more in terms of emotional suffering:

> […] It is not possible to describe in words, I felt very bad, I was sitting on a bed in a small flat owned by people who I did not even know, and my son was left in Poland. I will never be able to forget this day.

The emotional suffering and transition from providing care through physical co-presence toward providing care at a distance and coordination via grandparents seemed to be harder for Ada and other mothers migrating first (Pustulka et al. 2015; Rentea and Rotarescu 2016). In David and Diana's case, the negotiations regarding David's migration followed a normative male bread-winner model, where David still was the primary bread-winner, and Diana remained in Poland to take care of three teenage children with a low-paying job on the side. According to Diana, the daughters were old enough to understand why their father was leaving. Besides, they were used to him being absent and the mother always being there. As other researchers reveal, the mother's role transition from primary caregiver to bread-winner can be much more challenging, both personally and societally, compared with fathers, who continue to carry the role of bread-winner both before and after migration (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012; Kilkey and Merla 2014).

9.5.2 Caregiving Arrangements at a Distance

In the following, we analyse caregiving arrangements during the time when migrant parents lived separate from their children using the specific typology of care involvement as delegation, coordination and/or direct provision at a distance or with physical co-presence developed by Kilkey and Merla (2014). As the authors underline, providing care at a distance requires various resources, most important of which are finances, time, communication capabilities and an opportunity to be mobile (ibid.) While acknowledging the importance of these particular recourses, we argue that

one of the key prerequisites for care to be exchanged is what we call a mutual agreement on giving and receiving care. The mutual agreement is especially important for the direct exchange of emotional support, information, disciplining, etc., between the migrant parent and a child. Moreover, using the theoretical principles of linked lives and timing in lives (Elder 1998; Wingens et al. 2011), we also argue that in addition to mutual interaction as an important resource for transnational parenting, child's age and agency should also be considered equally important.

Delegating care to other relatives is much more common when both parents migrate (Kilkey and Merla 2014), as in the case of Amelia and Nicolae. During 2 years of separation from their young daughter, they did not always have financial or communication resources to talk to her or support her directly. While they did 'care about her' (Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2012), their role was mainly to coordinate her nutrition and her upbringing, relying on Nicolae's sister and mother as the primary carers. Amelia's communicative skills and her persistence in looking for any available help from Swedish society led her after a longer period of informality to her first contracted job, paid per hour. Along with still unreliable but official employment, it was the support from Christian civil society organizations in Gothenburg that became crucial for the parents, allowing them to borrow a computer to talk to their daughter, the grandmother and the aunt by Skype.

Ada contributed to the well-being of her son mainly by coordinating care through her husband once a week using cheap telephone cards. Transnational parenting for David and Diana was also complicated in David's earlier migration experiences, as they lacked smooth communication opportunities and did not have a telephone in their home in Poland. During that time, David called home from a telephone box, while Diana had to travel 70 km every week to borrow a phone from a friend. For David and Ada, the only way to communicate with their children was via their respective spouses. Another similarity in their stories was that children in both families refused or were reluctant to participate in direct communication with the migrant parent, despite the age difference – Ada's son being 2 years old and David's daughters being between age 10 and the late teens. Children's reactions are supported in other studies that show their competences situated and negotiated, rather than being age-specific only (Bushin 2009; Wall and Bolzman 2013). Without an agreement from a child on receiving care from the parent, direct provision of care was not possible. As Ada expressed:

> I tried to talk to my son. You know, that was the worst thing. He thought that I ran away, so he did not want to talk to me.

When asking David about how it was for him to be a father at a distance, he reflected:

> It is difficult. You lose contact. I felt that the girls always needed their mother more than their father. They did not miss me in a way.

In David's case, as in the case of many other migrant bread-winner fathers, repeated separation since early childhood led to weakening emotional ties and the normalization of his absence. Through the lens of the linked lives principle (Wingens et al. 2011), and along the bulk of research on migrant fathers (Pustulka et al. 2015), it is

possible to argue that while financial resources have a predominant role when fathers decide to migrate, it is mutual agreement on interaction and care across borders that become paramount in the long run.

Sending remittances is one of the most central care obligations among transnational parents (Bell and Bivand Erdal 2015). Initially, having just started their trajectory as transnational parents, and before securing paid employment in Sweden, they could send no or very little money back home. The most important resources during this stage of situated transnational parenting were social relations with co-ethnics who helped them enter the Swedish labour market, even if under informal conditions. Ada, as well as David, went to the locations where the Polish community was well established. For many newcomers, as for Ada, the Polish community could provide a job offer, information and a place to stay (see also Ryan et al. 2009). David, on the other hand, found his first job in Sweden through an advertisement on the internet posted by a Swedish employer. Amelia and Nicolae had a much harder time finding employment in Sweden, as they arrived in the country soon after the economic crisis and without any financial resources of their own. Living in extreme precarity in an initial phase, they had to rely on support from a Christian NGO that helped them send food and second-hand clothes back to their child in Romania.

In order not to miss out on the lives of their children too much, migrant parents strive to combine the important moments of "staying in touch" (Baldassar 2007:391) with regular, even if not frequent, visits back home. Providing emotional, moral, practical and other types of care by being physically present during home visits is for many migrant parents "a tangible manifestation of persisting connection" (Bell and Bivand Erdal 2015:87). By applying the principle of linked lives, we can better understand the need for connectedness, emotional closeness and a mutual interest for interaction as vital recourses for transnational care at a distance. Respondents who lived in Sweden during a longer period of time witnessed quickly changing landscapes of technology, transportation and communication facilities, which on the one hand, improved their capacity to 'stay in touch.' Ada, for instance, managed to visit her child and the rest of her family twice, at Easter and Christmas, during her first year working informally in Sweden. Poland, still being outside the EU in 2003, was easily reachable from Sweden by ferry. At the same time, Ada could not risk being deported: if she were to be checked at border control, it would show that she had overstayed her visiting time as a 'tourist.' Travelling from Poland to Sweden was still too expensive for her husband and child. David, who arrived in Sweden after Poland had joined the EU, could always visit his family while working abroad. As indicated above, his employer always granted him time to go home. At the same time, construction, being a type of 'on-demand' employment, allowed him to spend several months with his family in Poland during the 'low seasons.'

Nowadays, travelling between Sweden and Poland or Romania is much easier and cheaper, so the only resources migrants still need are time and money for social events and family gatherings (Bell and Bivand Erdal 2015). These are exactly those resources that Amelia and Nicolae did not have during 2 years of separation from their daughter in Romania. Having no stable employment in Sweden, and thus no social assistance from the Swedish state, and two other children to care for in the

country, their strategy was instead to invest as much as possible into a firmer base for the family in Sweden before bringing their daughter over. To reunite with children and spouses in Sweden is still complicated for many of the parents we talked to, especially those who lack their own housing and a private space in which to accommodate a family.

9.5.3 Negotiating Reunification

Several studies observe that "family separation affects migrant parents in many ways" (Fresnoza-Flot 2014:3). Starting as a temporary project, mobility within the EU seems to become more permanent when many migrant parents decide to settle in the destination country by relocating the whole family (White 2010). Among the respondents we interviewed, the majority have already lived in Sweden together with their families, and several of them have a new generation of children. One of the most important motives for reunification was to prevent the family from falling apart as observed elsewhere (Pustulka et al. 2015; Slany and Pustulka 2016). Another motive was difficulties with raising teenagers alone, which several remaining mothers were confined to. Reunifications were also driven by more ordinary 'dreams' (Pine 2014), such as to get a better life or a bigger house, or to settle in a more secure area for children to grow up in. In order to reunite in Sweden, migrant parents first needed proper housing and formal inclusion in the social security system, resources which would provide their children access to education, health care and social insurance. Getting a formal contract in the Swedish labour market was often the major event in parents' lives opening the door for inclusion in the Swedish welfare system. Obtaining formal employment was also important for the migrants' dependant family members to qualify for legal residence and a personal Swedish security number, which has also been shown in other research (Runfors et al. 2016). For many respondents, this personal event became a turning point in transnational caregiving arrangements. After reunification, care at distance, combined with short visits, transformed into direct care provision with physical co-presence.

Reunification processes should also be seen in the light of an emotional gap between parents and children accentuated when the decisions to migrate and live apart are negotiated (Bell and Bivand Erdal 2015). As shown in previous studies on accounts of children and parents from the Philippines reunited in France (Fresnoza-Flot 2014), these emotional gaps have long-lasting impacts on interaction and caregiving between children and parents after reunification. Living apart at a geographical distance creates emotional distance and feelings of abandonment and distrust, as many respondents reported. Amelia and Nicolae's daughter felt abandoned and expressed at some point that Amelia did not feel like her mother anymore. She wanted to stay with her grandmother in Romania instead of following her parents to Sweden. Two years after they had reunited in Sweden, Amelia thought that the emotional bonds between them are still in need of repair.

Ada was asked about how the relationship with her son has developed since the reunification:

> It is a normal relationship, but he listens more to his father, because he did not forget [the time when I left] when he spent a lot of time with his father. He sits at the computer together with his father, so the father is his favourite. If I shout at him that he should clean his room or do his homework, he goes to his father and says: I do not know what she wants?

What Ada indicates with some irony is that her son has not forgotten that *she ran away from him*. Their separation shaped the emotional distance, and spending time together with the father entailed an emotional closeness in their relationship long after the separation experience. Talking about the son's preferences towards the father, Ada laughs, indicating that the relationship with her son is not that bad after all. Unlike Amelia and Nicolae, Ada did not regret the decision to migrate alone and live apart for a while. In the case of David and Diana, the relational distance between the father and daughters did not change after reunification in Sweden. David was ambivalent regarding whether the decision to relocate the whole family to Sweden was the right thing to do:

> [If I would do it again] Maybe I would do it a little bit different […] it does not really work now. I think that I have lost a lot, especially contact with my children.

Echoing the decisions to migrate, the principle of timing in lives, especially the dimension of the child's age, is important for how decisions to reunite are negotiated within families (Fresnoza-Flot 2014). The resistance to reunification was especially visible in David and Diana's family, where the girls, already being teenagers, were reluctant to reconcile with moving to Sweden. David admits:

> My daughters were in the most difficult ages to change, thirteen and fourteen years old. My wife said that it was better to wait until they finish secondary school. We did that, but after that, it was a 'war'. During that time, my daughters were already in Sweden. They had arranged schooling and accommodation in Poland through the Internet. [It was the town we lived in] and from there, we have 4000 km to the nearest relative.

As other research observes, the child's age plays an important role in how much power the parents have in deciding what is in the child's best interest (Bushin 2009). The children are agents in their own right (James 2009), which shows in the fact that one of the David and Diana's teenage daughters made her plans come true by moving back to Poland to a life with friends and a boyfriend. After a year, without sufficient economic resources to live on her own, and not being able to obtain a Swedish study loan, the daughter had to return to Sweden. Much in line with Fresnoza-Flot's (2014:1152) findings, family reunification processes are a "bumpy landscape" many years after the actual reunion.

9.6 Conclusive Remarks

In conclusion, we highlight critical dimensions contributed by the theoretical model of situated transnational caregiving arrangements (Kilkey and Merla 2014) and the analytical principles and concepts of the life course perspective (Elder 1998). First,

by looking through the principle *historical time and space*, we relate the decision to migrate to Sweden to earn a living for children and the family to the whole generation and cohort on the move that the parents belong to. The history of societal changes from a socialist economy and universal welfare toward a market economy and re-familialisation made the transition to independent adulthood and parenthood vulnerable, not the least in times of severe economic upheaval with high risk for unemployment and low income.

Second, looking at these experiences through the principle of *timing in lives,* migrant parents in our sample became parents at a stage when they did not have secure income or housing of their own. It is not only the age at which they became parents, which is important, but also the timing of their transition to parenthood which takes place in the historical moment of economic and political instability. Our results show that the strive for independence from their own parents remains strong in East European societies, which in many cases, pushes parents with dependent children to migrate for work.

Third, through the principle of *linked lives*, the caregiving arrangements of migrant parents are embedded in and dependent on social support networks of both close relatives in the home country and weaker ties of co-ethnic friends, employers and in some cases, Christian NGOs in Sweden. Transnational caregiving arrangements result from ongoing negotiated social contracts within an intergenerational network. Direct care through communicating with a child at distance is impossible to provide without an agreement from the child. Caregiving is a process of mutual but uneven exchange of care that changes depending on the age of the children. Parental caregiving at a distance is more difficult when children are too young to communicate or mature enough to decide not to reunite with their parents. A longer time of living apart seems to damage the emotional bonds between parents and children, especially when the separation occurs at an early age for the child and before it is possible to explain the reason behind it.

Finally, the principle of *human agency* connects to the main focus in our study, and to the theoretical model of Kilkey and Merla (2014). By applying these theoretical tools, we show that caregiving arrangements during the trajectory of transnational parenting, and the choices that parents make across time and space, are situated in ongoing changes in structural regimes of opportunities and constraints in both the home and host countries. Our results show that historical events, such as European enlargement and free mobility for EU citizens, had a great impact on the decisions to migrate to Sweden, even though their initial legal status as informal workers hindered migrant parents to practice care across borders. During this initial stage, migrant parents were practically ‘invisible’ to the welfare policies regulating the social security of EU citizens and their families within the EU and Sweden. After obtaining a formal job contract, migrant parents could qualify to be included as citizens with social rights for themselves and their families. This development led several of our informants to decide to reunite with their children and spouses in Sweden, which resulted in a transition from caregiving arrangements at distance to caregiving through physical co-presence. Therefore, reunifications in Sweden revealed an emotional gap caused by separation, making transnational parenting a particularly difficult endeavour.

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Chapter 10
Older Parents in Romania as a Resource for their Migrant Adult Children

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10.1 Introduction

Relations and support between parents and children continue throughout their lives, even after children have reached adulthood and established families of their own, as the paradigm of intergenerational solidarity shows (see Bengtson and Roberts 1991). One of the core dimensions of intergenerational solidarity is structural solidarity, which refers to opportunities for transfers between parents and children, and geographical proximity is a main element here. However, the increasing mobility and spatial distance between family members as a result of international migration have called for reconsideration of the role of geographical proximity in intergenerational relations. Studies on transnational families prove that bonds and interaction between members of family generations continue to exist even across national borders.

Since migration is usually a strategy with which to help family members in home countries, research into transnational families most often approaches the flows of care from migrants towards family members who have remained in their origin countries, be they children or parents. However, the solidarity paradigm sees mutual interaction and bonds between family generations stretching throughout the life course, with both downward and upward support (Bengtson and Roberts 1991; Bengtson 2001; Szydlik 2016). In this line of thought, we investigate in this chapter the flows of downward solidarity, from older parents living 'back home' in Romania to their migrant adult children. In our approach we combine the solidarity paradigm with specificities brought by literature which address issues of geographical distance, mobility, and transnationalism (Baldassar et al. 2007; Kilkey and Merla 2014).

Intergenerational exchanges continue to exist across borders but have some particular features. Key characteristics include the distinction between support with

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copresence and support from a distance (Baldassar et al. 2007) and the emergence of a new way in which support is provided, which is through coordination and delegation to a third person (Kilkey and Merla 2014). Provision of support with physical copresence happens during visits, and support in the form of personal, hands-on care could be provided/received only in such situations.

Intergenerational relations in national contexts have been extensively studied under the solidarity paradigm, making use of two international surveys: the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) and the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Big, nationally representative samples allowed very detailed investigation into family relations, but elements of transnationalism were not captured. SHARE data allowed the introduction of *migrant status* into analysis but referred to (older) persons who have a migrant background, without transnational aspects (see, for instance, Bordone and de Valk 2016; Szydlik 2016). On the other hand, much of the literature on transnational families relies on qualitative research.

In recent decades, Romania has faced massive migration, being nowadays one of the most important Eastern European countries of origin. Consequently, research into Romanian transnational families has developed. This chapter distinguishes from other approaches in several ways: it brings the transnational element into the study of intergenerational solidarity, focuses on older parents in home country, approaches downward solidarity in the transnational context, and brings the quantitative approach into the study of transnational families. We approach the dimension of functional solidarity and investigate how opportunities and needs of both parents and (migrant) adult children, their family structure and contextual factors (Szydlik 2016) influence downward (from parents to children) provision of support. We work with the data collected through a national survey of 1506 persons aged 60 and over with at least one child abroad, as part of the project entitled "Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home".

The paper is structured as follows: 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, as well as factors that may enhance or hinder intergenerational exchanges. Data and statistical methods for analysis are presented next, followed by results of logistic regression models for distinct types of downward support (financial and assistance in the form of time). We end our paper by acknowledging that functional solidarity towards migrant children is conditioned mainly by parents' health and age, as well as the family structures of both generations and the accessibility of the migration country for visits. The daily character of certain support, such as care for grandchildren or help with household activities, is replaced by the occasional character of visits.

10.2 Theoretical Considerations

Of the various definitions given to the concept of *generation*, this chapter dwells on family generations at the micro-level, which describes family lineage such as grandparents, parents, (adult) children and grandchildren. Specifically, within the

theoretical framework of intergenerational solidarity, we focus on the (elderly) parent–(adult) child dyad, which is translated as a family relationship between two succeeding family generations. Intergenerational family relations are seen as forms of behaviour that occur along with the expectation of rewards, results of altruistic or caring preference, and consequences of sharing social norms and values (Bawin-Legros and Stassen 2002; Bianchi et al. 2006), or commitments negotiated between family members rather than cultural predispositions (Finch and Mason 1993: 59). When linked to family generations, the concept of intergenerational solidarity describes how cohesion and family integration systems operate (Bengtson and Schrader 1982; Mangen et al. 1988) when "children reach adulthood and establish careers and families of their own" (Bengtson and Roberts 1991: 896). In other words, it "refers to bonds and interactions between family members of different generations" (Szydlik 2016: 15).

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 parent–child 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 in respect of intergenerational connections). The sixth dimension, structural solidarity, refers to opportunities for transfers between parents and children (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). A recent adaptation of Bengtson's conceptualisation was proposed by Szydlik (2016), who 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.

Transnational families or multi-sited families are defined as "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders" (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 3). In transnational family literature, the focus is on the reconfigurations of parent–child relationships imposed by the absence of geographical proximity. Therefore, a key distinction is between support with copresence and support 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 copresence, direct provision at a distance, coordination, and delegation of support to a third person. Communication and travel technologies are the key channels through which inter-

generational solidarity is performed (Baldassar 2014; Merla 2015). Provision of support with physical copresence happens during visits, and support in the form of personal, hands-on care could be provided/received only in such situations.

Studies show that members of multi-sited families are involved in the same types of kin relationships as those of families whose members are in spatial proximity (Baldassar et al. 2007; Wilding 2006). The link between geographical distance and support is not to be considered dichotomous, but rather more complex due to other related factors such as the complexity of tasks or constraints and limits determined by own country-specific regulations. The current migratory context, characterised by free movement within EU borders, provides both transnational migrants and family members 'back home' with better opportunities to get in touch and to support each other. Expansion and increasing affordability of information and communication technology (ICT) allow migrants to maintain a relationship of uninterrupted contact and to develop ordinary copresence routines with family members in home countries (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016).

Beyond the taxonomy of intergenerational solidarity, authors have proposed different theoretical models with the goal of explaining intergenerational solidarity. Szydlik (2016) proposed a model with four conditional factors for solidarity, namely opportunity, need, family and contextual-cultural structures, with three levels of analysis: individual, familial and societal. Intergenerational relations involve the parent and child, both with opportunity and need structures. This relationship is embedded in a familial and societal context. Opportunity structures refer to the opportunities or resources for intergenerational solidarity, such as the residential proximity of family members, occupational status (availability of time to offer support) and economic status (availability of financial resources). The need structure indicates the need for intergenerational solidarity, which can be a result of health, financial or emotional problems. At the family level, the history of events (such as divorces) may shape intergenerational solidarity, as well as family composition (the number of siblings) or family norms. Cultural-contextual structures refer to the societal conditions under which intergenerational relations take place, such as the economic and tax system, the welfare state and the labour and housing market.

Research under the paradigm of intergenerational solidarity, especially making use of the internationally comparative SHARE data, showed how the abovementioned conditional factors act across Europe. Albertini et al. (2007) showed that having grandchildren, higher wealth and education, living with a partner and being a woman make the social support towards adult children more likely. As to downward financial support, the same authors found that younger age, better health, higher wealth and education, being in employment, living with a partner and being male increase the likelihood of such help. Regarding cultural-contextual structures, results show that intergenerational transfers vary by welfare states. Transfers from parents to children are less frequent but more intense in weak welfare states, such as the Southern European countries, than in strong welfare states, such as the Nordic ones (Albertini et al. 2007). Szydlik (2016) found similar results regarding welfare states for transfers from children to parents, too.

When it comes to the transnational care process, visits are at its core, encompassing a multitude of meanings and motivations. In this respect, Baldassar et al. (2007) developed a typology of visits: routine visits, usually undertaken by migrants or their parents on a common basis with the purpose of achieving employment duties or investment responsibilities; crisis visits, when there is a specific need to care for a distant family member, and involving provision of hands-on, personal care; duty and ritual visits, in order to attend life-cycle events such as weddings, funerals and special events; special (purpose) visits, for being there in the final stages of terminal illness of a close family member, for the birth of a child, or to relieve migrant homesickness; and tourist visits, in order to discover the adopted homelands of their migrant kin. Their results show that the quantity and regularity of visits of parents to migrant children are important for maintaining emotional closeness and for care with copresence. Furthermore, their results show that mothers undertake visits more often than do fathers, widowed mothers have more autonomy and time to travel, and their travel expenses are often paid by migrant children. One frequent form of support when visiting their adult children is that of grandchild care (Baldock 2003). 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.

Examples of support from parents to migrant children which are not related to visits abroad include caring for any financial and administrative matters of the migrant, such as managing bank accounts that migrants had retained in their homeland, paying bills, looking after a property that belonged to their migrant children, and even giving their daughters instant advice on recipes or how to deal with a new born baby (Baldock 2003). Baldassar et al. (2007) report in their findings that parents most often provide practical support such as the renewal of a migrant's driving licence or passport in the home country, forwarding mail, looking after property and bank accounts, and keeping in touch with friends on behalf of migrants.

As a particular form of care that does not require face-to-face contact, economic support is a widespread practice among multigenerational family units living in spatial separation. Throughout the life course, material support may consist of money transfers, gifts and inheritance (Baldassar et al. 2007; Finch 1989). Money flows towards kin are considered one of the most important forms of intergenerational family support, especially in the context of migration (Singh 1997; Singh and Bhandari 2012; Singh and Cabraal 2014). In a translocal context, literature shows that intergenerational material support is mostly downward, with elderly parents being the main providers and adult children the recipients (Finch 1989). When adult children migrate to other countries, the direction of financial transfers usually reverses (Thorogood 1987; Finch 1989). Remittances from children towards their parents have various meanings depending on the well-being and financial status of both senders and recipients (Baldassar et al. 2007). When remittances are "a matter of choice and practicality" in the form of gifts or loans, substantial economic support is provided by ageing parents (Baldassar et al. 2007: 86). In the case of Romania, migrant adult children are more likely to provide financial assistance for their parents back home than are non-migrants or internal migrants (Zimmer et al. 2014). Downward material support is less provided in the context of migration but

is strongly associated with other multidirectional forms of succour (Földes 2016). Regarding factors that intensify this support, authors have mentioned (material) resources of the parent and, in a transnational context, the motivation of migration: when it is motivated by career or lifestyle choices and not by economic need (Szydlik 2008; Baldassar 2007). Regarding downward intergenerational support in general, it has been shown that in the first stages of migration, parents tend to support migrant children more than do children; moreover, remittances are lacking in that particular moment (Wall and Bolzman 2014).

The aim of our paper is to investigate the functional solidarity that flows from parents to their migrant adult children, which takes the form of direct support, be it in situations of copresence (during visits abroad) or from a distance, and the factors that might favour or hinder such downward intergenerational solidarity. Even if Kilkey and Merla (2014) emphasised that care in transnational families is not restricted to direct support, their typology that includes coordination and delegation towards a third person refers to the flows of solidarity from migrants to their family members in home countries. Applying this typology to downward intergenerational solidarity, from parents to their migrant children, we retain only the first two ways of providing support: direct with copresence and direct from a distance.

Hărăguș and Telegdi-Csetri (2018) found that 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 of the exchange of care across borders (Merla 2015). In other words, associational solidarity (contact) in transnational families stands out through its potential for other forms of solidarity, and certain forms of practical support (grandchild care) require face-to-face contact during visits. That is why we first address parents' visits abroad, not in their instance as associational solidarity but as structural solidarity: opportunities for transfers between parents and their migrant children.

10.3 Research Hypotheses

Adopting the theoretical model proposed by Szydlik (2016) for intergenerational relations in general, we expect the respective conditional factors to act in similar ways to those of family members living in the same country. In line with the results of previous studies discussed in the section above, we expect *better opportunities of the parents (younger age, good health, and better material situation) to favour both the potential for the downward direct transfer of support with copresence and the support itself, during visits or from a distance (i)*. We also expect *higher needs amongst migrant children to increase the downward transfer of support (ii).*

Different family structures may mean various levels of requests for assistance in the form of time, be they for grandchild care in the home country (for the parents)

or the presence or absence of the partner for the migrant child. Therefore, we expect *a more complex family structure in the home country (existence of other adult children) to make direct support, with or without copresence abroad, less likely, but a more complex family structure of the migrant child (in the destination country) to make support more likely (iii).* In terms of gender, we expect *downward transnational intergenerational support to be offered by women rather than by men (iv).*

We consider the country of migration to be one indicator of contextual structures, and by "country" we capture diverse realities. Firstly, it is the specificity of Romanian migration that is oriented towards Latin countries, often in jobs of personal care (*badanta*) and domestic work. Secondly, it is the welfare regime (Esping-Andersen 1990; Ferrera 1996; Leibfried 1992) in which the adult children live, which refers to the entitlement to benefits and services in areas related to health, income, housing and education, and to the portability of social entitlements across borders (Kilkey and Merla 2014: 217). Thirdly, it is the geographical distance and the availability and affordability of travel. We expect *migrant children residing in countries wherein such benefits offered by the state are low (e.g. liberal and Southern European countries) to resort mostly to direct support with copresence from their parents (v).*

Direct support from a distance may take the form of managing the property left behind or the construction of a new one, thus maintaining a strong connection with the country of origin. Therefore, we expect *parents with a better opportunity structure to be more likely to provide this type of support, especially to more recent migrants (vi).*

Financial support in transnational families is most often discussed in terms of remittances towards family members in the home country, but we saw in the above section that the reverse, i.e. financial support from parents to migrant children, exists, too. We expect *the financial downward support to be associated with better parent opportunities and higher migrant child needs (not working), as well as with recent migration overseas to settle in (vii).*

10.4 Method

10.4.1 Data

We work with the data collected through a national survey of 1506 persons aged 60 and over with at least one child abroad, conducted under the project entitled "Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home". The sample was stratified by the development region and size of settlement; inside each stratum, localities were randomly selected. To identify possible respondents in selected localities we used local informants. The survey was conducted during July–October 2016.

10.4.2 Indicators

The survey questionnaire accounted for two forms of support from parents during visits abroad: help with household tasks and grandchild care, and for four forms of support that parents may provide in the home country for their adult children abroad: taking care of the empty house, supervision of a new building site, managing a business, and paying taxes for the migrant child. Financial support included money transfers and support in kind (such as food and household items).

The independent variables that we use are indicators of the four conditional factors for intergenerational solidarity as identified by Szydlik (2016): opportunities (of the parents), needs (of the adult child), family structure (of both parent and child) and contextual factors.

For the needs structure of the migrant child we consider characteristics of his/her position in the labour market and his/her ability to find childcare arrangements, expressed through the activity status: working or not working, with a third category of parents not knowing information about the child's activity status.

Opportunities of the parents are indicated through their self-rated health status (bad, fair, good), their age group (below 65 years, 65–69 years and above 70 years), and their ability to make ends meet (easy; nor easy, neither with difficulty; with difficulty).

For the family structure of the migrant child we used his/her partnership status (with or without a partner) and parity (childless or with children), and for the family structure of the parent we introduced the living arrangements (alone, with partner only, with other family members) and whether all children emigrated or there are others who remained in Romania. We also have a variable referring to gender combinations: mother–daughter, mother–son, father–daughter, and father–son.

For the contextual dimension, we used the type of settlement of the parent (rural, small or large urban area) and the country of migration for the child. While five countries represented 75% of the cases (Italy, Spain, Germany, the UK, France), we chose to group the destination countries according to the existing welfare system in six groups: Northern Europe, Continental Europe, Southern Europe (Spain, Italy, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus), Liberal Europe (the UK and Ireland), Liberal Overseas (the US, Australia, Canada, New Zeeland) and Others. This typology uses the concept of welfare regimes of Esping-Andersen (1990) but amended with the Mediterranean group (see Leibfried 1992; Ferrera 1996).

10.4.3 Analytic Approach

The questionnaire registered intergenerational solidarity between the parent in Romania and every migrant child. However, to apply the chosen theoretical model (Szydlik 2016), we need to know certain characteristics of the support receiver (the child). Seventy per cent of the respondents had only one migrant child but for the

remaining cases we chose only one child for the analysis, namely the one with whom intergenerational solidarity was the most intense (considering both upward and downward functional and emotional solidarity). We are aware that in this way we have overestimated the existing intergenerational exchanges, but we consider this not to alter the aim of our investigation, which is how opportunities and needs, family structures and contextual factors shape the existing intergenerational solidarity.

Visits between migrants and their parents are forms of associational intergenerational solidarity, but when the geographical distance intervenes, and some forms of support require copresence, visits stand up in respect of their potential for intergenerational solidarity. Visits are the precondition for certain forms of solidarity. That is why we first addressed parents' visits to their migrant children and then the instrumental direct support in situations of copresence.

We conduct our investigation using binary logistic regressions. We first model the likelihood of parents' visits abroad in the last year and then the likelihood of the elderly offering assistance in the form of time (household help or care for the grandchildren). For support provided from a distance, we have constructed a composed dependent variable that includes all four practical activities, as well as a dependent variable that includes money transfers or in-kind support.

10.5 Results

10.5.1 Descriptive

From the initial sample of 1506 persons we excluded those with missing information on the dependent or any of the independent variables. This resulted in a working sample of 1427 individuals.

From Table 10.1 we can see that 43.6% of the respondents had visited their migrant child during the last year. While abroad, almost half (48.9%) provided grandchild care and more than half (56.9%) helped with household chores. Considering any of these forms, more than two thirds (69.1%) provided a form of support during their visits abroad.

Percentages of older parents offering support from a distance are visibly smaller, especially in the case of financial transfers (money or in kind). Such transfers from elderly parents could be seen as a way of expressing parental responsibility. Therefore, in this particular context, offerings in money or in kind can be translated as gifts rather than as material support. Considering any type of assistance in the form of time offered in the home country (taking care of the empty house, supervision of a new building site, managing a business, and paying taxes for the migrant child) we can see that 23.5% of the respondents were involved in such downward functional solidarity. Percentages for financial support, be it money or in kind, are even smaller: 13.5%. However, if we look at any form of downward functional soli-

Table 10.1 Frequencies of distinct types of downward functional solidarity

	Yes		No		N
Visits to migrant child	622	43.6%	805	56.4%	1427
Support with co-presence	430	69.1%	192	30.9%	622
Grandchild care	304	48.9%	318	51.1%	622
Household help	354	56.9%	268	43.1%	622
Support from a distance (in form of time)	335	23.5%	1092	76.5%	1427
Taking care of the empty house	315	22.1%	1112	77.9%	1427
Supervision of a new building site	102	7.1%	1325	92.9%	1427
Managing a business for the migrant child	14	1.0%	1413	99.0%	1427
Paying taxes for the migrant child	315	22.1%	1112	77.9%	1427
Support from a distance – financial support	193	13.5%	1234	86.5%	1427
Money	151	10.6%	1276	89.4%	1427
In kind	61	4.3%	1366	95.7%	1427
Any (during visits, from a distance in form of time or financial)	757	53.0%	670	47.0%	1427

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, author's calculations

darity over the last year, we can see that more than half (53%) of the older parents in Romania provided some form of support to their migrant children.

10.5.2 Multivariate

As we expected, bad health and very old age (70+ years) decrease the likelihood of parents visiting their migrant children (Table 10.2, Model 1), by 29% and 52% respectively. The presence of other adult children in the country or living with more family members than the partner might mean increased responsibilities for daily tasks and requirements for older parents' time and, consequently, a lower likelihood of travelling abroad. On the other hand, the absence of other family members of the migrant child (the partner) makes travelling abroad less likely, too. Regarding gender combinations, an important indicator of the family structure, we found that women are more mobile than men: mothers are 77% more likely to visit their migrant daughters than are fathers. Parents residing in rural settlements are almost 50% less likely to travel abroad than are those from big urban areas, and, as expected, travelling overseas is less likely to happen than in Europe. The longer the time since migration, the higher the likelihood of visiting.

During visits, parents are often involved in different forms of intergenerational support, such as housekeeping or childrearing. Our results (Table 10.2, Model 4) show that variables linked with parents' opportunity structure or their family structure (age, health status, living arrangements or the existence of other children in the country) do not show an effect anymore, since parents are already selected through visits. However, direct support to migrant children is more likely when they have

Table 10.2 Results of logistic regression models for downward functional solidarity

Categories	Frequencies	Visits			Practical support from a distance			Financial or material support			Practical support with co-presence			
		B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	Frequencies	B		Odds Ratio
Health status														
Good	431			1			1			1	203			1
Neither good, nor bad	620	−0.139		0.870	0.000		1.000	−0.125		0.882	272	0.125		1.134
Bad	376	−0.338	*	0.713	−0.357	*	0.700	−0.330		0.719	147	−0.334		0.716
Age group														
Below 65	555			1			1			1	244			1
65-69	360	−0.062		0.940	0.154		1.166	0.035		1.036	177	0.149		1.160
70+	512	−0.740	***	0.477	0.005		1.005	−0.591	***	0.554	201	−0.402		0.669
Able to make ends meet														
Difficult	497	−0.294	*	0.745	−0.096		0.909	−0.510	**	0.601	188	−0.365		0.694
Neither difficult, nor easy	569	−0.055		0.946	−0.047		0.954	0.300		1.350	249	0.141		1.151
Easy	361			1			1			1	185			1
Has other children living in Romania														
Other children living in Romania	938			1			1			1	370			1
All children are migrants	489	0.276	**	1.318	0.342	**	1.407	0.161		1.174	252	0.140		1.150
Living arrangement														
Alone	391			1			1			1	209			1
With partner only	560	−0.128		0.880	0.041		1.042	0.523	**	1.687	272	0.227		1.255
Other	476	−0.843	***	0.430	0.133		1.142	−0.218		0.804	141	0.077		1.080

(continued)

Table 10.2 (continued)

Categories	Frequencies	Visits			Practical support from a distance			Financial or material support			Practical support with co-presence			
		B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	Frequencies	B		Odds Ratio
Child's partner status														
With partner	1104			1			1			1	523			1
Without partner	323	−0.535	**	0.586	−0.086		0.918	0.714	***	2.043	99	0.177		1.193
Child has children														
Has children	1006			1			1			1	460			1
Without children	421	−0.085		0.919	−0.372	**	0.689	−0.406	*	0.666	162	−0.823	***	0.439
Gender combination														
Father-daughter	284			1			1			1	120			1
Father-son	259	−0.245		0.783	0.101		1.106	0.433	*	1.542	93	−0.474		0.622
Mother-daughter	465	0.571	**	1.770	−0.405	**	0.667	−0.171		0.843	248	0.414		1.513
Mother-son	419	−0.091		0.913	−0.055		0.946	0.168		1.183	161	0.560	*	1.751
Type of settlement														
Rural	734	−0.665	***	0.514	0.330	**	1.392	−0.389	*	0.678	235	−0.219		0.803
Small urban	316	0.136		1.146	−0.163		0.849	0.208		1.231	178	−0.049		0.953
Big urban	377			1			1			1	209			1
Child's activity status														
Not working	56			1			1			1	25			1
Working	1025	0.530		1.699	0.074		1.077	0.086		1.089	487	−0.136		0.873
Parent does not know the status	346	−0.187		0.829	−0.256		0.774	0.226		1.253	110	−1.021	*	0.360
Country of migration														
South Europe	643			1			1			1	287			1
North Europe	29	0.543		1.721	−0.967		0.380	−0.314		0.731	16	−0.460		0.631

Categories	Frequencies	Visits			Practical support from a distance			Financial or material support			Practical support with co-presence			
		B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	B		Odds Ratio	Frequencies	B		Odds Ratio
Liberal Europe	179	−0.118		0.889	−0.347		0.707	0.124		1.133	58	−0.028		0.972
Continental Europe	449	0.153		1.165	−0.543	***	0.581	−0.367	*	0.693	198	−0.189		0.828
Overseas /liberal countries	105	−0.599	**	0.549	−0.740	**	0.477	−0.861	**	0.423	53	−1.112	***	0.329
Other	22	−0.310		0.734	0.061		1.063	0.303		1.353	10	−0.552		0.576
Period in destination country (years)														
		0.137	***	1.147	−0.018		0.983	0.015		1.015		0.021		1.021
Visit duration														
Short											380			1
Long (>1 month)											242	1.505	***	4.504
Model chi-square		395.047, df = 24, p < 0.001			64.315, df = 24, p < 0.001			100.202, df = 24, p < 0.001			108.016, df = 24, p < 0.001			
Nagelkerke R Square		0.324 (32.4%)			0.066 (6%)			0.124 (12.4%)			0.225 (25.5%)			

Source: Database *Intergenerational solidarity in the context of work migration abroad. The situation of elderly left at home*, author's calculations
Note: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1

children. Mothers are more likely to visit their daughters than are fathers and, once abroad, mothers are more likely to provide household help or childcare to their sons, compared with fathers helping daughters. Migrants from overseas countries are less likely to be visited by their parents and less likely to receive practical help during visits than are migrants in Southern Europe. Duration of the visit is highly associated with the provision of help: stays longer than 1 month significantly increase the likelihood of downward intergenerational practical help.

The two remaining regression models (Models 2 and 3) need to be treated more carefully, since the power of explanation of variation in the outcome is lower than in the previous ones. In spite of this statistical technicality, the results presented here are worthy of further explanations. For transnational families, practical support or assistance in the form of time along with material support, both in kind and in cash, are important forms of intergenerational solidarity at a distance.

Assistance in the form of time from a distance depends on the opportunity structure of parents: bad health decreases the likelihood by 30%. Family structure plays a role, too: parents with all of their children as migrants are more likely to provide this form of support, and parents are more likely to help when the migrant child has his/her own children. Regarding gender combinations, this time we found that fathers are more likely to provide help than are mothers. Another specificity of this type of support concerns the higher odds for the parents who live in rural settlements than in big urban areas.

Not only are overseas countries less affordable to visit, but migrants in these countries are also usually permanent. Therefore, it is not a surprise that downward support from a distance, linked with a possible future return in Romania, is less likely to be exchanged transnationally. In fact, it appears that this kind of help from a distance is characteristic rather of parents with children migrated in Southern Europe.

The opportunity structure of parents matters for financial downward support, too: very old age (70+ years) and inability to make ends meet decrease the likelihood of this support by 45% and 40% respectively. Migrant children's needs (not working) do not show any effect. Family structure appears to play a key role: parents who live with their partner are 69% more likely to help, and two times more likely when the migrant child has no partner of his/her own. Parents in rural settlements are less likely to offer financial or material support than are parents living in big urban areas. Regarding the country of migration, parents are less likely to help children residing in Continental Europe or overseas than in Southern Europe.

Our results indicate that parents' opportunity structure is of significant importance. Good health and younger age are indispensable requirements to provide help to others. This applies to intergenerational functional solidarity in general, but when travelling long distances abroad is involved, their importance is even greater. The parental financial situation (ability to make ends meet) appears to matter only when financial and material downward transfers are considered. We believe that for visits abroad, and consequently for help in situations of copresence, adult children might cover the travel costs of parents who cannot afford by themselves. The indicator that we have used for migrant children's needs, occupational status, did not show any

effect on downward functional solidarity. Summarising, our hypothesis in respect of parents' opportunity structure is confirmed, while the one regarding children's needs is not confirmed.

Indicators of family structure influence all types of support investigated. When there is no other adult child in Romania, there are no competing demands for parents' time. Consequently, it is more likely that the parent will visit the migrant child or provide him/her with help from a distance. In a comparable way we interpret the living arrangements of the parent: living with other family members besides the partner could mean time limitations and, therefore, a lower likelihood of visits abroad. These considerations indicate that the hypothesis in respect of how downward support is negatively influenced by a complex family structure in the home country is confirmed.

Indicators of migrant children's family structure (partner or children) also reflect the need for support from parents: it is more likely that a parent will visit a migrant child who has a partner and, once abroad, it is more likely that a parent will provide instrumental support when (probably young) grandchildren are present. On the contrary, downward financial support is more likely when the migrant child does not have a partner and, therefore, fewer financial resources and higher needs for support. Consequently, and as expected, a more complex family structure of the migrant child increases the likelihood of support from parents.

Regarding gender combinations, our results sustain the gendered provision of intergenerational support: the mother–daughter combination is the most common for the flows of downward functional solidarity, as in the case of upward support, from children to parents. Not only do mothers usually travel for long stays abroad, but once in the destination country, they also provide more help than do fathers. However, the responsibility for provisioning practical help from a distance is more likely to be taken by fathers than by mothers. This includes taking care of the empty house, supervision of a new building site, managing a business, and paying taxes for the migrant child. Actually, this result strengthens the gendered division of intergenerational care: women (mothers) are involved in more intense support activities (travelling abroad and practical support with copresence), while fathers are involved in less demanding or more masculine activities, such as paying taxes or supervision of a new building site.

When compared with visits/support with copresence or financial or material help, practical support from a distance has some particularities. Unlike visits or financial support, this form of help is widely practised in rural areas. This evidence confirms that help from a distance consists of activities linked with migrants' plans of returning to Romania, and temporary or circulatory migration is common for rural settlements (Sandu 2005; Anghel 2009). Moreover, temporary migration is triggered by financial reasons and family members of migrants in rural settlements rely on remittances (Anghel 2009), so it is no surprise that they do not visit their migrant children and do not help them financially.

A constant result regarding the contextual indicator – country of emigration – is that parents provide the least support to their children living overseas, compared with the reference category of Southern European countries. On the one hand, this

result can be explained by the negative influence that great geographical distance may have on opportunities for family solidarity. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that Romanian migration overseas has its own particularities, different from migration towards Western and Southern Europe (Culic 2010). In this case, emotional support could be more important than less needed hands-on and financial support.

10.6 Conclusions and Discussions

Migration is most often a strategy with which to help family members in the home country but flows of support are not exclusively from migrants. Migration does not disrupt intergenerational relations and, even if they suffer certain mutations, they remain mutual and multidirectional (Baldassar et al. 2007). Older parents who remained in their home country continue to care for their migrant children and their families. In the digital society of today, through a sense of copresence from a distance, older parents can even perform the grandparental role from a distance (Baldassar and Merla 2014; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016; Nedelcu 2017). Some forms of support, particularly grandchild care, require physical copresence, which, in the case of transnational families, happens during visits. Elderly members of transnational families thus become involved in international mobility so as to provide support to their migrant children. Some other forms of support do not require international mobility and can be offered from a distance.

From the multiple dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, we have investigated the flows of functional solidarity from parents to their migrant children, an aspect less studied in the literature. We confined our analysis to direct downward support, be it from a distance or with copresence, and the factors that may enhance or weaken these intergenerational exchanges.

Our results show that parents' good health and younger age are indispensable for provision of support to their migrant children, especially when it involves travelling abroad. Migrants' needs appear to matter less. However, we limited the indicators of children's need structure to occupational status only (working/not working), which represents one limitation of our study. More detailed information on children's occupation and its link with the duration of migration and the welfare regime in the destination country might have shed more light on the role of children's needs for intergenerational support.

Romanians have a powerful sense of duty towards their family members: 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 so as to help their children, when the latter need it. This holds true when adult children migrate, too. The types of support vary by different personal characteristics (described here in terms of opportunities and needs), by family structures and by contextual factors. These variables also describe migration itself. Visits abroad and

direct instrumental support with copresence are rather associated with long-term or permanent migration, indicated here by a more complex family structure of the migrant in the destination country. Direct help from a distance (such as taking care of the empty house or paying taxes, supervision of a new building site), connected with return intentions of migrants, is specific to rural areas, unlike other forms of support. This is in line with the temporary character of migration from rural areas acknowledged in the literature (Sandu 2005; Anghel 2009).

Migration from Romania is generally driven by financial reasons and different reports show that regular remittances towards family members in the country reach an impressive amount. According to the World Bank (2016), Romania was the third remittance recipient country in Europe and more than half of Romanians from Spain sent money constantly to their family members left behind (not necessarily parents) (Toth 2009). Many studies of transnational family life show that migrants provide other forms of support, too, and new ways in which help and care are provided emerge, such as coordination and delegation towards another person. However, migration does not interrupt downward intergenerational solidarity, from parents to their adult children, which has been shown to function in national contexts. When their health status and age allow them, parents continue to be providers of support, even across borders. Downward functional solidarity may have lost its daily character due to geographical distance, but it continues to exist.

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Chapter 11
Zero Generation Grandparents Caring for Their Grandchildren in Switzerland. The Diversity of Transnational Care Arrangements among EU and Non-EU Migrant Families

Malika Wyss and Mihaela Nedelcu

11.1 Introduction

Along with contemporary demographic changes (in particular ageing-related processes and decreasing fertility rates), in combination with the strong transformations of family functioning and structures (increasing labor participation of women/mothers, dual-earner families, new family forms, etc.), there is a renewed scientific interest in the availability and involvement of grandparents as caregivers and support providers in downward generations (Attias-Donfut et al. 2005; Hank and Buber 2009; Silverstein and Marenco 2001, among others). Such scholarship shows that, in general, grandparents are much concerned with their grandchildren's life and education, playing a crucial role as emotional, moral and practical support providers. More specifically, it points towards the important contribution of grandparents in childcare, especially in the case of preschool children; which represents a complementary resource to formal institutional services developed to meet increasing needs due to the growing participation of women in the labour market.

At the same time, in the context of increased and diversified mobilities and patterns of migration, 'doing family' processes (Morgan 1996) occur within a transnational space and family relationships in migration represent a main focus of transnational studies (Vertovec 2009). The traditional understanding of intergenerational solidarities "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) thus expands over space and borders. Within the last two decades, transnational family research has shown that these solidarities inhabit

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various and complex forms of care circulation in which both migrant and non-migrant populations play an active role (Baldassar et al. 2007).

In particular, elderly migrants' parents, first observed as 'orphan pensioners' left behind (King and Vullnetari 2006), have become central in recent scholarship which argues that they are active carers and support providers for their children and grandchildren. Within the multigenerational frame of transnational care circulation, transnational grandparenting is the most prominent form of solidarity performed by them in a migratory context. Grandparents play a key role as they are in charge of raising and caring for their grandchildren who are left behind (Moran-Taylor 2008) or those born abroad and sent back in their youngest years to the home country (Da 2003). They also participate in transnational family solidarity by entering in back-and-forth mobilities to care for their grandchildren in host countries (Nedelcu 2007, 2009).

Based on ongoing qualitative research, this paper puts a specific focus on this category of mobile grandparents – that we have called elsewhere *the Zero Generation* (G0) (Nedelcu 2007, 2009) – to deepen the existing knowledge of G0 transnational grandparenting. Precisely, it describes the various patterns through which G0 grandparenting takes shape in situations of physical copresence within their descendants' family in Switzerland. Moreover, by taking into account a diversity of countries from which G0 grandparents originate, it explores the impact that the two-circle Swiss migratory policy, distinguishing EU from non-EU nationals, has on these patterns.

After a brief review and discussion of existing literature on G0 grandparenting, we argue why Switzerland is a heuristically interesting case in point for our study. In addition, a short methodological account explains the design of the research and describes how the target population was selected, as well as its variation, along with EU and non-EU countries of origin. Then, we systematically describe and explain the specific characteristics of G0 grandparenting patterns that we define as G0 care arrangements (G0-A). These patterns – that we have called *Family support in Childbirth circumstances*, *Troubleshooting in occasional need of childcare, Full and permanent childcare and family support* and *Intergenerational sharing and transmission* – reflect the essence of the care provided by G0 grandparents in physical copresence. A comparative lens applied to these patterns allows us to bring forth the existing variations within the studied population, in particular with regard to the EU / non-EU divide.

11.2 The G0 Grandparents as Actors in Transnational Circulation of Care: Literature Review and Paper Contribution

The existing scholarship on transnational families points to the fact that transnational family relationships unfold in diverse copresence settings, described by Baldassar (2008) as physical, virtual, by proxy and imagined. Although ICTs-mediated copresence expands the possibilities of doing and being together in

dispersed families (see for instance Madianou and Miller 2012; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), face-to-face contextualized copresence has remained the 'gold standard' for family care circulation (Baldassar et al. 2016). Indeed, physical copresence is still the only possibility of providing practical and personal support in general and childcare in particular (Baldassar 2007).

G0 grandparenting is about this kind of situation, in which grandparents visit their children and grandchildren in the country of destination and live together in the same household for short or long periods. The existing studies show that these 'seniors on the move' (Treas and Mazumdar 2004) are transnational grandparents who mobilize various resources to engage in regular back-and-forth mobilities between origin and host countries, and act as childcarers in copresence situations (Da 2003; King et al. 2014; Nedelcu 2007, 2009; Treas and Mazumdar 2004).

This scholarship underlines some prominent findings. It states that childbirth is generally the family event that mobilizes G0 grandparents to help the mother in the first weeks after childbirth or to provide childcare when she returns to work or study (Horn 2017; Lie 2010; Xie and Xia 2011). They also travel abroad at any time when childcare is required in the family's routine, and in rare cases they move and live durably in the host country (Nedelcu 2007; Treas and Mazumdar 2004; King et al. 2014). Sometimes, as in the case of Caribbean-born grandmothers in Britain, they play the role of 'international flying grannies', traveling to the many countries where their children live to offer temporary childcare services (Plaza 2000). Their contribution as childcare providers has different impacts within migrant families, especially with regard to professional integration, helping migrant women to reconcile work and family life and continue their professional careers (Da 2003); and more generally migrant couples in protecting their 'job security and financial stability' (Xie and Xia 2011: 388). Moreover, grandparents act as culture and family values transmitters (Da 2003; Lie 2010; Nedelcu 2007, 2009; Treas and Mazumdar 2004), thus participating in a more diffuse process of transnational socialization (Nedelcu 2009, 2012).

These studies, although they suggest a high complexity and variations within G0 grandparenting patterns, do not examine the diversity of these patterns by systematically addressing variability of G0 visits and sojourns in migrant families along with their timing, the content and the meaning of the care provided by G0 grandparents in copresence situations. It should be added that transnational family scholars have up until now tended to address the diversity of migrants' visits to their parents left behind in the countries of origin (Baldassar et al. 2007), and not the opposite. Arguing that these visits embrace different meanings and objectives, Baldassar (2008) has distinguished five types: *crisis visits* (in response to a sudden need for practical or emotional care, related to serious illness or death); *duty and ritual visits* (related to family rituals and celebrations); *routine visits* (regular and frequent migrants' visits to the country of origin for professional reasons); *special visits* (rather scarce, and thus exceptional); and *tourist visits* (in which migrants connect leisure and holidays with filial duty towards their parents). However, there is no similar contribution to the understanding of G0 visits in the migrants' country of destination.

In addition, previous studies were usually related to specific contexts and case studies. In general, they focus on the dyadic composition of one country of origin and one host country (that do not include Switzerland). Amongst the G0 populations already investigated are those moving from China to Australia (Da 2003), from Romania to Canada (Nedelcu 2007, 2009) or from Peru to Spain (Horn 2017). Sometimes, these studies simultaneously look at more than one country of origin, for example from China and Bangladesh to the UK and, in so doing show up the differences between grandparenting in the two communities (Lie 2010). Moreover, they focus on grandparents' mobilities from non-occidental to developed countries. As a result, they do not allow an understanding of how conditions related to the countries of origin can influence and enable different types of visits and different ways of grandparenting in copresence. Nevertheless, as transnational family scholarship suggests, transnational care arrangements are shaped by different resources at micro/individual, meso/relational and macro/institutional levels (Kilkey and Merla 2014). On this latter institutional level, these authors point towards the particular role of the specific migration regime of each country and, within this and *inter alia*, to the rights of entry and residence of migrants and members of their families. Some studies on G0 grandparenting emphasize in particular the importance of v*isa application procedures* (Horn 2017; Vullnetari and King 2008), as well as ascendant family reunification policies (Nedelcu 2007), that regulate, by facilitating or impeding, the international mobility of migrants' parents. This suggests that variation in grandparenting patterns could be better understood by taking into account migration policy as a structuring factor.

In light of the previous observations, this paper aims at filling the gaps highlighted above. It offers an overall view of the diversity of G0 visits in their migrant children's households and related grandparenting practices and meanings. Moreover, it allows a comprehensive understanding of these G0-A in the Swiss case, which is heuristically interesting with regard to its specific migration regime that discriminates entry and residence in the country between EU and non-EU nationals.

11.3 Swiss Context, Fieldwork and Methodological Considerations

11.3.1 Swiss Migratory Regime and Target Population of the Study

In Switzerland, according to the Federal Statistical Office (OFS 2015), 25% of grandparents (most often grandmothers) look after one or more of their grandchildren aged from 0 to 12 years old on a regular basis. At the same time, Höpflinger et al. (2006) showed that 37.3% of teenagers in Switzerland have their grandparents living abroad, which suggest that migrant families are disadvantaged from being able to benefit from the informal support provided by grandparents. Schlanser

(2011) who pointed out that migrant families use more intensively formal childcare than Swiss families corroborates this observation. These findings pose the question of G0 grandparenting in Switzerland as a case in point to explore under which conditions migrant families can mobilize informal support transnationally, and how they combine it (or not) with local informal and formal childcare.

In addition, one should consider the specific migration landscape shaped by Swiss migratory policy and its evolution in the last decades. As a result of successive migration waves and the transformation of the Swiss immigration regime that has taken place over time, a third of the Swiss population comes from a migration background (Piguet 2013). Moreover, the migrant population is for two thirds represented by EU-nationals, while one third comes from non-EU countries, the so-called "third countries" within the immigration law. This reality is the reflection of a 'two-circle' migration policy, in which EU-migrants' mobility is regulated by the Free Circulation Agreement, while non-EU migrants are subject to the restrictions of Federal Immigration Law. In particular, that means that G0 grandparents' mobility is conditioned by their belonging to one of these two categories. EU-nationals can freely move, enter and sojourn for 3 months, as well as establish as permanent residents (under certain economic conditions). On the other hand, non-EU nationals are, with a few exceptions, subject to entry visas and limited stays and the possibility of family reunification is for them dramatically difficult.

In this context, the target population of our study consists of migrant families in Switzerland with one or more children in preschool age whose G0 grandparents come and live temporarily in their households to provide on-hand childcare. Reflecting the 'two-circle' migration policy, we have distinguished two groups of migrants originating from EU and non-EU-countries. The first group includes Germany, France and Italy (as bordering countries), Portugal (Southern Europe) and Romania (recently adhered country to the EU). The other group concerns North-Africa (Algeria and Morocco) and Brazil. In addition, we have also considered a maximal differentiation within family forms themselves, including mixed families and single parent families.

11.3.2 Methodology

By adopting a comprehensive qualitative approach, we have conducted semi-structured interviews with the migrant adult and, when possible with his/her G0 parent, i.e. *the related mobile senior*. From 62 individual interviews, 40 were conducted with migrants (23 from EU and 17 from non-EU countries) and 22 with the G0 mobile parent (14 EU and 8 non-EU countries). The lower number of interviews with the senior generation is due to the difficulty of coordinating interview timing with the scarce and short sojourns of some G0 grandparents. The interviews were led between February 2016 and August 2017 by native speaker research assistants in French, Portuguese, German, Italian and Arabic, mostly in urban areas in the cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, Vaud, Zurich and Ticino.

With regard to our respondents' social profiles, the migrants are mostly women (32/40). On average, they are in their thirties (between 28 and 42 years old) and have 1 to 5 children aged between a few months to 18 years old. While the EU and Brazilian migrant women are all established in the labor market (with jobs as varied as shopkeeper, lawyer, opera singer, physician, nurse or academic), the North-African ones are mostly stay-at-home mothers (even though they acquired higher education degrees prior to their arrival in Switzerland).[1] The interviewed G0 grandparents are also mostly women, and with some rare exceptions grandfathers who plays a G0 role. The G0 grandmothers are between 52 to 73 years old. They are out of the labor market, as retirees after a more or less long working life or as stay-at-home mothers with adult children away from home. Apart from those living in Switzerland, they often have other grandchildren in their home country (from 1 to 8). Sometimes, they also have children and grandchildren scattered around the world, and play a G0 role for them as well. Not surprisingly, G0 childcare follows a mother-daughter pattern, women's mothers being more involved in this kind of solidarity.

11.4 G0 Childcare Arrangements as Transnational Grandparenting Patterns in Migrant Families

In order to observe the variations of transnational G0 grandparenting patterns, we define the notion of *G0 care arrangement* with regard to (1) the time-related organization of the G0 grandparents' visits in Switzerland (frequency, length and triggering family life-cycle events); and (2) the care provided during these visits and the intrinsic substance of grandparenting in such copresence situations.

On this basis, we have put in evidence four types of G0-A:

1. Family support in childbirth circumstances, with two variants: *Mothering the mother* and *Celebrating the birth of a child*
2. Troubleshooting in temporary need for childcare, with two variants: *Urgency Troubleshooting* and *Planned Troubleshooting*;
3. Full and permanent childcare and family support, where G0 grandmothers act as *Mother's substitutes at home*;
4. Intergenerational sharing and transmission, where the main purpose of the G0 visits is *Doing, enjoying and being together*

These G0-A types can appear when several minimum conditions are met. On the migrants' side, a need for childcare help and the wish to welcome their parents to stay in their home for this purpose. On the G0 grandparents' side, the capacity and will to move and to care. These conditions can be impeded by different factors, of an administrative, relational or individual nature, which generate a kind of *deprivation G0-A* representing non-care situations. Although one would imagine such situations must happen frequently we will not take them into account in this paper.

[1] This situation occurs for several reasons: diploma and qualifications recognition, childbirth series, lack of language skills and/or Islamic foulard.

11.4.1 Family Support in Childbirth Circumstances

Childbirths are special events for which G0 grandparents come to Switzerland. But, according to the primary meaning that families give to this mobilization, we observe two variants in this G0-A: *Mothering the mother* and *Celebrating the birth of a child.*

Mothers (and sometimes mothers-in-law) of migrant women arrive shortly before or, most often, just after delivery to give support during the 4–8 weeks of the perinatal period. Often, a first childbirth is the trigger event for G0 grandmothers' mobility and then this type of G0-A is repeated at (almost all) following childbirths. In such G0-A which we have called *Mothering the mother*, migrant women are the recipients of special kindness and care. First, their G0 mothers pay particular attention to diet and cook traditional dishes culturally conceived to improve strength and favor breast-feeding. Then, they will also take on domestic chores to preserve their daughters from suffering from inevitable fatigue and sleep-deprivation after giving birth. Finally, they care for the grandchildren in different ways, by providing practical advice and effective hands-on care for the newborn and looking after the eldest children. The case of Samia, an Algerian woman, is a typical example:

> *My parents arrived five weeks before delivery and returned three weeks after. […] My mother looked after the eldest during the three days I was at the hospital. And when I returned home, she did everything. I simply had to take care of my baby.[…] I could rest, I could sleep whenever I felt tired… without having to cook and take care of my older children. My mother got them ready for school and my father accompanied them each morning. […] Both managed everything. They knew what they had to do and just did it. […] I didn't have to worry about the others; I just had to care for myself and my baby. At the hospital, I was offered daily homecare, I said 'no, I don't need it; I have my mother at home'. […] It was the same when I gave birth to my two older sons in Algeria, when I was at my parents' home for forty days. […] Here too, I needed at least my mother with me, and she was here!* (Samia, Algerian woman, 34 y.o., married, 3 children, restaurant co-manager)

Brazilian women have reported quite similar cultural habits and practices, as in the case of one G0 grandmother who describes her presence at her daughter's side as a self-evident fact an expression of 'Brazilian family morality'. She also depicts this moment of her own transition to grand-motherhood as full of unmissable emotion and happiness:

> *When my daughter gave birth to her first child, it was clear to me that I should offer my help. I was very excited at the idea of seeing my first granddaughter, and I knew that my presence would bring a lot of comfort to my daughter. When one is about to have a first child, a Brazilian mother – who is traditionally very close (to her daughter) – will be present. When my daughter went into hospital, I waited in front of the door of the delivery room; and I was able to see my granddaughter a few minutes after she was born. It was an incredible feeling and I am sure that it was important for my daughter too to know that I was there and ready to help.* (Elvina, Brazilian grandmother, 63 y.o., divorced, 4 children and 9 grandchildren, dietician)

In contrast with this G0 copresence and care pattern, European G0 parents come to Switzerland not to support or take care of their daughter and grandchildren but *only* to get to know the newborn, congratulate the parents and *celebrate the birth of the child* together. In this case, family reunion comes later, one to several weeks after childbirth and lasts for only 1 or 2 days. In these cases, migrant women told us

that, when they gave birth, they didn't need nor wish to be 'mothered' by their mothers. Managing the first days of a newborn's arrival is a 'husband and wife matter' and these women are quite satisfied by their husband's presence at their side and the support provided by formal postpartum/postnatal follow-up services.

In Western societies, and now almost everywhere in the world, the medicalization of birth has increasingly secured the process of bringing a child into the world: hospitals and their professional staff organize and provide varied and effective prenatal, delivery and postnatal care and services (van Teijlingen et al. 2004). But, because some families look at childbirth as being a moment of particular individual and family vulnerability, *mothering the mother* becomes a sort of symbolic survival imperative. More generally, this is related to the persistence of traditional practices and beliefs alongside the formal medical system in several societies throughout the world (for a systematic review, see Dennis et al. 2007). Thus, interviewed North African and Brazilian families, while subscribing to the medicalized model of childbirth and services on offer, are also keen to benefit from certain traditional practices derived from their culture of origin. By mixing the two, they fit more into a logic of "both-and" solutions than into "either-or" choices (Falicov 2011).

In the case of EU families, migrant women do not want to be "invaded" by *others* during these first moments when they form or expand their own nuclear family. They consider this time to be part of their couple's intimacy. For all that, they welcome the short visit of G0 parents which represents celebrating the birth of the child and participate in what Baldassar (2008) called *ritual visits*, which are motivated by essential life-cycle events.

11.4.2 Troubleshooting in Occasional Need of Childcare

When migrant women are professionally active and need to reconcile work and family life, they usually build a complex childcare 'jigsaw' (Wheelock and Jones 2002) that combines *formal childcare* (day nursery, kindergarden, school and afterschool, etc.) and *informal childcare* (alternating mother and father shifts, a nanny, members of the local social network, such as a friend or a neighbor). The *Troubleshooting G0-A* occurs when this type of complex jigsaw comes up against 'extraordinary' situations engendering childcare needs where migrant mothers are unable to take on their part in the childcare routine. Two different circumstances require this type of G0-A: an emergency or pre-planned situations of childcare needs.

An *urgency Troubleshooting G0-A* takes place when a child suddenly falls ill and has to stay at home under the supervision and benevolence of an adult. In fact, the unexpected illness of a child challenges a well-run childcare routine. Our respondents refer to "chaos moments that really put them to the test". A typical situation for this kind of G0-A is described by a Moroccan mother of two children. Her German father-in-law living in Frankfort comes to the rescue each time she and her husband cannot find any other childcare solution:

My father-in-law always told me 'if you need me for anything, just tell me. If I can, I'll take the first train and I'll come'. And he really does do it. […] For instance, when I returned to work, on the very first day, my two daughters got sick and I didn't want tell my boss 'I cannot come, my kids are ill.' […] So I called him, and next morning we met directly in pediatrics. It was such a stressful situation, but luckily, he came. […] It was such a relief for me; it was just enormous, because it was my very first week at work. (Sarah, Moroccan woman, 38 y.o., married, 2 children, librarian)

Scheduled troubleshooting G0-A concerns two particular situations. First, childcare during school holidays, when formal institutions are closed and parents are still at work. In these situations, the recourse to grandparents as *substitute childcarers* is observed in many families. As related by Maria, a Brazilian mother of two children, the G0 grandmother was completely integrated in a complex childcare organizational system, coming every summer from Brazil to Switzerland:

When the kids were very little, I had a childminder who cared for them during the day when I was at work. At two years old, they went to the kindergarten. With the youngest, I used to work two days per week when he was at the crèche; for the rest, with my husband, we took alternative days off to stay with him. In addition, during the holidays my mother came, each summer, until my son was seven years old. (Maria, Brazilian woman, 40 y.o., married, 2 children, salesperson)

Second, *planned troubleshooting G0-A* is usually observed when adult migrants have to take on an additional-work charge. In this case, they ask G0 parents for help with their ordinary childcare tasks (taking children to school, cooking for them, putting them to bed, etc.). The case of Agathe, a French working single mother of two children 2 and 4 years old, is typical of this form of planned G0-A. She strives to reconcile childcare, part time work as well as additional professional training, which takes place every 2 months for a whole week. During these training weeks, her parents' contribution is priceless:

Now, for instance, I know the weeks when I need them next year. […] We schedule together these weeks a long time in advance, as my sisters also have their needs and their dates. My parents have a family calendar with all this, and for them it is almost entrepreneurial management. (Agathe, French woman, 31 y.o., in process of divorce, 2 children, psychologist)

Agathe's parents explain that, since she is divorcing, their daughter has priority within their distribution of time and care over other family obligations and needs. They argue that their presence is a source of emotional stability for their granddaughters and justify their support as a moral and practical imperative that "the other three children understand, accepting that we are less available for them".

In general, these two expressions of *troubleshooting G0-A* fill in the gaps in the complex organization of routine childcare. In fact, G0 grandparents operate as the missing link in this organization. They represent a social backup system that is put into action in order to overcome temporary difficulties encountered by their daughters (and sometimes daughters-in-law) in the work-family balance. In such cases, they are not ordinary, occasional baby-sitters. They become fully involved in family life, worrying about daily problems and doing other everyday tasks such as preparing meals for the whole family, ironing or mowing the lawn. Likewise, the activities they share with their grandchildren are totally motivated by their love for them, their

natural concern for their family's well-being and their desire to build or strengthen intergenerational bonds. In this sense, G0 parents act as occasional substitute parents at home.

Obviously, *urgency troubleshooting G0-A* involve mostly grandparents living in EU bordering countries, especially as they benefit from both EU free circulation agreements and relative geographical proximity to their children. *Scheduled G0-A* are also observed within Brazilian transnational families, with regard to the organization of school holiday childcare. *A contrario,* North-African migrant families do not use this kind of G0-A, mostly because migrant women are stay-at-home mothers, but also with regard to draconian visa requirements which render G0 mobilization impossible in emergency situations.

11.4.3 Full and Permanent Childcare and Family Support

In this third type of G0-A, G0 grandmothers cohabite long term in Switzerland with their descendant migrants, either continuously or intermittently; and they also take care of all childcare and domestic tasks within the household. This is the case of two families of Romanian migrant women, mothers of three and four young children who are equally devoted to the advancement of their professional careers.

The first example involves a G0 Romanian grandmother who first lived in Switzerland for 10 years as an undocumented late-in-life migrant, working as an informal caregiver to an old lady. When the latter died in 2011, she planned to return in Romania, but as her migrant daughter got pregnant, they both decided to prolong her stay in Switzerland. As her first grandson was born prematurely, her contribution was even more important through the assistance she gave the migrant couple with specific healthcare that was needed during the first months. Afterwards, with the subsequent births of her second and third grandchildren, she became a permanent member of the migrant family. In this three-generation household, there are three adults – instead of two – co-managing and sharing daily family work. This situation is possible because each one finds his/her groove, including the G0 grandmother:

> *Now I am in great shape, because my little treasures, my grandchildren give me all I need. When my daughters were little, I didn't really have time to see them growing up. But now, I am totally happy with my grandchildren* (Victoria, Romanian grandmother, 59 y.o., divorced, 2 children and 5 grandchildren, retired worker)

The reciprocal trust and the G0 benevolence contributed to the migrant couple's wellbeing, as the G0 grandmother's help allowed them to spend time without the children. This situation benefitted her daughter's professional career, as she was able to pursue it without having to give it up in spite of three successive childbirths. With the exception of her maternity leaves, she always worked full-time or studied to make progress in her professional career.

> *My mother's support is important with regard to the kids, my couple, my education and my career […] For example, this year will be a decisive one as I am preparing for the final*

exams for the federal diploma in Human Resources. Next Thursday I'll have an exam. So this evening, I'll go home, I'll eat, take my course notes and go to the library until 10 p.m. Thanks to my mother I can focus on and pass this exam and train. Without her, I couldn't do this. (Elena, Romanian woman, 35 y.o., married, 3 children, human resources officer)

A second situation is that of Adriana, mother of four kids, who arrived in Switzerland from Romania in 2001 as a student. She has pursued a career in academia as a researcher. In 2009, after the birth of her second child, at the end of her 4-months maternity leave, she asked her mother to help. The G0 grandmother took steps to stay repeatedly in Switzerland, for almost 2 years. In 2012, after a third childbirth, Adriana had not been able to re-enter immediately the academic field and she took time to care for her children. Two years later, she obtained a research grant to finish research for her PhD and she requested once more her G0 mother's help. A new care arrangement was then established: the G0 travels back-and-forth several times a year, and in between one of her trusted friends replaces her as a childcarer and a housekeeper:

For *instance, in 2015, my mother came for one month in January, then three months between April and June and again in November for another three months. Then, before the delivery of my fourth child, the cousin of my father came for a couple of months, and just now, my mother has been here for almost a month. When she will go back, it will be a friend or a good neighbor who will come to replace her. […] My mother is the one who looks around within her friends; she makes some calls to see who is available* (Adriana, Romanian woman, 38 y.o., married, 4 children, academic career)

Fully committed to offer practical and emotional support to her descendants in Switzerland, Adriana's G0 mother, now aged 63, decided to take early retirement so as to be free to help. At the same time, with the ingenious organization of a childcarer rotation that mobilizes her close social network in Romania, she maintains a certain freedom of movement and periodically returns to her home country.

These two situations show that the quasi-permanent co-presence of G0 grandmothers and their full involvement in childcare, child-rearing and domestic work in the migrant family household represents above all else an essential support for their daughters, in their ambition to reconcile large families and their progression in their professional careers. Clearly, G0 mothers (and their occasional substitutes) free their daughters from the constraints that, most of the time, push mothers of young children to give up being fully invested in a professional career. Given the gender inequalities in this area, notably what is called the glass ceiling, one can say that these G0 are real *career saviors* for their daughters. In addition, these G0 grandmothers say they are now "living for their grandchildren". Thus, they uncompromisingly fulfill the specific role of grandmother at home – a sort of *mother's substitute* – which becomes their main reason to be.

Only these two Romanian transnational families were concerned by this type of G0 grandparenting. Although this does not mean that other nationalities are excluded from it, there are several conditions favouring such arrangements: the free circulation of Romanian nationals within the EU; the availability and benevolence of G0 parents to help their daughters in the long run; their ability to accept the consequences of this 'on the move' lifestyle, including a renegotiation of relationships

with their *left behind* life; as well as the couple's willingness to accept living together in a three-generation household.

11.4.4 Intergenerational Sharing and Transmission

Each time that G0 grandparents are able to travel and their migrant children can welcome them, three generations live together more or less repeatedly during the year, in the same household, for periods varying from a few days to several weeks. This type of physical proximity can occur beyond any practical need for childcare, as a response to a more general wish to see loved ones that Baldassar (2007, 2008) already pointed as a 'basic' need of transnational families.

When she describes such situations, Anna, a German mother of three small children, underlines that this kind of copresence is sought both by her parents and parents-in-law (living in Germany) as a privileged occasion to be together, do things and enjoy time spent with their grandchildren:

> *My parents maybe come once a year and stay for two or three days […] they don't come for childcare. […] When they come, it is joy and entertainment. My mother is really that kind of joyful grandmother. She sits next to my daughter and they do craft activities together; or she tells her stories […] It is the same with my mother-in-law. She comes more often, maybe once per month. […] It is simply about playing with the kids, having a good time and building a meaningful relationship. This is such an important thing! Each grandparent does and teaches them what she knows best. […]I am happy that my children can have this relationship with their grandparents.* (Anna, German woman, 32 y.o., married, 3 children, gynaecologist)

According to several migrant respondents, grandchildren also appreciate these situations because of a more indulgent approach adopted by grandparents in their interactions, which contrast with normative education patterns that characterize children-parent relationships.

Marie, a French G0 mother living about 700 km away from her daughter, relates how she and her husband take advantage of each opportunity to visit and spend time with their two grandchildren aged 8 and 5 years old. When describing the circumstances of their last stay in Switzerland, she insists on the activities and the mutual pleasure they all share:

> *Usually we find a good excuse to come […] As we are far away and the kids have grown up, we are very happy to take a charter and come for 3-4 days. […] When we are here, the children are full of joy to walk to school in the morning with grandpa and grandma. […] Instead of eating at the canteen, they come and have lunch at home, grandma cooks. We supervise our eldest granddaughter's homework before she goes out to play. […] And if we have half a day at our disposal, we go to the lake side and we have a picnic. […] But we are not boasting about doing something for our grandchildren, it is mutual; we receive even more than we give. Emotionally, we give our all. […] We feel the pleasure of sharing and passing on things that we experienced and appreciated, with wisdom, when we can.* (Marie, French grandmother, married, 70 y.o., 4 children and 5 grandchildren, retired teacher)

The activities shared by G0 grandparents with their grandchildren also represent opportunities to transmit key symbolic features of their culture of origin (language, typical meals, tales, etc.), as well as experiences and skills central to the development of younger family members, and more widely to their transnational socialization.

This type of G0-A reflects the need of transnational families to reproduce, through temporary physical co-presence, *a sense of intergenerational closeness*. These copresence opportunities enable or reinforce the processes of family relationship building, by developing and/or revivifying intergenerational emotional attachments. Thus, they contribute to the well-being of all family members, everyone finding his or her groove.

One can notice that *intergenerational sharing and transmission G0-A* are organized wherever the country of origin is. Nevertheless, G0 grandparents living in bordering EU-countries come several times a year for short visits of no more than 1 week; while G0 Brazilian and North-African grandparents come once a year or less, but stay longer, for a few weeks to a couple of months. Travel costs and visa constraints dealt with by the latter are the reasons for these differences, and push non-EU G0 grandparents to organize their stays to also include leisure and holiday time in Switzerland. An intermediate situation is encountered in the case of Portuguese G0 grandparents. Basically return migrants, they can come more than once a year and for longer periods, combining intergenerational sharing needs with special events (such as birthdays or Christmas) celebrated within the family.

11.5 Conclusive Remarks

The four G0 grandparenting patterns revealed through the analysis of the related G0-A reflect the high diversity of care organization in transnational families that involve grandparents' contributions during their visits to Switzerland. These visits represent privileged occasions to be together and (re)weave family ties, while expressing family affection and intergenerational solidarity. They illustrate in concrete terms how three generations of relatives are 'doing family' transnationally and, more generally, how G0 grandparents participate in the fabric of transnational spaces (Faist 2000). At the same time, by meeting the specific needs of the transnational family, each type of G0-A contributes in particular ways to the wellbeing of family members. Precisely, by providing providential support in childbirth circumstances; helping in the work-family balance; encouraging mothers' professional career ambitions; and developing intergenerational relationships and emotional attachments.

These G0 transnational grandparenting patterns, although clearly differentiated, are interlinked. On the one hand, overlapping situations were observed, as in particular in the case of *intergenerational sharing and transmission G0-A* which appears as common to all the studied migrant families and can occur as a complement to all the other types of G0-A. On the other hand, within the same family,

transnational grandparenting can take different G0-A forms over time, in line with migrant family events and lifecycles. For example, as the grandchildren get older, the G0-A scheduled during the school holidays become scarce, while the grandchildren often join their grandparents in the country of origin. This allows us to argue that G0 transnational grandparenting is a dynamic process that evolves within the course of family life transformations.

In addition, this paper highlights an uncontested effect of migration policy on G0 transnational grandparenting by showing that the G0 visits vary notably according to circulation facilities between the grandparents' home country and Switzerland. In particular, we have noticed that G0-A *Urgency troubleshooting* is not an option for North-African families because of the impossibility of obtaining a visa within a short delay. In fact, in these families, G0 grandparents make the effort required to get a visa when it is worthwhile, in particular when migrant daughters give birth and their presence represents a moral obligation.

Nevertheless, we observed that other factors intervene in shaping G0-A diversity. For example, G0-A differentiation between *Mothering the mother* and *Celebrating the birth of a child* appears clearly related to cultural differences between familistic (Nord-African and Brazilian) versus individualistic values (European). Likewise, the frequency of visits by Brazilian G0 is distinctly limited by their poor financial resources.

As a conclusive remark, we argue that to understand more profoundly the observed differences, further investigation should give greater attention to the diversity and the possible multiple intersections of structural (for instance, cultural accounts), relational (such as quality of relationships between G0 and their adult children or the availability of social networks), and individual factors (such as G0 grandparents' health or economic resources) to build on a multi-layered analytical framework.

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Chapter 12
Afterword: Gender Practices in Transnational Families

Viorela Ducu

12.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter, we offer a short synthesis highlighting the changes that have emerged in transnational family research in the course of the last two decades of study within the field. We notice that, through methodological and conceptual repositioning, a gendered perspective has become a priority. After identifying key elements introduced in the second decade of research on transnational families, in this chapter, we briefly discuss research on Romanian transnational families in order to illustrate how these changes in perspective are reflected within these studies, offering specific examples from my research. Then, we illustrate the way in which the chapters published in this volume are connected to the latest trends in the field.

12.2 Beginnings of Transnational Family Research

The 1990s, under the influence of developments in feminist and gender studies, represented a reference point within research addressing the migration of persons due to the fact that women became a primary object of study as drivers of global movements within their own families, as opposed to simply being companions of men (Petraza- Bailey 1991; Morokvasik 1984, 2004, 2007; Sassen 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2000; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Tolstokorova 2008). We emphasize the fact that, while women had been active agents within global population movements before the 1990s, research did not take them into account as subjects deserving special attention. Instead, the conclusions obtained in the course of research that

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focused on men involved in the process of migration were automatically applied to them. Although the prompt to make women visible within migration studies came from the wish for gender balance, some of the first concepts developed in this period concerned **transnational motherhood** (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997), which focused on the relationship between migrant mothers and their children left at home. This concept brought into the spotlight the burden that departed mothers carried while fulfilling their role as transnational mothers, given that, although they were far away, they were still considered as bearing a primary responsibility towards their children at home, even if, in many cases, the children's fathers stayed in the home country with them. Since then and up to the present, transnational motherhood (Erel 2002; Ryan 2007; Fresnoza-Flot 2009; Madianou and Miller 2012; Parreñas 2001; Ducu 2013) has remained one of the most sensitive research fields, offering insights into these women's sacrifice and their pain, as well as their empowerment through the fulfilment of their double role as active migrants and transnational mothers.

Concurrently with the launch of research addressing transnational motherhood, the concept of **transnational families** was also developed (Herrera Lima 2001; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002), generally comprising all types of families whose members manage – through various strategies – to live as a family, even if they are separated by physical distance, but also, very importantly, by national borders, which in turn differentiate the departed members into various categories of relationships with the home country (e.g., free movers, economic migrants, illegal migrants and refugees), deeply influencing their relationships with family members at home as well.

12.3 The Second Decade: Changes in Approach

Almost two decades of transnational family research have especially focused on the analysis of transnational relationships among members of the nuclear family. One line of scholarship has turned its attention to migrant parents and children left at home in the country of departure and involved research topics such as transnational motherhood (Parreñas 2001; Dreby 2007), transnational parenting (Dreby 2006; Moran-Taylor 2008) and transnational fatherhood (Pribilsky 2004; Tolstokorova 2016; Palenga-Möllenbeck and Lutz 2016). Meanwhile, other studies have attended to adult migrant children and elderly parents left at home (Baldassar et al. 2007; Hărăguș and Ducu Telegdi-Csetri 2018).

12.3.1 New Actors and Co-Presence

From the start, few studies on transnational families have included as subjects children who migrate alongside their parents (Orellana et al. 2001). The appeal made by Mazzucato and Schans in 2011 to consider children as active agents in the context

of transnational family research had the same effect as those calling for a greater visibility of women as active agents of migration at the beginning of the 1990s. In highlighting the increased importance of the presence of children in this domain during the second decade of transnational family research, a number of journal special issue editions has gained value in reference terms (Mazzucato and Schans 2011; White et al. 2011; Gardner 2012; Carling et al. 2012), along with some edited volumes (Spyrou and Christou 2014; Nagasaka and Fresnoza-Flot 2015; Seeberg and Gozdziak 2016).

Another study of reference, reflecting the new trends in transnational family research of the last decade, is the meta-analysis on this body of research published in 2014 by Sørensen and Vammen. The authors used to primarily consider migrant adults as having an active role within these families as main subjects during the first decade, while treating children and the elderly as secondary subjects with a passive role, as dependent family members. Moreover, another characteristic approach of the first decade of transnational family research was the opposing binaries approach, such as women versus men, adults versus children, stayers versus leavers, and staying connected versus breaking relations. For overcoming such dualities within research, the aforementioned authors have recommended us to look at these families as living in a permanent state of co-presence. Studies from the last decade have taken a turn towards children as active members, as shown above, while also analysing the elderly as active agents within transnational families (Hărăguș and Ducu Telegdi-Csetri 2018; Ducu 2018).

12.3.2 Rethinking Care Within Transnational Families

With the same logic of division into decades of transnational family research, one could also emphasize that the very concept of care, still viewed as a key element in the analysis of relationships within these families, has undergone a paradigmatic change when the passage from a binary logic to one of co-presence happened: thus, we depart from the concept of the care chain (Hochschild 2000; Basa et al. 2011), which clearly presupposes a separation between those who have departed and those who remain at home: the migrant women taking over care tasks from women in the destination country, women at home taking over the task of caring for dependent family members at home; in other words, women from poorer countries transfer services to women in richer countries unidirectionally. This concept of care was the central pillar of transnational family research during the first decade (Raijman et al. 2003; Piperno 2007; Bernhard et al. 2009); however, during the second decade, through the introduction of the reference concept of the circulation of care (Baldassar and Merla 2013), the co-relation of care between leavers and stayers has been highlighted.

12.4 New Conceptual and Methodological Approaches

12.4.1 Family Practices and Transnational Families

In order to theorize this co-presence among departed and remaining transnational family members, a heuristically fertile approach involves the notion of *doing family*, as developed and refined by David Morgan (2011a, b). Morgan (2011a) shows how such practices unfold, especially in the case of mutual visits of these transnational families, occasions that sometime become an opportunity for some family members belonging to the same family to meet for the first time – as in the case of some children from these families. Nedelcu and Wyss have shown, in their 2016 research, how this concept of family practices ensures virtual co-presence with the help of ICT. Through the practices of doing family, transnational family members create, negotiate and permanently reaffirm their belonging to the family (Kilkey and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2016; Telegdi-Csetri and Ducu 2016, 2018), especially since, as with many other non-mainstream types of family (such as lone-parent families or lesbian and gay families), transnational families frequently find themselves questioned and hence often wish to display family (Finch 2007, 2011; Almack 2008; Ducu 2014, 2018). A growing amount of research on such families, with members on the move (see the volume edited by Kilkey and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2016, and the Pivot monographs by Ralph 2015 and Ducu 2018) are centred on the concept of *doing family*.

12.4.2 Methodological Changes

At the end of the first decade, Mazzucato and Schans (2011) recommended new developments in the methodological approach to this field, as well as developing mixed quantitative and qualitative approaches in cross-country comparisons, which should supplement small-scale research restricted to national or bi-national settings, and "the inclusion of units that are larger than the nuclear family [so as to] study a matched sample of people at *the same time*" (p. 710). When talking about transnational families, the use of the life course perspective (Kilkey and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2016; Christensen 2017) is just as important. In recent methodological designs, researchers have tended to include, with growing frequency, the perspective of people we call highly skilled migrants, lifestyle migrants and other respondents, such as experts in situations that transnational family members find themselves in. Enlarging these methodological frameworks has made possible an intense development in the field during the last decade.

12.5 Gender and Mobility: New Approaches to the Analysis of Families on the Move

These changes, during the second decade, overcame unidirectional research by unfolding from the perspective of women or men and using a gendered approach in migration studies (Sherif Trask 2010; Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001; Kofman et al. 2011; Schmalzbauer 2011; Geisen and Parreñas 2013; Yeoh and Ramdas 2014; Schneebaum et al. 2015; Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017; Ala-Mantila and Fleischmann 2017; Marchetti and Salih 2017). Such a focus on gender practices within transnational families brings new ways in which to more deeply understand events involving their members. The gendered approach used as a main or secondary objective of transnational family studies becomes expedient in such studies, especially since, over the years, centring research on the concept of care has allowed the voices of women from these families to be more often heard than those of men.

The tendency is towards uniting what appear to be finely differentiated fields, namely, transnational family studies (Schmalzbauer 2004, 2005, 2008; Zontini 2004, 2010; Skrbiš 2008) and family migration studies (Kofman 2004; Bailey and Boyle 2004; Kilkey 2017). This is a significant challenge and presupposes a new positioning towards the perspectives of analysis. The most straightforward, albeit forced, differentiation between the two would be that the first analyses these families from the perspective of relationships among migrant and non-migrant family members, while the second focuses on the ways of living among migrant family members in the destination countries. On closer analysis, however, these studies are interwoven since transnational relations with family members at home are strongly dependent on the way of life of migrants: the geopolitical context they live in, their legal status, the socio-economic category they belong to and, in particular, the perspective they have on the duration of dwelling in the destination country/ies, hence their self-perception in what concerns their own mobility.

The new ways of approaching transnational families offer the possibility to introduce new actors as subjects to the field: for example, couples, as a unit of study, who depart together to live in another country, or who become a couple abroad, either from among members of the same nationality or different ones (Gaspar 2010, 2012; Sowa-Behtane 2010; Brahic 2013; Ducu and Hossu 2016; Zadkowska and Szlendak 2016; Fresnoza-Flot 2017; Ducu 2018), for the purpose of analysing the relationships between these couples and family members remaining in the home country.

Over the last decade, these elements have led researchers to confront, with increasing clarity, the conceptual challenge of relating to agents situated in the flux of global movements: migrants, immigrants/emigrants, free movers, expats, refugees etc. One of the tendencies is to avoid these conceptual debates and relate to these actors from the perspective of "mobile lives" (Elliott and Urry 2010; Baldassar 2016; Ducu 2018). An entire series of studies has shown that the bonding substance

of these families on the move is transnational communication, i.e., access to increasingly varied ITC options offering unforeseeable opportunities for 'doing family' (Madianou and Miller 2012; Madianou 2016a, b; Baldassar et al. 2016).

12.6 Discussion on Romanian Transnational Families

In what follows, we briefly build on the research on Romanian transnational families, in order to exemplify how the changes in the last decade are reflected in these studies.

A short synthesis of studies on Romanian transnational families will show us that the majority of studies focused, at first, on the phenomenon of departed parents and children left at home (Robila 2011; Ducu 2013, 2014; Bezzi 2013; Botezat and Pfeiffer 2014; Sănduleasa and Matei 2015; Popa 2016; Rentea and Rotărescu 2016), and then on children who migrated alongside their parents (Valtolina et al. 2013; Trias et al. 2013; Bratu 2015; Santero and Naldini 2017). We notice that these studies, centred on children, unfolded predominantly after 2011, after the appeal to bring children into the research on transnational families.

Another line of research analyses the impact of migration on the status of women, especially from the perspective of their empowerment (Davidovic 2009; Crisan 2012; Ducu 2013; Aştilean 2016). These studies cover large, general topics and rarely touch on more special themes of analysis, such as transnational communication (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016; Nedelcu 2017), approaches from the perspective of lodging type of these families (Iacob Larionescu 2016), the correlation of studies concerning trafficking in persons with those concerning transnational families (Hilario Pascoal and Schwartz 2016), the relationship on migrant adults and the elderly at home (Földes 2016; Hărăguș and Ducu Telegdi-Csetri 2018) or the return home of these families (Vlase 2013).

The author's research on transnational families started in the period 2007–2011, when the author carried out her PhD research, obviously on the topic of transnational motherhood. Within this study, in which other transnational family members have also participated, besides the mothers, one of the main conclusions was that other family members also become involved to compensate for the absence of mothers, especially since they wish to display themselves as functional families in a context where these families find themselves under pressure due to accusations made on behalf of Romanian public opinion for allegedly being problematic families. We notice that this research, being situated at the turn of the 2000s and 2010s, contains both the elements of the first decade of this century, i.e., transnational motherhood, and those of the emerging one, i.e., the inclusion of family members at home in the analysis, as well as the concept of displaying families (Finch 2007, 2011) as a key conceptual element in understanding the functioning of these families.

My recent book (Ducu 2018), based on the results of a research project that ran from October 2015 to November 2017, which the author managed, reflects several influences of the paradigm shifts within transnational family research. Firstly, data

were obtained through multisite research in several Romanian towns, as well as abroad (within the EU: UK, Belgium). Besides face-to-face interviews, we used data obtained in the course of virtual fieldwork: online interviews with subjects situated in various countries (US, Canada, Germany, UK, Egypt). We have analysed individual and couple interviews from both types of fieldwork (offline/online). In the UK, we carried out fieldwork within a low-skilled Romanian worker network, whereas, in Belgium, we interviewed high-skilled Romanians. By having various types of subjects (departed/staying/returned; high-skilled/low-skilled; destination country in the EU/not in the EU etc.), we succeeded in understanding the relationships within transnational families in diverse situations.

Second, we placed gender relations within these families at the centre of our analysis, which led to much more innovative results than would have been the case with simple bi-national fieldwork. For example, having both departed young couples and remaining elderly couples as units of analysis, we noticed that, on the one hand, migrant women are those responsible for transnational communication, even in bi-national couples, where the woman is not a Romanian citizen. On the other hand, back at home, by having to confront the challenge of technology, gender roles are overturned, with elderly men becoming responsible for transnational communication. Another example surfaces through the comparative analysis of the high-skilled versus low-skilled categories, or through that of mono-national versus bi-national couples. In the case of low-skilled women, we witnessed a de-skilling process, whereas high-skilled women maintained their social status, namely, in the case of childless couples. When children appeared, however, women from both categories lost their social status. Thus, in the case of low-skilled, mono-national or bi-national couples, we encountered the practice where women declared themselves to be lone mothers, although their partner was beside them, and chose not to marry in order to receive social welfare. In the case of high-skilled women, irrespective of their belonging to mono- or bi-national couples, women gave up their employee status in order to focus on child raising. The parent who was most responsible for their children's education was the mother, while the father intervened especially in nationally mixed couples in order to establish the child's citizenship and religion, and to teach them Romanian. Moreover, in the cases where the children had to be brought to Romania for educational purposes, in order to access a qualitatively superior educational system than what the family could afford abroad, the women were those who were expected to return alongside their children to the home country, even in the case of bi-national couples, if the mother was a Romanian; when the mother was not a Romanian citizen, both parents were expected to return.

In respect of *mobility*, irrespective of the social category, most of our participants who lived abroad lived temporarily suspended in the transnational: they were living in the destination country for an undefined amount of time, without a willingness to integrate (i.e., temporarily), and doing transnational family with members at home, not only for emotional reasons, but also with the intention of returning. At the same time, the relation with the destination community was kept as autonomous as possible, without establishing any form of integration (hence, suspension). If, for adults, a temporarily suspended existence in the transnational is easier to accom-

plish; for those born abroad and especially those who have already entered the educational system, it is much more difficult, and for them a return or *migration* to Romania becomes hard.

The low-skilled have developed a strategy of stealthy living, trying to minimize their visibility as much as possible, non-displaying themselves under the pressure of discrimination (interiorized in most cases), whereas the high-skilled display a strategy of living lavishly. Through our online interviews, we accessed persons who had overcome the state of transnational suspension and entered into a process of integration into the target country, up to the threshold of suspending transnational relations through moving elderly relatives abroad, thus accomplishing family reunification. It was interesting to see that, in these cases, one of the most visible effects that inhibited living transnationally was the cessation of efforts by parents to make their children learn Romanian. Of course, among the key concepts of this research was doing/displaying family.

12.7 Reflection on the New Perspectives in the Present Book

Each chapter in this book adds to the development of new trends within transnational family research. First, we witness children as new actors in transnational families, and as main subjects within the first part of the book. Second, parents – men and women alike - are understood through various understudied stances. We also see the elderly as transnational care recipients alongside children in the first part of the book (**Fan and Parreñas**), but also as active agents in the role of adult migrants' parents (**Hărăguș et al.; Wyss and Nedelcu**).

In Chap. 2, **Fresnoza-Flot** uses the concept of "mobile childhoods" to illustrate three situations in which young people in Filipino transnational families find themselves: stay-behind children of migrant parents, migrant children reunited with their parents in their receiving country, and children of 'mixed' couples. **Kovács** in Chap. 3 shows us what it means for Chinese children to grow up transnationally and how they are doing transnational family between China and Hungary. In order to illustrate her study, she utilizes the concept of "mobile childhoods" and links specific childcare-related phenomena with the process of integration for second-generation migrants. In Chap. 4, **Hilario Pascoal and Schwartz**, while taking into account the voices of experts and analysing the legislative implications, show us how children left behind may become parts of a group vulnerable to human trafficking. **Hossu**, in Chap. 5, approaches the way in which double (Moldovan/Romanian) citizenship offers young people from the Republic of Moldova a new way of relating to the future, but also how this hybrid identity reflects in doing family when family members remain in their country of origin. How gender relations remain strongly connected to paternalism within transnational families is illustrated by **Fan and**

Parreñas in their comparative study, in Chap. 6, especially through the remarkable degrees of mobility of departed adults. The dynamics of the masculinity of fathers left behind, emerging from their paternity practices, is presented to us by **Tolstokorova** in Chap. 7, where she analyses the situation in Ukraine, a country heavily affected by the migratory flux of women. The role played by ITCs in doing transnational families among Eastern European mothers in Italy is argued by **Monini**, in Chap. 8. **Melander** and **Shmulyar Gréen**, in Chap. 9, also follow the principles of the new paradigm and utilize the life course perspective, in order to analyse caregiving arrangements in the case of the transnational parenting trajectory. The results of a quantitative study carried out by **Hărăguș, Földes and Savu** are presented in Chap. 10, which analyses the relations of co-presence between elderly parents staying in the country of origin and migrant adult children, with an accent on the provision of support. **Wyss and Nedelcu** also focusing on the way in which elderly parents, this time on the move, become active in the relation between solidarity and their adult migrant children in the course of their comparative study, the results of which are presented in Chap. 11.

Besides methodological diversity, in the form of multiple research result analyses (**Flresnoza-Flot; Fan and Parreñas; Tolstokorova**), comparative studies (**Wyss and Nedelcu**), expert perspectives (**Hilario Pascoal and Schwartz**), binational studies (**Hossu**), in-depth ethnography (**Kovács; Monini**), the life course method (**Melander and Shmulyar Gréen**) and quantitative approaches (**Hărăguș et al.**), we also observe that terms such as gender, practices and mobility are central to these approaches.

12.8 Final Remarks

This concluding essay has sought to provide a short review of the developments within the field of transnational family research, highlighting key elements of research during the second decade: gender, co-presence illustrated through family practices, and mobility. Through the discussion on the research on Romanian transnational families, during which we paused at the results in my recent book (Ducu 2018), we tried to show how new methodological and theoretical challenges in the field have led to new ways of understanding what doing/displaying transnational families means.

The aim of this essay's argument was to show how each chapter within this book contributes to developing research within the field.

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