The Italian-Ukrainian Care Chain: Transnational Welfare, Transnational Families and Care Drain

Iryna Korytska, 15 years-old ("Children of Emigrants…" 2008:67)

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SIMT21, Master's Thesis, 30 credits

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Abstract

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The thesis is devoted to the analysis of the care chain between Italy and Ukraine, which is a highly feminised and multi-sided phenomenon. The focus is kept on such aspects as organisation of transnational welfare, transnational families and care drain in Ukraine. Pushed by the unstable socio-economic situation and necessity in Ukraine, Ukrainian women perform carework and domestic work in Italy and in this way meet the 'care deficit' and satisfy welfare needs of the Italian state, families and individuals, especially elderly. However, a large-scale female emigration from Ukraine results in the ('broken') transnational families, the members of which are located in two nation-states, which require adaptation to the new practices and experiences of the transnational motherhood and childhood. Additionally, care drain has its dramatic consequences for the Ukrainian society, especially in a long-term prospective.

Key words: Ukraine, Italy, global care chain, transnational welfare, transnational families, care drain

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I. Introduction

*It has been said that something as small as the flutter
of the butterfly's wing can ultimately cause a typhoon
halfway around the world. ~ Chaos theory[1]*

The impact of globalisation is significant not only for the economy and politics of countries around the world, there are many important changes in the spheres considered to be private, like family, relationships, emotions, care, love, parenthood/childhood etc. Changes in the gendered division of labour, feminisation of productive employment, new international division in reproductive labour, increase in global migration, feminisation of migration are some issues but not a complete list of social changes that people experience all over the globe. Moreover, people experience them differently: some actively and directly, others passively and indirectly, depending on gender, age, race, nationality, country of origin, and citizenship. Although it sounds rather abstract, on the practical level: economic and social changes ("the flutter of the butterfly's wing") in developed parts of the world have an impact on the lives of the children in the developing ones requiring their mothers to perform domestic and care work. Children left in poor countries experience their parents' migration and life without them in their own ways. "Care drain" is a scholar definition of what dependants go through when adults migrate abroad to work.

"It seems to me, that our children are not taken care of that much, as the elderly people are in Italy", Evgeniy Koblia, a 12-years old Ukrainian boy, wrote in the book *"Children of Emigrants about Themselves: Confessions, Thoughts, Opinions… Pain",* (2008:13). This book is a result of the international art contest among 156 children of Ukrainian labour emigrants and includes their poems, essays, pictures and drawings. These words moved me deeply. Maybe, because a small boy managed to express in one sentence what is going on at the global scale, how labour migration of Ukrainian women to Italy affects Ukrainian children, and how welfare is organised in both states. I have studied sociology for many years, reading a lot about social reality and phenomena, gender equality, feminisation of employment, processes of global migration, citizenship

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[1] "The Butterfly effect", 2004 (film).

etc., learning to connect and explain global social processes. Nevertheless, I still cannot help feeling sorrow and pity for a small child left without parents in their home country. Especially, when parents are alive, have custody, but are not able to care for their own children because of migration and employment in another more developed rich country.

The other side of the problem is that in the public discourse women, and especially mothers are stigmatised and blamed for the situation. For example, as the reaction shows on the book mentioned above in one of the most respectable and readable newspaper in Ukraine *Dzerkalo Tyjnia* (*The Mirror of the Week*) there was the article published, *"Do not go far away, your children are crying for you", letters of children of migrants – about themselves and Ukraine.* The journalist Roman Didula (2008) wrote that such children, who had already gotten a special term – "social orphans" – although they gained many material things, they appeared to be deprived of the most important, i.e. the love of their mothers and fathers. He also writes that "Mothers put tangible values higher than mental well-being – and make a mistake". Moreover, in the public discourse and political debates involving many politicians and even different governments (which have changed quite often), migrant Ukrainian women are referred to as either "whores" or "angels". In the "angel's" image, labour migrants are seen and shown as good and caring, because even when being in the other country they are taking care of their family by sending material support. Their remittances are also needed for the development of the state economy, so they are among those who help the whole country: "By rough estimates, migrants remit several billion dollars annually to their families in Ukraine" (Zimmer 2007:3). While discussed as "whores", these women are portrayed as shameless abandoners of their families, as bad mothers and wives leaving their children and husbands in search for a better life and money: "Several years ago Ukraine's then-president, Leonid Kuchma, referred to Ukrainian women working in Italy as prostitutes" (ibid:3). Moreover, they are seen as non-patriotic citizens who are running away when the state needs them inside to improve the economy and welfare, and who are "undermining their true role – to bear and raise healthy children" (ibid:3).

So, mothers are accused of leaving their children in order to be able to feed them, to buy clothing, books, to give them education and roof over their heads. However, is it really the mothers' fault? Will this problem in the Ukrainian society be solved if all the

migrant workers, approximately up to 7 million of Ukrainians, return home and foster their children? Or will it lead to other problems? By this work, I truly mean to open discussion about Ukrainian transnational families and how care is organised in them, and about care draining from the country, particularly on the example of Ukrainian female migrant workers in Italy and their children left behind in Ukraine.

II. Research objective

In this chapter I will explain my research objective and formulate my research questions. I will present my incentive to concentrate on particular aspects of the 'global care chain' concept, such as transnational welfare, transnational families and care drain, and pose research questions. Then, I will give a general picture of previous studies in the field. Finally, I will provide my motives to choose Italy as a rich receiving country and Ukraine as a poor sending country in the care chain.

1.   Objective and research questions

As it is impossible to capture all possible aspects of global care chains in one thesis, I concentrate my study on "*transnational welfare*", "*transnational families*" and "*care drain*" related to the 'global care chain' concept. I will analyse the concept on the *macro-level*: 'the international transfer of caretaking' (Parrenas, 2003:49) across different geographical localities, the reasons for and consequences of it on both sides of the chain, i.e. 'care gap' and 'care deficit' in rich countries and 'care drain' in poor countries respectively. I will also study it on the *micro-level*: individual experiences in transnational families, when care is taken and transferred from the one's own family in a poor country and redirected to children, elderly etc. in a rich one.

The main aim of the study is from the prospective of the 'global care chain' concept *to study the meanings and experiences of 'care' in transnational welfare, transnational families (mostly mothers and children) and to identify the consequences of care drain for Ukrainian families*. I would like to see what care actually means for the

agents included into the Italian-Ukrainian care chain, and how it is organised. So I am going to search for the answers to the following research questions:

- *How is welfare organised in Italy? How is the 'care gap' in Italy being filled by female migrant workers from Ukraine? (*<u>*transnational welfare*</u>*)*

- *How is care provided for and/or transferred by the female migrant workers to their own family members? What do women-migrant workers perceive as care and what do their dependants (children, parents, and sometimes husbands) perceive as care? Does care demand meet care supply in such a situation? (*<u>*care in transnational families*</u>*)*

- *What are the impacts and consequences of the female labour migration on the Ukrainian society, its care services and welfare provision in particular?(*<u>*care drain*</u>*)*

2.   Previous research

Analyses of global care chains are not completely a new area of studies. There are many researches done in different parts of the world on various aspects of global care chains and other related social phenomena. This includes the new international division of labour (NIDL) and new international division of reproductive labour (NIDRL), organisation of welfare in different states, transfer of care, emotions and love, organisation of domestic and care work, exploitative nature of such "dirty work", employer-employee relationships, phenomenon of "live-in jobs", intersection of care regimes and migration regimes, citizenship concepts, care chains, global nursing care chains, global religious care chains etc. (Anderson 2000; Hochschild 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Parenas 2001, 2005; Zimmerman, Litt and Bose 2006; Lutz 2008; Yeats 2009 etc.).

A good example of previous research is Nicola Yeats' (2009) study of the organisation of the NIDL and the NIDRL, locating the study of global care chains in Ireland as the country where females migrate to and from. According to Yeats, the NIDL and the NIDRL are the aftermaths of globalisation processes and both of them are closely connected to each other. In the core of the concept of the new division of reproductive labour lies that reproductive labour previously being provided by women in developed

countries is now increasingly being provided by women from poor/developing countries who migrate to developed countries to undertake these kinds of jobs (Yeats 2009).

Another example is the study conducted by Bridget Anderson (2001) of female migrant workers, their experiences of "doing the dirty work" for employers in West European countries. She has analysed the relationships between female workers and (mainly) female employers, how reproductive work is organised in the households, and the differences between live-in and live-out domestic and care workers. Anderson also touched upon racist and exploitative aspects of reproductive work, and problems that migrant women are facing because of lack of citizenship and rights connected to it.

I would also like to mention the research of Filipina migrant care and domestic workers ("servants of globalisation" in Rome, Italy, and Los Angeles, the USA), Filipina transnational families and children of migration in the Philippines made by Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (2001; 2003; 2005; 2008). She analyses this phenomena also within the concept of NDRL, which she calls *the international transfer of caretaking* emphasising the transfer of reproductive labour among women in sending and receiving countries (Parrenas 2001:62). These studies are not directly connected to my research question about the Italian-Ukrainian global care chain – nevertheless, they provide a valuable perspective on social welfare in Italy and knowledge about transnational families, transnational motherhood and childhood. Although Filipina and Ukrainian people have different historical, political, economical and social backgrounds and belong to different gender ideologies and gender orders, they currently share pretty much the same economic situation which pushes women to migrate and thus share common (everyday) experiences of labour migration and social consequences of labour migration for families and society.

Additionally, the studies of Ukrainian migrant women in Austria done by Bettina Haidinger (2008), or in Poland by Marta Kindler (2008) are fruitful for my research. Though the conditions of work and state welfare in these two counties differ from Italy, data from these analyses can be useful to understand socio-economic situation in Ukraine, the experiences of Ukrainian women working abroad, to learn about Ukrainian transnational families and organisation of their lives when mothers are abroad. Flavia Piperno's (2007; 2008; Pastore and Piperno 2006) studies of transnational welfare provided by Romanian and Ukrainian women to Italian citizens help me understanding

the organisation of welfare in Italy and how it is transferred across the borders of the nation-states. There are also some previous research concerning particularly migration of Ukrainian women to Italy by Kristina Montefusco (2008), patterns of such migration given by Helma Lutz (2008), socio-economic conditions in Ukraine and the situation related to care drain by Alissa Tolstokorova (2007, 2008, 2009ab, 2010ab) etc. Nevertheless, these studies do not bring up personal life experiences of Ukrainian children and experiences of care provisioning in Ukrainian transnational families.

I have found that studies of the micro level, the private sphere, are limited. As Arlie Russell Hochschild (2000) stated the researches done on transnational welfare consider only how care and work are managed while careworkers and their families are left aside. Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild also argue that "This happens 'in' the family, but family theory, per se, is missing a picture of both the context—the backstage of globalization—and the process by which that context disembeds relations between parent and child" (2008a:420). Reviewing the literature on the topic I draw the same conclusion that the information on what actually happens in transnational families is missing. One can easily notice the limited amount of information about experiences of transnational mothers, transnational children and other family members.

Nevertheless, relying on and referring to previous research in the field, I see it necessary and important to provide a general picture of the *global care chain, transnational welfare*, *transnational family* and *care drain* giving a background of what is happening on every link of the care chain, and why. Making the analysis of my own empirical research I will compare and relate it to the findings of previous research in the field. None of the previous studies answer all my research questions; however, they provide me with essential theories and concepts, statistical data and qualitative data related to my research topic. Furthermore, the "gap of knowledge" – experiences of transnational children – makes me obliged to do something new in this field.

3.   Motivation of the countries choice

Referring to the studies about care chains in different parts of the world, I will focus my research on particular geographical locations: Italy and Ukraine. Italy is the developed

country which needs and receives care services, while Ukraine is a developing country which satisfies the 'care deficit' in Italy by sending Ukrainian female workers. I have chosen these countries, first of all, because I am from Ukraine, and external labour migration with its 'goods' and 'bads' is a reality in my country. Many people, including neighbours and relatives, experience labour migration on an everyday basis.

> Estimates range from one to ten million Ukrainians working abroad. Ombudswoman Nina Karpachova reported to the Ukrainian Upper Parliament that between two and seven million of Ukrainians are working abroad irregularly, owing to poverty and unemployment…" (Haidinger 2008:132).

So the wish to do something useful and important for my home country pushes me to combine my academic interest and curiosity with a sense of moral 'duty'. Moreover, aside the ability to do secondary analyses of the information on the topic, knowing the native languages of Ukrainians (Ukrainian and Russian) gives me an opportunity to go into the field and interview Ukrainian female migrant workers and their children. As the country of destination I choose Italy, because in the 1990's, when economic reforms failed in Ukraine, and "unemployment was rising and women were the first to lose the jobs, making up 80 per cent of those made redundant" (Kindler 2008:145), there was a big flow of female emigration to Italy from my native city. My hometown Kremenchuk, Poltava oblast', is situated in the central part of Ukraine, not even in the western part which is the major region of emigration to Europe as "it has historically more links and interactions with Western Europe comparing to the Eastern part of the country" (Montefusco 2008:344). That is why it made me wonder why Italy is such an attractive destination for emigration of Ukrainians and Ukrainian women particularly.

Searching for the answer, I found that due to official data (which accounts only those who work legally) Italy is the third most wishful country for Ukrainian migrant workers after the Russian Federation (up to 3,000,000 of Ukrainians) and Poland (300,000) (Haidinger 2008:132). Simultaneously, the Ukrainian community is the third biggest non-EU immigrant community in Italy and according to the figures of 2006-2007 it includes around 200,000 of regularly and legally residing Ukrainians (Montefusco 2008:345; Zimmer 2007). Moreover, the Ukrainian migrant community in Italy is indeed gender specific: 84,6% of them are women and the main areas of work are domestic work

and care assistance (Montefusco 2008:345). There are no reliable statistics on the number of undocumented Ukrainian immigrants in Italy, but studies estimate that they amount to approximately the same number as the regular one, because around 40% of female domestic workers are working illegally (Pastore and Piperno 2006:3). Currently according to different sources, the number of legal and illegal Ukrainian immigrants in Italy reaches between 500,000 (Haidinger 2008:132) and 600,000 (Tolstokorova 2010a:75, based on Markov 2009:60-61). However, prior to 2002 (the year of the first regularisation of illegal immigrants in Italy) Ukraine was not even on the list of sending countries; since then one can talk about the 'Ukrainization' of immigration in Italy and particularly of the field of domestic work (Chaloff 2005, cited in Lutz 2008:3).

III. Methodology and methods

In this chapter, I will take up the methodology and methods used for the research. I will also motivate my choice of qualitative approach for the research. Then, I will discuss two qualitative methods used for the research data gathering, such as *secondary data analysis* and *interviews (in-depth semi-structured interviews* and *expert interviews*). I will also present "ethical considerations" taken in my research. This is an important aspect of the research design, interviewing and peculiarly for the process of analysing, writing and producing new information/knowledge, as I deal with private, rather sensitive and personal issues, like care, feelings, parents leaving children, money/remittances etc. Finally, I will bring up the limitations of my research.

1. Qualitative research

As I use qualitative methods I would like to pay attention to the core characteristics of qualitative research. I shortly mention the distinctions of qualitative research from quantitative, although without extensive deepening into the discussion of their differences, dominance or superiority, as it lies beyond the intentions.

According to John Creswell (2003:198-199), the main features of qualitative research are the following:

-        qualitative research occurs in natural settings, where human behaviour and events occur;

-        qualitative research is based on assumptions that are very different from quantitative designs, because theory or hypotheses are not established *a priori*, but are rather formulated afterwards;

-        the very researcher is the primary instrument in data collection rather than some inanimate mechanism;

-        the data in qualitative research are descriptive, because they are reported in words (primarily the participants' words) or pictures, rather than in numbers;

-        participants' perceptions and experiences, and the ways they make sense of their lives, are the focus of the qualitative research; therefore the attempt is to understand not one but multiple realities;

-        the data gathered during the qualitative researches are not quantifiable in the traditional sense;

-        researchers are particularly interested to understand how the things occur and explain or interpret why;

-        objectivity and trustworthiness in qualitative research differ from quantitative. "First and foremost, researcher seeks believability, based on the coherence, insight and instrumental utility and trustworthiness through the process of verification rather than through traditional validity and reliability measures" (ibid:199).

Uwe Flick explains that while quantitative methods provide with frequencies, qualitative methods are able to provide the actual scientific explanation of facts, or explain the relations found by the quantitative methods (2009:25). Though I am not able to conduct the surveys or quantitative research, nevertheless, I will use the statistical data provided in previous researches which are related to my research objectives. Using these data and previous research in the field I will apply a secondary data analysis.

2.   Secondary data analysis

As part of my research I use secondary research analysis, or analysis of secondary data. In primary data analysis the researcher who collects the data also analyses it, while in

secondary data analysis scholars who were not involved into data collection do the analyses of the data; this kind of analysis may be based on the published data or it may be based on the original data (Church 2001:32). Thus, using this method I am going to analyse the data collected by other researchers in the field.

According to Thomas Vartanian (2010) secondary data analysis is often based on data sets collected by governments, research institutions, agencies, or individual researchers through surveys, interviews, questionnaires, focus groups, observations, the examination of primary sources such as writings or speeches, or a variety of other collection methods. These data sets provide researchers with readily available resources to examine characteristics of population or to verify particular hypotheses. Moreover, secondary data may include data answering research question(s) besides those the data were initially collected for. There are such good reasons for using secondary data: access to large amounts of information, coverage of a broad range of individuals or other entities (e.g., schools, hospitals), and the fact that secondary data generally cover a broad range of topics and/or can be representative of some broader population.

It is also not economically and practically possible in one research to collect all the data needed, like surveys of social welfare provision and care services in Italy, or migration patterns of Ukrainian migrant workers etc. Neither it is possible to gather primary data covering all aspects fruitful to answer my research questions. Thus, I am going to analyse previous research in the field which will help me completing this task effectively. In the case, when the secondary data are not all closely connected to the topic of my study, but anyway include valuable information for my study, I will do my best to use the data available in an efficient way as: "Secondary data are an important conduit to answer research questions, yet data availability should not define research topics. Rather, ideas should determine the use of available data" (Thyer 2010:168).

Moreover, primary and secondary data complement each other because secondary data identify the gaps in knowledge and define the issues for future studies requiring primary data collection (ibid.). Thus, combining secondary and primary data analysis I intend to answer the research questions raised and to fill in the gap of knowledge found in the field, i.e. experiences of care-transfer in Ukrainian transnational families and the experiences children of migration who lack care.

3.   Interviews

My own empirical research or primary data consists of *semi-structured interviews*. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) state that, in a qualitative research interview, knowledge is produced socially in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees. The research interview is not just a conversation between equal partners as the researcher is the one who defines and controls the process. The interviewer sets the topic of the interview and critically follows up the answers. In a semi-structured life world interview, which I use, the interview is conducted to describe the life world of the interviewee and interpret the meaning of a certain phenomenon (ibid.). It comes close to an everyday conversation while a professional interview has a certain purpose and follows specific approaches and techniques. Being semi-structured, or semi-standardized, the interview is neither an open spontaneous everyday conversation nor a closed questionnaire. The interviewer follows an interview guide with questions prepared in advance on a specific theme, and simultaneously, some free communicational space is left for the interviewee to fill in or maybe even to contribute additional information not directly connected to the research objective (ibid.).

3.1.   Sample and process of interviewing

To study the organisation of care in transnational families and households, five semi-structured interviews were conducted with Ukrainian transnational mothers employed in Italy as reproductive workers, and took place in the towns of Locri, Roccella, Palmi and Siderno in Reggio Calabria, South of Italy. The interviewees were accessed through the key informant, who was also interviewed. The age of interviewees varied from 38 to 57 years old, with period of time living and working in Italy between 7 and 12 years. Most interviews were held in the houses of the migrant workers, and only one took place in the house of the key informant. I see it as an advantage to make the interviews in the household of the interviewees, because they can feel more comfortable and relaxed in their own space. As there was a limited time for the fieldwork (a bit more than one week in each country) I needed to negotiate the time to get to the towns and places of

interviewees' residence and the time when they were free of work. It was rather difficult as some of them were even working almost 24 hours a day, combining caring for elderly at night with domestic work during day time.

Six more interviews were made with Ukrainian children of the migrant workers. One interview was conducted in Italy, Roccella, with the son of a domestic/careworker, who was 10 when both parents migrated to Italy to work. Five years later his mother took him to Italy, where he now lives and will live until he graduates from high school in the summer of 2011. The other five interviews with children of migrant workers were held in Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine. Three out of five interviews were held with the children of the same migrant workers who were interviewed in Italy. I find it fruitful to analyse the views of both links of the same care chain – experiences of the transnational mother and the transnational child in the same transnational family/household.

As the main focus of the research is kept on care provision and Ukrainian emigration to Italy started in the late 1990s, I refer to children of migrant workers as children by their status and relation of kinship without any limitation of their current age. The most important selection criterion is the age of the children when their mothers went abroad. In my sample, at the time of the mothers' migration they were between 7 and 18 years, and at the time of the research – from 18 to 29 years-old. Interviewing children by status, not by age, gives an advantage of their reflections on the communication with mothers and caring by them over time, and of their reflections about the impact that their mothers' migration had on them. Although, I am aware that this approach is a kind of *retrospective study*, "in which retrospectively from the point in time when the research is carried out, certain events and processes are analysed in respect of their meaning for individual or collective life history" (Flick 2009:136). I acknowledge that the retrospective research has a danger that the current situation, the current life can influence the estimation and reflection upon past events, their earlier situation, which are recounted (ibid.). Nevertheless, I think it is worth to interview this category of transnational children, and to compare their descriptions with those of young children available in the "*Children of Emigrants…*" (2008;2009); this way I am enabled to get a fuller picture of "care drain" as a consequence of female migration from Ukraine. Moreover, as some children were or still are living with their mothers in Italy for some period, others have

never been there, I think it is important to compare the experiences of these different categories of children within their "mother-away" transnational families.

In Italy I also had the opportunity to conduct two *expert interviews*. It is a specific form of semi-structured interview, in which interviewees are involved into research with a special capacity of being an expert on a certain field of activity, more than just an "average" person (Flick 2006:165). Both interviews were hold in the municipality of the town Locri, Reggio Calabria, Italy. The first expert interview was made with an Italian municipality/commune's assistant in social questions (for Italian citizens and migrant workers); and the second one – with the head of the trade union for migrant workers. Moreover, some days after the interviews, both experts provided me with statistical information/facts about the issues for Italy in general and their commune specifically, as they needed additional time to prepare this information.

Interviews with Ukrainian migrant mothers and Ukrainian children were held either in Russian or Ukrainian – their native languages. The interviews with both experts were held in Italian. As I do not speak Italian, the key informant was translating the conversation during the interview (for the first interview) and afterwards (for the second one). Because of the high work load of the second expert, all questions of the interview were translated into Italian beforehand and asked by the key informant. Nevertheless, I was present during this interview and consulted if I needed some additional information.

Interview guides with questions prepared in advance (Appendixes 1, 2, 3, 4) were followed for all three different types of semi-structured interviews (with mothers-workers, children and experts). All the conversations were digitally recorded and transcribed afterwards. Short description of the interviewees is presented in Appendix 5.

4.   Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are 'a must' in every research. Flick gives very good pieces of advice about ethical issues (2009:43):

> Research ethics is an important issue in planning and doing your research. It is often not possible to find easy and very general solutions to the problems and dilemmas. It has a lot to do with reflection and sensitiveness. Thinking about ethical dilemmas, however, should not prevent you from doing your research, but should help you to do it in a more reflective way and take your

participants' perceptive on a different level. Try to consider the participants' role and think from their perspective how would it be for you to do what you expect them to do in your research.

Following Flick's advice, I tried to reflect on the ethical aspects of my research, especially considering that the very topic of studying transnational families, mothers migrating and leaving children home to provide for the family, caring from the distance, care draining in Ukrainian society etc. is very sensitive. Thus, I needed to take into consideration ethical issues during every stage of the research while designing it, formulating questions for the interviews, talking to the interviewees, reflecting upon the information gathered, during writing and presenting the results of the research. As the examples of the topic's sensitivity, one migrant-women-interviewee mentioned that her son (18 years-old) has got mental/emotional problems when he was a teenager because of the issue, and is still consulting a specialist; another migrant mother asked me not to interview her son (20 years-old) in Ukraine and explained that he has got a trauma because of her migration to Italy, and now she would not like to re-fresh his memory about that time.

Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild (2008a;2008b) discuss the obstacles and ethical consideration when studying global care chains, transnational families and children of migration. They point out that while researching the lives of the migrant workers' children the first task to analyse is why participants find the topic so hard to talk about and for the researchers so difficult to research. "Indeed, the very issue of ease of conversation about migrants' children should become, itself, an object of study" (2008a:408). Besides, the scholars stress the importance of open discussions about migrant mothers' children, and analyse the obstacles for that. Barriers to open up the discussion can be that too many people – migrant workers, their spouses, children, parents and the state/government – benefit from women's migrating, earning money and remitting home. Another difficulty is related to the women themselves, their feelings of shame and guilt for leaving their children/family. And finally, there is an obstacle of the "huge social costs" caused by breakdowns of the families, and by deteriorations and underdevelopment of the psycho-social growth of the children left behind. The authors also mention difficulties for scholars to study these phenomena because of the fear of "misusing" the findings by putting negative "materialistic", "bad mothers" labels on migrating women, as family problems of the migrant worker can be used against them by

people in the global North. Nevertheless, they strongly emphasise that the problems of migration and care drain should be discussed because it will help to advance different branches of theories (feminist, migration and work-family) and to have a positive impact on global social policy (ibid.).

Moreover, as a researcher I always use basic general rules of ethics. According to the codes of ethics, the common rules for participation in the research are that it is voluntary, anonymous and/or confidential, with fullest awareness of the participants about the topic and goal of the study, only with their permission to tape the conversation, with proper respect to participants' dignity and rights, and without any disadvantage, harm, risk or danger for them at present or in the future (Creswell 2003:62-68; Flick 2009:35-44; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:61-81). Thus, before turning on a digital recorder every participant was asked for permission to be recorded. Following the Code of Ethics and respecting privacy and confidentiality of my interviewees, all their names are changed. However, conducting interviews with children of migrant workers, as they all were older than 18 years at the moment, meant that I did not need to get the consent of parents or guardians.

5.   Limitations of the study

Studying transnational families within the framework of the 'global care chain' concept, on the example of the Italian-Ukrainian care chain, I focus primarily on the experiences of transnational mothers and children, while fathers are neither interviewed nor analysed explicitly. I acknowledge that it is a significant limitation. Moreover, conducting secondary data analysis, I identify this as another knowledge gap of the field. Ukrainian fathers in the transnational families and households (fathers left with children while mothers abroad, migrant fathers, and fathers who migrated together with mothers) are under-researched. As in the case of Ukrainian labour migration to Italy up to 90% of migrants are females, I concentrated on the experiences of migrant Ukrainian women. However, "father-away transnational families" can be the topic of my future research.

Another limitation of the study is the absence of the middle link in the care chain, i.e. the guardians who stay with children, who become mothers and fathers for them

while their actual parent(s) migrate: "It seems we still do not know much about the roles non-migrants (fathers, kin and neighbours) play in maintaining transnational families and ties, or the kinds of cultural values that are drawn upon or challenged as these ties are negotiated" (Ozyegin and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008:203)

IV. Theoretical background and concepts

In the following chapter, I provide the theoretical and analytical background of my research, explaining the main concepts used: *transnationalism*, *global care chain*, and *care*.

1. Transnationalism

I use many concepts connected to *transnationalism*, especially transnational welfare, transnational families, transnational mothers/motherhood, transnational children etc. Transnationalism, "although embedded in a variety of meanings, provides an umbrella concept for some of the most globally transformative processes and developments of our time" (Vertovec 1999:459).

First, however, the difference between "international" and "transnational" needs to be clarified. Practices called "inter-national" embed interactions between national governments (like formal agreements, diplomatic relations, conflicts), or moving of items from one nation-state context to another one (like people/travel and goods/trade). While "trans-national" practices refer to constant linkages and ongoing exchanges across the national/nation-state boarders among non-state actors, such as businesses, NGOs, individuals sharing common interests, i.e. religious beliefs, common cultural or geographic origin (Vertovec 2009).

According to Steven Vertovec (1999:447) *transnationalism* refer to multiple connections and interactions which link people and institutions across the nation-states.

> Transnationalism describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they

represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common -- however virtual -- arena of activity…

Parrenas (2001) states that today migrants can be conceived as "transmigrants", because they no longer inhabit enclosed spaces as their lives and daily practices often happen simultaneously in both sending and receiving communities of migration, and they are dependent on multiple and constant interconnections across the borders, in two or more nation-states. Moreover, Erica Righard claims: "Livelihoods turn transnational when the strategies for maintenance of them involves the accumulation, use, and effect of various sets of capital inherent in social and symbolic ties anchored in two or more nation-states" (2008:67). So, transnational processes and institutions are incorporated and anchored into two and more nation-states and function along their juridical territories.

Additionally, nation-states institutionalize transnational processes in the way they serve concrete financial and political ties between sending and receiving countries (Parrenas, 2001). Nevertheless, Parrenas stresses the importance to look at the institutional formations as well as to take into consideration 'everyday practices of ordinary people' which take place within transnational institutions, like families, political organizations, business enterprises, welfare etc. "Indeed, transnational institutions, while determined by structural constraints, are created by the everyday practices of migrants" (ibid:29).

2.   The "global care chain" concept

The social phenomenon called "global care chain" (GCC) is the concept created by Arlie Hochschild, who began the process of triangulating globalisation, migration and care. She defines global care chains as "the series of personal links between people across the globe based on paid or unpaid care" (2000:131). GCC is a highly feminised process that typically involves women supplying their carework/care-labour in one place (usually in wealthier nation states), while at the same time consuming the carework of other women, either in paid or unpaid form, in poorer countries (Brijnath 2009:88).

Hochschild (2000) claims that care chains can be local, national and global. Most commonly they start in poor countries and end in rich ones, while they can also appear in

poor countries and move from rural to urban areas within that poor country. Although GCC can vary in the number of links, they have a common form: while more women in the global North are formally employed, their dependants (children, elderly, sick and/or disabled people) are enabled to enjoy care provided by migrant women from the global South, who leave their own families and dependants without their care, which is therefore supplied by extended kin or other women's paid carework (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Brijnath 2009). The core here is that "each kind of chain expresses an invisible human ecology of care, one kind of care depending on another and so on" (Hochschild 2001:131).

Scholars from various disciplines, mostly feminist, gender and migration studies, are researching the topic from different angles and on different levels (global, national, regional/local), taking into consideration all possible agents involved in GCC, like the young, the elderly etc. who need care, care workers, employers, (welfare)states. GCC is a many-sided social phenomenon, which captures multiple spheres of social life all over the globe, such as social inequalities based on gender, race and class; uneven global development (Hochschild 2000); gendered division of labour; (new) international division of reproductive labour (IDRL and NIDRL) (Yeats 2009); feminization of productive paid employment; migration processes; feminization of migration (Lutz 2008); (transnational) welfare (Pastore and Piperno 2006; Piperno 2008); citizenship along with welfare, migration and care regimes (Lister *et al.* 2007); care provision and carework (Zimmerman, Litt and Bose 2006); commodification of care and domestic work and power relations between employers and employees: dependency, exploitation (Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001); transnational families: transnational marriages, parenthood, motherhood and children of migrants (Parrenas 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008; Zimmerman, Litt, Bose 2006); brain and skill drain; care crisis and care drain (Isaksen, Devi and Hochschild 2008; Piperno 2007); commodification of love and emotions (Hochschild 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003) etc.

2.1. 'Novelty' of global care chains

Although the concept of GCC is relatively new, the very social background for that is rather old. Women, voluntarily or not, many centuries ago also migrated from developing to developed countries in order to provide care/domestic services in rich(er) households. So, what is different now? Why is so much attention paid to these phenomena today?

Raffaella Sarti (2008) presents a historical perspective on "the 'new' and the 'old' domestic service". Inspired by her analysis of 'revival' or 'novelty' of the globalisation of domestic services, first of all, I want to mention that the new is that previously domestic workers were hired to free housewives from the "dirty work", but not to allow them have a job outside the home. As a contrast, nowadays, the feminisation of productive employment and constantly increasing female economic activity rates in developed countries create the demand for reproductive work (which is traditionally and stereotypically subscribed to women) provided by someone from outside of the household. Ageing population and feminisation of paid labour, with more mothers of young children involved, create the "care deficit", which public/state welfare services are not able to fill. This "care gap", hence this female 'mission' is transferred to individual migrant domestic/care workers from poor countries who are more than willing to take this kind of jobs pushed by poverty and need for money in order to support themselves and their families (ibid.). Of course, one cannot miss the contra-argument, that today hiring domestic and care worker can also be a sign of the reproduction of the middle-classness and high-status lifestyles. Moreover, not all female heads of the households in the rich countries are formally employed and it actually creates the reality with "'Ladies' need servants" (Anderson 2000:18). The demand for foreign domestic workers shows its connection to the growing middle classes, and the 'possession' of domestic workers portrays their social status connected with class: "Having a maid at home is a social right, like access to good schools housing, shopping malls, and leisure, all entitlements of the middle classes bent on buying their way to the good life" (Ong 2009:164). Anderson (2000) also argues that for the middle classes in the industrialised world paid domestic workers are tied up with reproduction of particular life-styles and status, with the purpose to demonstrate the position within wider social relations. "Nobody has to have stripped

pine floorboards, handwash-only silk shirts, ornaments that gather dust. All these things create domestic work, but also affirm the status of the household, its class, its access to resources of finance and personnel" (ibid:14). Domestic workers not only affirm the status of the household, but particularly the status of the housewife, the woman of the house; while simultaneously, the hiring of the domestic worker lowers the status of the work she performs, because "the employer has better thing to do with her time" (ibid:20-21).

Second, among the 'novelties' of the phenomenon one can name a large variety of nationalities, and that a large number of people are involved in the phenomenon due to the "globalisation" of domestic and care services (Sarti 2008). Moreover, the patterns of migration are changing throughout time, so that those countries used to be sending becomes receiving, like Italy (Anderson 2001) and Ireland (Yeats 2009).

Third, many of the domestic/care workers are mothers, and their migration results in care crisis or care drain in the sending countries, when they leave their children behind – 'children of global migration' as Parrenas calls them (2005). In the Ukrainian context children left by the migrant parent(s) are called 'social orphans', while for instance in Romania the same phenomena is recognized as '*de facto* abandonment' (Piperno 2007:64).

Finally, the 'contradictory class mobility' (Sarti 2008; Parrenas 2005) is experienced by the migrant workers in GCC, moving downwards from middle or working class positions in the country of origin to much lower social positions in the country of destination, although they get much higher income then they would be able to earn for more qualified employment in their home countries. Thus it also creates brain or skill drain, like, in the situation when female engineers or teachers from poor countries take care of elderly in rich countries.

So even if the female migration of domestics/carers is an old phenomenon it got some new significant features in the period of globalisation. Thus, it is no wonder why the concept of GCC gets so much attention within social sciences. It is important to recognise that the globalisation of care (reproductive work) is a significant global process and is "a second main way in which the relationship between globalisation and social reproduction has been conceived of and approached" (Yeats 2009:19), because

organisation of formal production and productive labour rely and depend on the reproductive systems. That is why, within the concept of GCC, scholarly interest should be paid to the concept of the NIDRL meaning "whereby reproductive labour previously provided by women in 'core' countries is increasingly provided by women from 'peripheral' countries who have migrated to the 'core' countries to undertake this labour" (ibid:19)

3.   Concept of care

"Care" is one of the core concepts of the thesis. Nevertheless, making emphasis on care it is not the purpose to distinguish care work and domestic work explicitly, as I believe they are quite tied to each other, and almost impossible to realise one without the other. Thus I use the relevant literature concerning both spheres of reproductive work, referring to Anderson:

> Much of the labour of care is devoted to the basic domestic chores. It would be difficult to care for a child and not include cooking for her, washing up her dishes, wiping her face and the table, changing and throwing away her nappy, tiding up her toys and washing her clothes. …how much of domestic work is part of caring for one's charge, and when does it become general servicing of the household? And could not domestic work in general be seen as 'caring', as looking after one's loved ones and making sure they are comfortable and at ease?" (2000:115).

Care is a multi-sided concept which includes different activities and dimensions, like agents (those who provide care – state, institutions, individuals, and those who receive care: citizens, children, elderly, sick and disabled etc), occupations ("skilled" – provided by doctors and nurses, professional nannies, "semi-skilled" or "unskilled" – given by parents/mothers/fathers, children, unprofessional carers) etc. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize *care* as *carework* – multifaceted labour that produces the daily living conditions (like home-management, housekeeping, cooking, laundry etc.) and care of others (like nursing sick, assisting the disabled and elderly, nurturing children etc.). There are important emotional dimensions involved. However, *care* cannot be reduced only to 'caring', that is why the word *carework* meant to recognise both emotions and work included into the phenomenon (Zimmerman, Litt, Bose 2006:3-4).

Another significant aspect of care is monetary or tangible provision. For example, Yeats says that care can accommodate a range of activities, besides highly intimate

activities, like bathing, feeding, nursing and sexual acts, and less intimate such as cooking, cleaning, shopping and general maintenance work, "it may also include wage-earning or income generating activities necessary for provisioning" (2009:5). Furthermore, Parrenas (2003; 2005) argues that it is important to recognise providing for one's family as a part of mothering: female nurturing and caretaking in general. It is needed to avoid stigmatisation of (Filipina) migrant women, mothers, and to change gender ideology in the direction of gender egalitarianism. Thus, earning and provisioning for family/children, or remitting (particularly for migrant workers), play significant role as part of caretaking.

Researching care in Ukrainian transnational families, I would like to refer to the definition of care given by Parrenas (2001). She claims that in parenting moral, emotional and material care are three main forms of care which are expected to enable reproduction in the family. *Moral care* provides disciplining and the socialisation needed to raise decent moral citizens in society. *Emotional care* has a function to provide emotional security to the members of the family via expression of feelings of warmth and affection, and concern. *Material care* is meant to satisfy physical needs of dependents, including food, clothing, education or skill-training to ensure their future provisioning for the family. In different societies and cultures expectations of care, especially moral care, vary depending on ideological norms, particularly gender ideology, and the abilities and expectations of parents about the family's social reproduction (ibid.). Parrenas asks an important question "In transnational households, are parents able to provide all three basic forms of care?" (2001:117), which I intend to answer doing primary and secondary data analysis of Ukrainian transnational families and households.

V. Organisation of transnational welfare across the Italian and Ukrainian borders

The following chapter is devoted to the analysis of the *transnational welfare* organisation between Italy and Ukraine based on data from previous research and interviews. First, I will discuss the socio-economic situation in Ukraine, referring to factors and incentives

which push Ukrainians, particularly women, to migrate and seek employment abroad. Afterwards, I will provide the information on how welfare in Italy is organised, why 'care deficit' occurs there and how the Italian state, families and individual citizens solve this problem. Finally, moving to the point that carework in Italy is transnationally redistributed to Ukrainian migrant women I will analyse the organisation of transnational welfare between these two nation-states.

1.   Socio-economic situation in Ukraine

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was going through an exceptionally distressing transition: "Under the cover of free market ideology a model of transition since the early 1990's was formed, the essence of which is the privatisation of the state in the absence of effective institutions of a market economy" (Haidinger 2008:129). After almost 20 years Ukraine is still experiencing "transition".

The transformation from command economy to market economy lead to the liberalisation, mass privatisation and hard budget constrains which subsequently resulted in social and fringe benefits' cuttings for the employees, incredibly low wages, unpaid salaries and social payments. In 2002, 63.6% of employed Ukrainians were earning less than the official living minimum. The falling of GDP and growing inflation devalued the savings of those who had such. Thus, all these economic changes have resulted in increasing insecurity, income inequality, social inequality, and unemployment (Haidinger 2008:129-130). Following Pribytkova (2006:1-2), according to the State Statistic Committee data in Ukraine, in September 2005 the State Service of Employment registered 827,400 unemployed persons, out of which every second was from rural areas, and 96.7% of them had the official "unemployed" status (800,400 persons). In this period the level of the registered unemployment in Ukraine was estimated to 2.8% of the able-bodied age population including 2.1% in urban areas and 4.6% in rural areas. Although according to the International Labour Organization (ILO) data the number of the able-bodied age unemployed Ukrainians proved to be considerably larger: in 2004 their rate reached 9.2% and for the first quarter of 2005 - 9.3%. Currently, data from the IMF

(2011) shows that the rate of unemployment in Ukraine is still high – 8.054% in 2010, compared to 8.84% in 2009[2].

However, the growing rate of unemployment did not mean that the workload of Ukrainians was reduced. It meant that from officially paid jobs, for instance, women moved to domestic and subsistence activities, to informal or shadow economy. Nearly 8,5 million of Ukrainian citizens are unofficially employed or self-employed, including around 70% of economically active men and 79% of economically active women, either full time or part time (Haidinger 2008:130). Regarding the country's economic situation, it meant additional social and economic instability and insecurity for the individuals, families and households.

1.1.   Labour emigration as a solution

There was a sharp deterioration of living standards of Ukrainians. They could not pay for housing, electricity and gas, or satisfy basic needs like access to schooling for their children and proper social services (Kindler 2008). In these conditions, labour migration from Ukraine became the most effective strategy to survive (Haidinger 2008), especially for the parts of Ukraine that do not have an economic production, or is in decline because of economic reorganisation. Tolstokorova (2007) argues that over the last decade the external labour migration shows a general character in Ukraine as a transitional country. Hormel and Southworth (2006:606) studying the motives for labour migration from a rural Ukrainian town Komsomolsk, Poltava Region (the neighbour town of Kremenchuk, a native city of most migrant workers and children interviewed), and the choice of destinations cited Wallace's description of social and economic reality for Ukrainians, and migration as a solution for survival or improvement:

> [I]n Ukraine, 92% of the population are not able to live on their earned incomes, often because even if they have a job they are not paid for long periods of time and the wages have fallen far behind inflation. /…/ This by rights should add to a strong migration 'push' out of those regions plunged into poverty. /…/ If economic fortunes and disparities were the sole determinants of migration we would expect a mass exodus, yet this has not taken place (Wallace 1999: 8-9).

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[2] http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm, statistical data proceeded for Ukraine, April 2011.

According to 2003 data provided by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine, 12.1% of families had at least one person experiencing working abroad (at the end of 2002 – 10.2%) (Pribytkova 2006:3; Haidinger 2008:131). The transnational labour migration experience is not equally spread in the country: in the western regions of Ukraine every fifth family (21%) had at least one member working in another country, in the southern regions – 13%, in the central – around 10%, and in the eastern ones – 8% of the families. Though by 2005, 8% of Ukrainians had the personal experience of outside-country employment, 3.4% went abroad once, 1.7 – twice, and 2.8% - three or more times. Additionally, in 2006, 6.4% of adult citizens in Ukraine planed to migrate to work abroad, including 14% of inhabitants from western part of Ukraine, and 4-5% - from the central and eastern. What is also significant is that Ukrainians who are not emigrating in search of work generally live worse: 60.7% of them defined their family's well-being as 'low' and 'very low' (while in general the number of people who are dissatisfied with their family well being is 44%) (Pribytkova 2006:3).

Besides general economic effects of the transition on the lives of Ukrainians, the costs of transformation were not evenly experienced because impoverishment had obvious gender and age implications: women, young and the elderly turned to be more vulnerable and more impacted than other population groups (Tolstokorova and Ryndyk, 2010:1). During socio-economic reorganisation not only up to 80% of all unemployed Ukrainians were women according to the Federal unemployment statistics in Ukraine ("Trafficking in Sex" 1998), but also gendered household strategies placed women in the role of "housewife" doing more unpaid labour and in the role of "breadwinner" who earns more money due to her better opportunities in the (foreign and informal) labour market (Haidinger 2008:131). Studying Ukrainian migrant women in Austria, Haidinger found that "the overall argument for women's dominance [in foreign employment] was that they can find jobs more easily than men since there is a huge demand for migrant domestic labour" (2008:135). Labour migration from Ukraine is also gendered: generally, women are going to Italy or Greece to work as housekeepers, babysitters, cleaners etc., while men from Eastern Ukraine are going to Russia and from Western Ukraine to Portugal where they work in construction work or as seasonal workers (Keryk 2004:1).

Hochschild (2003:28) calls this phenomenon a "globalisation of migration" arguing that for men and women migration has become a private solution to a public problem. According to the 2004 data from the State Institute for Family and Youth, the decisions for migration of Ukrainians of both sexes are determined primarily by poverty, unemployment and low cost of labour (Tolstokorova 2010a; Montefusco 2008). Relying on different sociological polls, Tolstokorova (2010a) argues that economic motivations are pivotal for labour migrants, including such dimensions as to advance personal material-economic well-being, to earn money to start their own business and to provide for the well-being of dependents. Non-economic incentives such as gaining access to other cultures, learning foreign languages, securing professional experience abroad etc. were found to be less significant. Moreover, during the post-Soviet period there is a growing social inequality in obtaining higher education, which directly influences future economic mobility of young people, thus earning money for the children's education became an additional motive for migrant workers.

1.2. Motivation and process of female migration

In my empirical research I found that all the interviewed Ukrainian women working in Italy were going abroad primarily because of material reasons: economic problems or out of economic necessity. They stressed that if it was not an economic need, nobody would go anywhere. Of course, every participant had different circumstances prior to migration. I think it is difficult to compare women who were self-employed, involved into economic activities and have already had business trips abroad to buy some goods and sell them on the market in Ukraine and whose businesses collapsed because of inflation, with those women who used to work in state (budget) institutions, like kindergartens, schools, factories, police etc. However, they all migrated being in the situation when there were no money to feed themselves and their family/dependents. Moreover, all the interviewed women are mothers with higher or professional education and they were thinking ahead about future education for their children. All participants mentioned that they had realised that their children are growing and they needed to provide an education for them. One of the interviewee left Ukraine with this purpose as late as when her children were 18 and

22 years-old because she saw it as her parental obligation and nobody else would help her children. Each interviewee-mother and each mother of my interviewee-children was either a single mother, who was the only provider in the family, or a mother with a husband who also had migrated to earn money. What is also important is that all participants told me that the incentive for migration was to go abroad for a period of 1 to 2 years, to earn money and come back to their families. Nevertheless, they had to stay and are working in Italy for almost 12 years, because time passes and new needs and new problems appear back home (like education, dependants' ability to have good food, clothes and holiday by the sea, graduation, wedding, reconstruction of the flats, need for new furniture, technical equipment etc.) which require money that women are able to earn only when working abroad. Moreover, they do not see any improvements in the economic situation in Ukraine, rather the opposite. Thus they understand that they cannot rely on the economic help from their children the same way as they themselves had and are currently providing for their own parents.

Talking about migration process, every Ukrainian migrant women interviewed chose Italy as the destination country because they had a friend there or have heard from other people about the possibility of employment. The first wave of emigration from Kremenchuk was named to be in 1998, yet some of my interviewees left Ukraine in 1999 earliest. So they already had contacts in Italy or at least knew that they can be employed there and on which kind of jobs. In order to get into the country, via private agents or tourist agencies, they were getting tourist visas to cross the borders by bus, and once these visas expired migrant workers became illegal in Italy until they were approved by the regularisation programmes or got married with Italian citizens.

2. Welfare and "care deficit" in Italy

For Ukrainian female migrant workers Italy as destination was determined by having social contacts there and opportunities for employment and earning good money. However, it would be a partial truth which reflects the reality of only individual migrant workers. On the macro level, there are deeper reasons which make Italy so attractive, and primarily that is the organisation of welfare in Italy. Migrant women come there to

perform particular types of jobs: domestic and care workers (for children and the elderly), waitresses etc. The question is: why cannot migrant women do the work they are qualified for? And the answer is rather obvious: the Italian migration regime is organised in such a way that the Italian state wants and pushes migrants to be employed in those spheres which are not regarded as favourable by its own citizens. Other macro-level reasons are the feminisation of paid formal and informal employment in Italy as in most of other West European countries, the feminisation of migration and the NIDRL (Yeats 2009).

2.1.   The need for migrant careworkers

Through employment in domestic and care sectors female migrant workers respond to the need and fill in the "caring gap" (Anderson 2000) and "deficit" of other kinds of reproductive work in Western countries. Their 'native' women – citizens – increasingly work outside the house, simultaneously, the migrant workers fulfil their roles in the reproductive sphere "often assuming an invisible social role in the destination country" (Montefusco 2008:345). Studying long-term care in the Southern European countries Bettio *et al*. (2006) state that today Western societies face the problem of ageing population. Moreover, the households are getting smaller and are more geographically mobile. This boosted demand for long-term elderly care, which has been transformed from traditional "family care" to "migrant in the family" model of care.

> Developments are such that the burden of elderly care can no longer be shouldered by the family on its own, no matter how cohesive. Female migrants are gradually replacing unpaid care by native women, and a new division of labour is emerging between the family, the market and the state (ibid:271-272).

Over the past twenty years all the countries of the European Union demonstrated feminisation of productive employment, though in Italy the percentage of working women is among the lowest in Europe – 45.2% (Morini 2007:49). While the number of women in the labour force has increased, state provision of childcare and care for the elderly people remained limited (Scrinzi 2008). There is still a shortage of publicly funded services for children and elderly. Long-term care and other reproductive work are still family-oriented, hence, traditionally and stereotypically mostly dependent on women

in the private domain. And as women-citizens are not willing or not able to care for the young, elderly, sick, disabled, it is individual female migrant workers, rather than the welfare state, who are providing this care and filling in the 'care deficit' (Anderson 2000).

Scrinzi (2008) claims that large scale employment of migrant women in Italy has recently become the object of public and media attention, and it became especially visible in 2002 after the regularisation of undocumented migrants. Domestic workers were defined as privileged care assistants, commonly known as *badanti* (caregivers), *colf* (cleaners) and *babysitter*. According to the 2005 ISTAT data, around 25% of the population in Italy are over 60 years old, i.e. 14.7 million people who are likely to need assistance/help/care because of chronic illnesses or effects of ageing (Degiuli 2007:194). There is a particularly high demand for live-in workers because it is especially well-adapted to the needs of elderly people who require care all around the clock (Scrinzi 2008).

"The market for care services for the elderly is especially under-regulated, and working conditions are rather differentiated, varying with the type of contract (or agreement), the geographical context and personal characteristics (nationality, religion, language)" (Bettio *et al.* 2006:281). These differences were acknowledged by the interviewed Ukrainian female migrant workers. For example, in the South of Italy which is less economically developed than the North almost none has a working contract because employers do not want to make contributions to the state, to pay taxes (or in case of hourly domestic workers who want to be legalised employees pay taxes from their own salaries). Therefore, this means that the rights of migrant domestic workers are not protected. The interviewees acknowledged that Italians in the South tend to hire workers for a couple of months and fire them without paying a salary. Additionally, possessing a contract includes benefits like vacation, a 13th salary, decent working days (established working hours, days off) etc. Moreover, in the North of Italy the salaries are higher for carework (€1000 per month compared to €700-800 in the South, contributions included) as well as for hourly paid domestic work (€6-7 and €7-8 per hour respectively).

2.2. Italian welfare-state support for elderly-care

It is efficient for developed countries to minimise the cost of care. Nevertheless, nobody send dependent people to another country to be cared for as they are able to recruit careworkers from more "cost-effective" countries (Folbre 2006:213). In fact, as much as the individuals, especially female employers, profit from hiring low-value migrant domestic/care workers, the very receiving nation-state seems to be the main gainer from the whole system of transnationalisation of the domestic/care labour force (Parrenas 2001).

> …since their labour power has been produced without any outlay from this state and, theoretically at least, they are to return to their countries of origin one day, thereby saving the receiving state any expenses associated with their old age. Again, theoretically they do not bring their children with them, saving the host state associated health and education costs. In practice immigrants are less likely to draw on social provisions than citizens, and yet they do pay taxes (Anderson 2000:109)

The idea that the nation-state is the main gainer is supported by the fact that the Italian state increasingly reorganise domestic services as a source of employment, particularly for foreigners. First of all, the Italian state has established quotas for work permits for domestic/care workers, and since 2002 it has regularised many undeclared ones (Scrinzi 2008:35). According to the information provided by the *second expert*, the head of the Locri trade union for migrant workers, in order to get a work permit in Italy an employment contract for 2 years is required, and every 2 years it should be renewed. Every year since 2001 the amount of applications to be legalised is higher than the number of permits offered per year. Due to the peculiarity of the economic zone of Southern Italy, those professions that the state defined as being in demand, e.g. engineers, were not applied for, while there was large number of applications for working as *badanti*. The experts argues that it is obvious that these numbers were fictive, and those working contracts were fictive because healthy men who could work in other different fields were applying as caregivers.

Second, the interest of the state is expressed in the direct monetary support to hire a care worker, tax exemptions and specific aid for employers to cover expenses (Scrinzi 2008). Despite relatively generous pensions, Italy has two cash-for-care schemes for elderly care: 1) *attendance allowance* for dependant persons with severe disabilities equal

to €436 per month (in 2003, when according to my interviewees an average salary for *badanti* was €500). It is neither means-tested nor conditional on family structure or income and in 2003 5.8% of elderly people over 65 received the benefit; 2) *care allowance* which is means-tested and granted by local authorities to those elderly who are at risk of institutionalisation; it is lower and much less widespread than the attendance allowance. These benefits allowed low-income families to organise the care of elderly via migrant workers (Bettio *et al*., 2006:272).

> Female migrants met unsatisfied needs for care while ensuring the continuity of a family-based long-term care model. They provided long-term care at prices which middle-income families could afford, while benefits for the elderly, already in place – like the attendance allowance – helped low-income families to meet the cost. They filled a widening gap between family care and professional (public) care, so that the main tasks of families were organizing and monitoring the minders' work (ibid:278).

First expert, a social assistant of the Locri commune, shared that while wealthy Italian families do not need and ask for state help, economically weak families receive help from the state and the municipality via local organisations of social assistance. He acknowledged that there are not enough places in kindergartens in the Calabria region because most of them are private, and that social assistants cannot do anything about it. However, they are constantly trying to improve the situation by transferring some money to the kindergartens so children can stay there free of charge. Nevertheless, there are enough places for elderly people in the region. They also, on the behalf of the state, provide places for wealthy elderly people if their children live geographically far away. It is a constitutional duty of children to care for their elderly parents, so if they want their parents to be assisted by careworker they need to pay for that, but if the elderly person does not have children then the state will help by care allowance. This money are transferred by the Pension Fund in addition to the pension and could be given either to a relative who would care for an elderly or be paid to a care worker, though it is not the responsibility of the state to seek for a person who would assist an elderly. I asked the expert about the difference in state benefits between South and North of Italy as they are considered to be like two separate states. He reported that in northern Italy there is a higher demand of careworkers, because the North is more economically developed, and the employment rate of the adult population is higher which means less time to care for the elderly. Moreover, there are fewer institutions for elderly in that region. In southern

Italy there are still more patriarchal traditional families taking care of their elderly family members. However, as it is a state obligation to provide care for those who need it, elderly get equal monetary transfers irrespectively of the region of inhabitation depending on their needs.

It was also pointed out that global economic crises have had an influence on the field. For example, the social assistance organisation in Locri made a 6-month trial programme of care provision for elderly, and even more targeted for disabled people. For that purpose, they hired some care/domestic workers to provide care for dependants (cooking, cleaning, washing, shopping, walking with them etc.) 5 days a week 3 hours a day for a salary of €400 per month. As a consequence of the economic crisis this program was cancelled as it was state-subsidised, despite of the fact that people liked the programme and wished it to continue.

3. Organisation of transnational welfare between Italy and Ukraine

Lutz argues that although migration theorists often suggest that transnationalisation of domestic work is just another market relationship created by 'supply and demand' there are reasons to argue that domestic work is "*not just another labour market"* (2008:1). I think it is relevant to talk about transnationalisation of welfare, which is provided by agents of one state to agents of another state. "The identification of transnational welfare strategies do not necessarily rely on individual movements across borders, but rather that the strategies for the maintenance of livelihood welfare are anchored in two or more nation-states" (Righard 2008:67).

Anderson argues that female migrant workers are filling a 'caring gap' or a 'care deficit' (2000). Lister *et al.* (2007:116, 137) call it "the transnational redistribution of care work", i.e. the ways in which migration and care meet, in the case when a household employs migrant women as domestic or care workers. Pastore and Piperno (2006) name it international or "*transnational welfare*". They argue that Italy due to its specific situation is a striking example of the spontaneous and unregulated internationalisation of welfare mechanisms. Public institutions in Italy gain from privatisation and internationalisation of welfare saving a considerable amount of public funds. Millions of Italian families were

also enabled to hire a domestic help even for a few hours a week thanks to the extreme flexibility and low labour cost (ibid.).

> Foreign female domestic helpers, baby sitters and carers (often these three roles become confused and overlap) have thus enabled hundreds of thousands of Italian mothers – perhaps without access to public childcare – to work; they have enabled hundreds of thousands of aged persons (of which only 1% of cases are covered by the national health system) to see out their lives in a more tranquil and dignified manner (ibid:3).

Or as Montefusco (2008:353-354) writes, despite the fact that the consistent processes of modernisation started in Italy in the 1960's, there are still not enough public services and as the Italian family is characterised by the concept of 'community care', i.e. the weaker members are protected and supported by stronger ones. The role of the family is still important for care provision within the Italian society, even though its role became less sustainable because of particular social changes, like loosening of family ties, smaller families and increasing participation in the paid labour force. Thus, due to the socio-economic changes, there are high numbers of the amnesty cases for illegal domestic workers in Italy. In 2002 around 350,000 Italian families requested the legalisation of their foreign helpers (Pastore and Piperno 2006:4).

According to statistics provided by the *second expert*, in Reggio Calabria Ukrainians are the third largest foreign community, after Romanians and Moroccans, and almost 78% of them are Ukrainian women often employed as *badanti*, *colf* and *babysitter*. "It is certainly true that the percentage of domestic workers among the non-Italian population is much greater than it is among the Italian population and as a result many Italians subscribe to the idea that there has been a full-fledged 'invasion' of badanti" (Colombo 2007:209). According to my expert, 70% of the domestic and care workers in the region are foreigners. The interviewed workers stated that (female) Italians do not want to do the "dirty work". Besides, according to the interviewees, Italians often think that there is an "invasion of *badanti*" and that in Ukraine and Eastern Europe in general all women are trained to be careworkers. Ukrainian women are actually offended by such statements as most of them have higher or specialised education and never thought about employment as a domestic/care worker abroad. This offence is based on the 'contradictory class mobility' and acknowledgement of brain and skill drain from Ukraine, combined with the western European perception of developing countries as

'uncivilized'. My interviewees acknowledged that they are "nobody" in Italy, or as one of them verbalised it "*Everything human is vanished… you are getting a complex that you are nobody, turned into nobody*" (*Olga, 57 years-old*). They suffer from being bounded to the particular (private) space where they work, and working 24 hours as a *badanti* was compared to "voluntary imprisonment" by every single participant. That is why they prefer to combine carework for elderly at night with domestic work during day-time because it enables them to change the environment, move and communicate with other people.

As Bettio *et al.* (2006) comment, Eastern European female migrants tend to differ radically from previous waves of immigrants; they are middle-aged, well-educated, married with children, who left their families behind in their home countries with the notion of a short-term temporary migration. And because they are well (or reasonably) educated and bring valuable social capital to their work, they are preferred to be hired. The same opinion was expressed by one of my interviewees, that among all nationalities, if women had the same qualifications the preference would be given to the Ukrainians.

However, transnational welfare is a good example of the interconnection between the *welfare regime*, the *care regime* and the *migration regime* as analysed by Lister *et al.* (2007:138-140). First, in some Western European countries the changes in *welfare state regimes* led to replacement of the 'male breadwinner model' by the 'adult-worker model', as welfare state policies are now based on the assumption about female labour market participation. The growth of economic activity resulted in certain pressure on women to balance the responsibilities of work and care. Thus, one of the strategies to do so is to purchase domestic and care services (ibid.). The extent to which women can do so is determined by the *care regime* in the country, like the provision of cash payments, tax credits or tax incentives to pay childminders, relatives, parents or domestic helpers for their services. And as stated before Italy is one of the European Union countries which provide care allowances. "*Within* Europe, European Union (EU) enlargement, war and the effects of changes in Central and Eastern Europe on women's economic opportunities have also led to an increase in migration of women to Western Europe in search for work" (ibid:140). To what extent work in the domestic sphere might be carried out by migrant workers depends upon the third dimension, the *migration*

regime. Italy has special quotas for work permits for care workers, and has regularised a large number of domestic workers almost every year since 2002. Only for 2009, according to the statistical data given by one of the experts, the number of *colf* (180,408) and *badanti* (114,336) regularised in Italy amounted to 294,744. Of the total numbers of work permits 12.61% (37,178) were given to Ukrainians. However, in 2010-2011 the rules for the regularisation become stricter, now to get a work permit migrant workers need to provide not only employment contracts, but also to pass a language test (written and oral) and a test in the Italian history.

VI. Transnational families in Ukraine

In the following chapter, I will present the concept of *transnational families*, its practices and experiences. More precisely, I will analyse transnational mothers and their distance care, and care received by children left behind in Ukraine.

1. Transnational families

By transnational families, I refer to the definition of Parrenas as those families whose core members are located in at least two nation-states (2001). Transnational families differ from the dominant family model in the way that they spend more time apart than together in the family unit; apart in the meaning of time as well as space (Parrenas 2005).

According to Parrenas (2005), families are perceived as both experience and institution. In the meaning of experience, the family refers to the daily lives of family members sharing material resources and providing one another with material, physical and emotional care, either in cooperation or sometimes through conflict. Thus, "…one could easily wonder how transnational families could possibly function as a family without the intimacy and familiarity gained only from the routine of daily interaction" (ibid:33). In the sense of institution, the family is socially constructed according to particular ideological norms and power relations prevailing in a certain society. The more the transnational family differs from the construction of the "normal" family, the more

"dysfunctional" or "broken" it is considered to be. First, they differ from traditional expectations about cohabitation of spouses and children. Second, such families diverge from traditional division of labour within the family, because transnational mothers do not perform domestic chores in the household. Third, traditional practices of socialisation in the family are not fulfilled the way expected; due to the geographical distance in transnational households even if there is supervision and guidance from transnational mothers it is not provided directly to the children as expected (Parrenas 2008).

Transnational families can be of different types: families with one parent-away (mother or father) or both parents-away and children "left behind" (Parrenas 2005), families with migrant parents and children accompanying, and families with "parachute kids" – young (usually unmarried and childless) children migrating while parent stay in the country of origin (Vertovec 2009). What units them is the location of family members in more than one nation-state. It is argued that migrants create transnational households to maximise total economic gain for the family, to maximise resources and opportunities in the global economy (Parrenas 2001; Moskal 2011). These can be also applied for Ukrainian transnational families and households (Haidinger 2008).

The transnational family is a good example of the inequalities caused by globalisation (Parrenas 2008). "They mediate unequal levels of economic development between sending and receiving nations, legal barriers that restrict their full incorporation into the host society and polity, and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments" (Parrenas 2001). Moskal argues, "Women have had an increasingly important role in transnational migration as the demand for labour has grown most rapidly in sectors such as retailing, domestic labour and caring for children, the disabled and the elderly" (2011:33). This viewpoint can be also found in the GCC concept (Hochschild 2001) and the theories of the new division of reproductive labour and feminisation of migration (Yeats 2009). Moreover, Moskal (2011) claims that women's migration patterns differ from men's, because, first, they have different employment opportunities, and second, women are more likely to maintain close connection with and take care about family members.

My focus is kept on the transnational families and households with *mothers migrating and children left behind*, though within this frame the research includes cases where husbands also migrated and cases where children joined his/her mother in the

destination country over some period of time. Nevertheless, all participants experienced the "mother-away" transnational family. Analysing transnational families in Ukraine I concentrate on the "long distance parenting" (Vertovec 2009), particularly on the "transnational motherhood" (Houndagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2006), the "international transfer of caretaking" (Parrenas 2001) and on the "children of migration" (Parrenas 2005) or "transnational children" (Ozyigin and Houdagneu-Sotelo, 2008). Studying the experiences and perception of 'care-taking' by Ukrainian mothers working in Italy and 'care-receiving' by children left behind in Ukraine, and whether the demand on care meets its supply, I keep in mind three dimensions of care which are essential for parenting and childcare in the family: moral, emotional and material (Parrenas 2001), which were discussed in part IV.3.

2. Transnational mothers and long-distance care

Researches done on "transnational mothers" suggest that female migrant workers fulfil their role as 'mothers' despite long-time and long-distance separation from the children (Haidinger 2008; Hochschild 2001, 2003; Houndagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2006; Moskal 2011; Parrenas 2001, 2005, 2008; Piperno 2007, 2008 etc.). Despite negative public and mass-media portrayal of deteriorated families, abandoned children etc., long distance does not mean the elimination of care in the form of tangible provisioning as well as emotional care and love. "…it is worth emphasising that many migrant mothers attempt to sustain ties with their children, and their children often recognise and appreciate these efforts" (Parrenas 2003:42).

On the contrary to Parrenas' (2005) findings about Philippine "mother-away migrant families" where rather extended kin than fathers mostly perform care for the children, Haidinger (2008) and Tolstokorova (2010b) found that Ukrainian "intact" fathers (those who are not divorced or separated from mothers during or prior to migration) take over certain responsibly for childcare and household chores. Unfortunately, my study did not include cases of any "intact" fathers. Those children who had fathers in Ukraine but lived separately did not receive any kind of care/help neither

material, nor emotional. In the cases of both parents away, the fathers were caring about their children less than the mothers.

Care includes emotional, domestic and other reproductive work activities as well as material support. Ukrainian dependants receive regular remittances from their migrant mothers. Migrant Ukrainian women not just earn money abroad, but do so in hard foreign currencies vital for the Ukrainian economy. For the last 3 years the value of remittances sent to Ukraine is estimated to over $5 billion per year (Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011:249). Studies also show that Ukrainian women's prime purpose to go to Italy is to support the family, save money to educate their children, to get an adequate pension and a new housing; afterwards they intend returning to Ukraine (although many of them have established strong relationship with Italy and Italians they still perceive their home as Ukraine) (Montefusco 2008).

Relying on my primary data, all Ukrainian mother-interviewees mentioned that they went to Italy to earn money to provide their children with basic necessities or/and education.

I'm here for them. I ruined myself. /.../ I ruined myself for them. It is not a life, without days-off, or with one day-off. Everyone [as her, in Italy]. There are the elderly who are sick and mentally unstable – and try to manage it: day and night, day and night, everything the same, everything the same for years. There are our (Ukrainian) women who are sick and are treating themselves because of that. Many cannot stand that anymore and leave. It is a very difficult work. This money is hard to get. /.../ The need made us… (Anna, 47 years-old)

When you have a baby… I had one case which I still remember with tears in the eyes. When she asks, "Mom, what is it?" "Banana" "Which taste does it have?" And back then I could not buy her a banana… When Italians ask how I am here without a baby… I do not know, what is worse, either when you are far away and she eats this banana, or when you are close and cannot buy it to her. (Tatiana, 38 years-old)

According to the information from the interviews mothers send money home every month, for food, clothes, rent, education, vacation etc, varying between 1/3 and 2/3

of the income depending on the actual amount of income. Additionally they send packages with food, clothes, presents etc. This practice is already so well-spread, that all over Italy there are busses which go to different parts of Ukraine (Haidiger 2008; Solar 2008), delivering packages in both directions for a cost of €2 per kilo. Women provide support for their children as well as for their parents (in case they are still alive) by money, food, clothes, payments for medicines, surgeries etc. Most of the women stated that the material situation in the family has improved dramatically after migration. Some of them said that it did not improve because of new expenditures which do not allow them to save money; however, they acknowledged that they would not be able to give their children anything having stayed in Ukraine, neither basic needs, nor higher education, credits for cars, housing etc.

Although not every mother said that provisioning for children was worth going, because children did not appreciate the effort. *Alla, 53 years-old,* a migrant domestic worker in Italy, a former head of the financial department in the police, who left her two children in the age of 18 and 22 with the aim of earning for their education, claimed:

> *Truly speaking, it was not justified. For example, I gave up everything for the children and went for the sake of the children. I do not know about others, but my children need only money. They are not interested in how I am here. Thus it was not worth making such a sacrifice for the children.*

At the same time, she argued that her children are good, respect her and always ask for her advice, except those related to their private lives. Others mentioned that it was worth sacrificing themselves for the benefit of their children, their future, for making their lives easier, "*not to stray as I strayed*" (*Anna, 47 years-old*). Nevertheless mothers still perceive themselves as "*a wallet*" (*Tatiana, 38 years-old*), as a person who is sending money all the time but never participate in the actual life of their children/family during the most important events, like graduation, wedding, school exams, 18th birthday, diseases, fractures of legs/arms etc. When I asked what she felt when she is caring for the elderly in Italy while her children/parents/family are left without her care, *Anna, 47 years-old,* answered:

> *They do not need us. They need money, yet. Only our money are needed, not us.*

Yes, you are earning money, your children are living. There are some newspaper articles that she is sitting day and night, does not eat, does not drink, does not smoke, when at home the cars for the children are being bought. And they do not even drive to meet her at the airport by the car which she bought for him… he did not have time to come to pick her up… (Elena, 42 years-old)

Studying the effects of migration and transnationalism on parenthood in Ukraine Alissa Tolstokorova also found that "the sacrifices migrant mothers make for the sake of their children's well-being are not necessarily fruitful, and may have a reverse impact on children's worldview by fostering a consumerist attitude to life and to their migrant parents" (2010b:191). She compares migrant parent with an ATM-machine which supposed to produce money whenever needed/asked. Thus, migration enabled Ukrainian women to provide material care they could not provide being employed in Ukraine, but simultaneously, leading to a materialistic attitude towards themselves.

Nevertheless, *material care* is not the only type of care Ukrainian migrant women give to their children. Asking what is perceived as motherhood/mother's care, *Tatiana, 38 years-old,* answered:

Everything I did not give during all these years. Care is when a child is sick and you are close. In my case all the diseases and fractures happened without me. I got to know about that by phone after a week or two, because they did not want to disturb me. I understand that care is not money, it (money) just make the life easier, makes it more comfortable. I provided care before she was 10 (before migration)

The most difficult thing in migration to Italy was leaving the children; all women have dramatically lost weight because of the stress they went through. In some cases it was even more frightening to leave parents than children, because parents are older and is it unknown whether one will meet them again in the future. Caring about their parents is very important for migrant women. *Olga, 57 years-old*, went to Ukraine immediately when her mother was deadly sick and needed care, and her sister could not handle that by herself. *Olga* did it even though she was illegal in Italy and did not know if she could ever re-enter Italy. Moreover, after her mother's death when she returned to Italy she

could not be an elderly assistant anymore as well as she could not babysit other children when she knew that her own son was left without her care.

Currently all Ukrainian migrant workers are communicating with children/family every day, and even several times a day. Computers, internet, Skype and special offers on international phone-calls made the communication easier and less expensive, gave migrant mothers an opportunity to nurture and guide the children/family from distance, give them advice and solve their problems. The computer was even called "the best friend" because of ability to see and talk to the family back home. Of course in the beginning the communication with family members was trough letters and rare short phone-calls, once or twice a week for a couple of minutes because it was too expensive. Nowadays mothers can always be reached by the children, even if a child would not wish a migrant mother 'Happy Easter', he or she will be always in touch with her to solve the problem (*Tatiana, 38 years-old*). I think that all these new forms of communication fill very important aspects of *emotional care* and enable migrant workers to support and comfort their family members. Even though mothers are not able to provide warmth and caress while apart, they try to compensate it during their visits to Ukraine once a year for a month, or twice a year for 2 weeks on the average.

Most of the migrant women do not think it is enough to care for the children at a distance. Thus they commonly feel guilt and emotional burden for leaving the family in Ukraine and they feel offence from their children of the same reason. That is why on the question "*If you could turn the time back would you migrate to Italy?*" the answers were either "*no*" or that they would migrate only with the children. Nevertheless, the migrant women acknowledge they cannot return home now, or whenever they want, because primarily it will impact their children materially as well as psychologically. If so, they would withdraw all the commodities, hobbies and education which the children are getting now via remittances. Moreover, mothers are afraid that children's lives and the relationship with children can be spoiled because of that. These mothers' reflections made me think in two different directions about transnational mothering with connection to the future.

First, although all the children of transnational mothers were over 18 by the time of the interviews, the mothers still provided for them. They have been doing so for

already around 10 years. Most women-interviewees expressed their current lives as "*native among strangers, stranger among natives*", which made it difficult for them to talk about their future plans concerning staying in Italy or returning to Ukraine. Ukrainian mothers realise that their children have grown up, will have or already have their own families, and do not need their mothers anymore, even though they have close, warm, friendly relationships. Moreover, they cannot rely on the material help from children in the future, even if it is a parent's constitutional right, and they understand that the pension they will get in Ukraine is barely enough for survival. That altogether makes them frustrated. Simultaneously one of my interviewees, who almost returned to Ukraine but temporarily migrated for the last time as a domestic worker to pay back money borrowed for her business, stated:

> *...wait, when you were going to the other country without documents, you were not scared. Why are you scared now? Many of our women-migrants have this fear. "What will I do at home?" "Who needs me there?" TRY! I am not 20, I am 42 and I am trying. Do not be afraid of trying as you were not afraid to go to the other country with no language or documents. […] and who are you here? Do you ever ask yourself, who are you here? It is slavery. (Elena, 42 years-old)*

The second way to look at the transnational motherhood in relation to the future is the way of thinking that *Tatiana, 38 years-old* expresses. She is scared to spoil the wellbeing of her child by coming back to Ukraine, even if she has already married an Italian man with whom she wants to spend the rest of her life. It is close to Solari's (2008:30-31) conclusion of her ethnographic study of Ukrainian emigration to Italy provided by the story of Slava, a mother from the westerns part of Ukraine going to Italy for the first time:

> "You see, when my son is grown he will either say to me, 'We have nothing. Why didn't you go abroad like everyone else?' Or 'Why did you abandon me?'" She did not like her "choices."

One more type of care migrant mothers provide is *moral care*. Sometimes they do that directly via communicating with children, though they acknowledge that it is difficult to do at a distance. Mostly they redirect that task to the guardians of their dependents who perform what Kofman and Raghuram (2009:12) call "other mothering". Those are mainly parents or extended kin, in rare cases – female friends or paid workers.

My participants acknowledged that it is very important to leave the children with somebody who is trusted and can be relied on. If their parents had not stayed with their grandchildren they would not been able to migrate (and they are grateful for such a help).

I think that leaving a child at any age, the person who will be close, who will give a soul and emotions, should be like you morally and perceive the world the same way. It cannot by otherwise. Otherwise the child will be lost in life (Olga, 57 years-old)

3. Children of Ukrainian female migrant workers

Analysing the experiences of children left behind in Ukraine, primarily it is worth mentioning that none of the interviewed children were offended by their mother's migration. They all understood that particular circumstances made mothers migrate – material need – and they do not think that the mothers left them on purpose:

I knew, that she is going, not because she wants it, but because it is needed, and because of our (her and her brother's) sake. /.../ You just understand that it cannot be handled otherwise" (Sveta, 22 years-old).

Moreover, all the mothers were named to be successful in distant caretaking. However, I acknowledge the peculiarity of the sample, especially with connection to the participants' age – over 18 years-old – young people who have already "tasted a bit of adult life", which I think makes a person more rational and less emotional. Therefore, the results could have been different if I interviewed the same children 5 years earlier or currently small children of migration. The impression the reader gets from the books "*Children of Emigrants…*" (2008; 2009) is rather opposite, younger children do not want material provisioning they want mothers being present in their everyday lives. Among them, I would like to present at least the following:

Luydmyla Stukalo, 14 years-old: When you grow with no presence of a close person, more so if it is father or mother, one cannot say that one does not live full life: one has everything. /…/ Just once, and maybe, thousands of times you wanted to change this "all" on just one look, one touch, one world… (ibid., 2008:40)

Alina Vilischuk, 15 years-old: I beg you: do not abandon your children because of money! We do not need money, but mothers, who would feast upon our growing-up (ibid.,2009:23).

However, all my interviewees have very close and friendly relationships with their mothers whom they love a lot. Of course, in the beginning when mothers had just left Ukraine and they were younger it was a sad and difficult time, but they went through it. Moreover, some of the children who were also elder siblings in the family said that it made them mature faster. Most of the children were left with their (female) grandparents as guardians, otherwise, with extended kin, unpaid or paid females – "global care chain" as it is. Most of the children had got along well with guardians and received the basic care they needed. Nevertheless they pointed out that nobody could and can ever substitute a mother (and a father).

Me: Did you receive care needed from your grandmother?

Interviewee: Yes. Not everything needed… because a lot of things must be explained by the parents. Some things I understood by myself or other people explained them to me, which the parents are supposed to explain during that time. These and many other things she could not explain for me (Anton, 20 years-old.)

Some children stated that it was stricter to live with grandmothers than it would have been with their own parent(s). In one case where both the mother and the daughter were interviewed, the mother said that the grandmother was much softer with her daughter then she should have been, while the daughter stated that the grandmother was stricter with her than her mother used to, because her mother could take a pity sometimes as all mothers do. And that is despite the fact that before migration all three of them had lived together and shared this everyday family experience. The daughter, *Marina, 19 years-old,* also stated that she loved her mother's affection and tenderness before she went to Italy, but now she does not like it anymore because the grandmother acted differently. Consequently, when *Marina* does not accept her mother's hugs and tenderness, the mother gets offended. I see it as one of the emotional effects of the mother's migration on the child. The other rather obvious effects were the change of gender expression when *Marina* started to behave and dress like a boy after the mother's departure, although with the presence of her feminine mother she was the "girl-girl", and currently she became feminine again. Moreover, as a psychological consequence of migration *Anton, 20 years-old,* for instance, stopped connecting himself to other people.

When the parents visited him in Ukraine he was extremely happy but got disappointed whenever it was time for them to go back, and with time he learnt not to attach himself so much to them.

It is also significant that children hardly remember the earlier period of migration. I believe it can be an effect of the retrospective research design as well as (an unconscious) wish to forget this time period. I think that it also makes the descriptions of the children's lives without parents less detailed and elaborated compared to the mothers' descriptions. That is why I got only limited information about how they were cared for by their guardians instead of their parent(s).

Defining positive consequences of their mother's migration the children mentioned, e.g. higher education, material well-being, parents' going abroad and living a better life, maturing faster, and less intergenerational and domestic fights as it is easier to get along with a person at a distance. Among the negative effects they pointed out the mother's physical absence, living far away, staying away for longer periods of time than planned.

Previous studies show that abandoned children are noted to have behavioural problems, such as conflicts and lack of discipline, also absenteeism and school dropouts, lack of study motivation etc. (Piperno 2008). In my sample *Dima, 19 years-old,* acknowledged that he had been a bad student and a tough teenager who was caught by the police for deviant behaviour. *Kolia 25 years-old,* mentioned that his parents sent him to study at the university in Kyiv because he spent his spare time in bad company where alcohol-drinking was a common practice.

Simultaneously, children would not want to live with their parents abroad either motivating that by the patriotic feelings towards Ukraine or by what they have heard about living in (the southern part of) Italy from parents and siblings who had been there, or according to their personal experiences. Parents did their best to reunite the family and bring the children to Italy, but the Ukrainian children lived there for shorter periods and eventually returned to Ukraine. The reason is the Italian attitude towards Ukrainian children, looking at them as second-class people and labelling them all "Romanians" despite national differences (because the highest percentage of immigration in the South Italy is from Romania). *Anton, 20 years-old,* who is currently living in Italy but will

return to Ukraine in the summer of 2011, said: "*I could say on behalf of many young people, boys and girls, who live here, they want to go back*", though adding that those who live in Italy since they are 7 or 8 got used to the Italian life-style and are more integrated into society. However, not all the children of migrant workers are welcome in Italy. *Sveta 22 years-old,* was rejected a visa to visit her mother for a summer month 2 years ago. I am not sure if it was an official explanation, but Sveta said, that even though the mother proved that she can support her daughter during the visit, the young girl (from Eastern Europe) could not enter Italy because of problems with prostitution in the state. This case clearly shows the migration regime in Italy and what kind of migrant workers its welfare state needs.

What is also important is that on the question if they would migrate and earn money abroad leaving their own children behind, everyone answered that most probably they would if needed. Some of them added different circumstances. For example, it could happen only if there were people like the mother or the grandmother to leave a child with; if it was only for a short time or if there was a possibility to travel back and forth or to take children with them eventually if they decided to work abroad for a long time. Anyway they would not leave their children for longer periods of time, because children need parents to care for them.

When I asked my children-interviewees about the care provided by their mothers and what mother's care means to them they mentioned that mothers were taking care being abroad and also during their visits to Ukraine. Care was provided in the form of money, goods, advices, guidance, problem-solving, "being best friends", going to doctors, paying for operations etc. These are basically what Parrenas (2001) calls *material* and *emotional care* which was recognised by the children as satisfied, though there was a lack of caresses, kisses and hugs and other expressions of the mothers' tenderness. The problem appears with *moral care*. It is difficult to raise and educate a child at a distance and socialise them into values that parents want, because teenagers and young people do not like to be controlled, told what to do or called 3 times a day. They acknowledge that today sometimes it is too much. Simultaneously, they mentioned that when they were younger and there were troubles with connection, they felt the shortage of communication and wished for more.

Most of the children-participants claimed that they did not experience any different attitude (linked to the mother's migration) towards them from anyone. There were only two exceptions. In the first case, *Anton, 20 years-old,* mentioned that he had experienced different attitudes toward him from the (secondary) school staff; he was expected to invest more money into the school renovation and things like that as his parents were working abroad and earning more money. Moreover his grandmother told him the words he still does not understand completely "*Do not tell anyone that your parents work abroad*". I think this way his grandmother was trying to prevent him from different attitudes and demands for money from anyone. Additionally, *Kolia, 25 years-old*, answered that he never experienced any different attitude, but from the interview with his mother in Italy, *Anna, 47 years old*, I learned that he had a problem at the secondary school when classmates or other pupils were beating him and demanding money from him because they knew that his parent were working in Italy. It pressured him to leave that school and change environment.

However, as expected all the children stated that neither the state or local authorities nor social workers and (school) psychologists were contacting them offering any kind of help, support or care. So it is, in spite of that fact that in the public discourse each one of them is officially defined as a "social orphan".

VII. Ukrainian care drain and dealing with it

> ...can we find a way to counterbalance the systematic transfer of caring work from poor countries to rich, and the inevitable trauma for the children left behind? (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003:13)

A large-scale migration from Ukraine has its impacts on the Ukrainian welfare, families and individuals, especially the young and the elderly. One can talk about the 'waste of human resources', including well-known brain and skill drain, and less recognised *care drain* "as women who normally care for the young, the old, and the sick in their own poor countries move to care for the young the old, and the sick in rich countries, whether as maids or as day-care and nursing-home aids" (Hochschild 2003:17).

Care drain causes social problems for the supplying country, especially in a long-term perspective. Around 94% of Ukrainian migrant women have left their children at home, usually under the father's or grandparents' custody, while 1 out of 3 are left by themselves (Montefusco, 2008:346). Children left by migrant parents are recognised by NGOs and social policies as "social orphans" (Piperno 2007). Furthermore, Ukrainian ageing population without public or familial care provision becomes more and more problematic. Exporting care labour to maintain western welfare systems that are struggling with problems of ageing population, currently Ukraine is "experiencing exactly the same - if not more dramatic - demographic trend as that in other European countries" (Piperno 2007:65).

According to the research of Parrenas (2003; 2005; 2008), Piperno (2007; 2008) and the results of my empirical research, despite the image created by government officials and journalists, transnational mothers do not leave their children without care, do not abandon them, thus one cannot talk about complete care drain. On the contrary to a negative image of abandonment, according to the interviewed transnational mothers and children, mothers visit and communicate with their children regularly, send money and packages, provide them with guidance and support, help them solving problems, although they cannot give them everyday presence, cannot take care of the child during sicknesses, cannot physically express their love and care with a hug and a kiss at a distance. Piperno calls it *care shortage* (2008). However, even though transnational children are doing well and do not feel offence towards their mothers because of migration, one cannot close the eyes on the emotional hardship experienced by the children (Parrenas 2003), on their deviant behaviour noted by school teachers, such as conflicts and lack of discipline, absenteeism and school dropouts, lack of study motivation etc. (Piperno 2007; 2008), or consumerist attitude towards parents (Tolstokorova 2009a) or any other 'abnormal' consequences caused by the mother's migration.

There are some rather normative solutions how to respond on the problems transnational children face. For example, Hochschild (2003) argues that the value of carework should be raised globally. Furthermore, a global sense of ethics should be developed to match global economic realities (demand and supply of carework across the states). It would be possible to reach if the First World countries became more

sustainable with the "resources" of the Third World, and if the Third World economies were developed to the degree that its citizens could earn as much money inside their countries as outside. Additionally, fathers should be involved into caretaking, as "it is with them that the "care drain" truly begins" (ibid:29). This viewpoint is close to those of Lister *et al.* (2007:131-132) that possible solutions could be the redistribution of care responsibilities in two processes: between women and men, breaking the stereotypes of mothers as carers and fathers as economic providers; and between the state and the family (state assistance in care; social democratic welfare regime).

I think the most important is to remember that transnational migration is neither a 'personal choice' nor a 'personal problem', but a private solution to the wider public/global problem (Hochschild 2003). While there are emotional hardships of private individuals, there are more large-scale agents involved – states. The receiving nation-state is gaining from transnational (female) migration by satisfying the care deficit through low-paid and rather "disposable" care labour, while the sending nation-state is gaining by remittances in hard foreign currency essential for its economy. That is why sending and receiving countries are to recognise the contribution of migrant workers (Parrenas 2003). Thus, as the most optimal and adequate solution to reduce the negative consequences of GCC, as I think it is unrealistic to eliminate them completely, is to involve the welfare systems of both sending and receiving countries, to create what Piperno calls the 'co-welfare', common welfare or positive transnationalism (2008:5). There should be cooperation from both sides, because both the destination countries and the countries of origin participate in "transnational welfare" (ibid), and both should share the responsibility. Destination countries, like Italy and other developed countries, should become more responsible towards the countries which supply cheap labour to fill the caring gap their welfare systems face, they should become more sustainable with the 'resources' they use. Simultaneously, the countries of origin should act on mobilising local institutions (like NGOs, schools, social services, volunteer organisations) to respond to the needs and problems connected with care drain.

Such actions can involve entertaining/leisure group-work, psychological or pedagogical seminars with transnational children, where they will be enabled to express their feelings, to share their common experiences. It can help to reduce the emotional

hardship. In case the children are left by themselves there should be some social services to check upon "social orphans" or shelters to keep them in if needed. Transnational children have better material conditions than other Ukrainian children on an average (Tolsokorova 2009a), however, they lack everyday presence of their parents. Sometimes there could be difficulties in providing effective care and supervision by the guardians and relatives, for instance, because of bad relationships with guardians, generation gap between grandparents and grandchildren, or "short-term care" as the guardians cannot keep the child for a long time and this makes children change homes and guardians continually (Piperno 2008). Thus they need emotional support they can get from other adults or peers who are geographically closer.

I think the 2008 project "*Children of Emigrants about Themselves*" organised by International Institute of Education, Culture and Relations with Diaspora of National University "Lviv Politechnique" and Fund "Open Ukraine", and round tables in different cities of Ukraine (Klyuchkovska and Gumnytska 2010) is a good start to mobilise local forces in Ukraine. Moreover, in the western regions of Ukraine where this problem is especially sharp, projects and trainings have been created targeting the social orphans. For example, there are socio-pedagogical trainings held with the transnational children in the Kirovograd region by Children Ecological Civic Organisation "Flora", which according to the estimations have positive results for the psychological adaptation of 'social orphans' (Sergata 2010). There are also special projects of "Social work with children of migrant workers" aiming to "maintain social reintegration and improve social security of children whose parents are migrant workers" ("Work with Children of Migrant Workers" 2009) organised by charitable foundation Caritas Ukraine in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. The head of the Department of Children's Affairs in Lviv city council, Taras Gurei, stated that in the schools of Lviv there are 6,000-8,000 pupils who are children of migrant workers, and 5,000 out of them do not have legal guardians, who can be either mother or father according to the Family Codex of Ukraine (Klyuchkovska and Gumnytska 2010). This makes a child vulnerable emotionally and legally, moreover, such children often become the object of violence and harassment at schools (as I have also discovered from my interviewees). Therefore, exactly these children require special attention from social workers at school, psychologists, mentors and pedagogical

collective. Taras Gurei claims that there should be a methodology developed to support such children, and the problems with their deviant behaviour could be prevented if there was information about such children and their needs (Klyuchkovska and Gumnytska 2010).

Thus currently some single local projects take place in Ukraine to lessen the effects of care drain or care shortage for transnational children. These projects are concentrated mainly in the western parts of Ukraine. However, on the state level nothing seems to be done despite the acknowledgement of the problem. On the official web-site of the Ministry of Family, Youth and Sport there are no information about any projects connected to the Ukrainian social orphans. Searching "children of migrant workers" the latest information and only information linked to the issue is about the round table in Kyiv in 2008.

Although the problems of the children of migration are being recognised and made public, elderly parents in Ukraine as dependants and those who need care are usually not discussed. Mostly they are visible in the field as those who become the guardians for their grandchildren while their children are working abroad. However according to the interviewed Ukrainian migrant women, their elderly parents are provided with care through communication, emotional support, remittances, food, clothes medicine and surgeries, a 'luxury' that not all elderly and their children in Ukraine can afford. It is a constitutional right of the Ukrainian elderly to be cared for, helped and supported by their children (Law of Ukraine "About the Basics of Social Protection of Labour Veterans and Other Citizen of Retired Age in Ukraine" 1993, Article 47). It seems that this constitutional and moral duty is successfully accomplished by migrant workers. However, on the contrary, the migrant workers themselves do not expect to be materially supported and provided for by their own children, though they have provided for their children all their lives and still do. Contrary to the findings of Parrenas (2001; 2005) that the Philippines' female migrant workers expect to return to the country of origin and be (at least materially) taken care of by their children, even if it would mean that children should migrate and earn money abroad as they had done. Thus in the case of Ukrainian migration I think it is relevant to talk about a changing intergenerational contract and a continuing care drain as migrants tend to get older as all people do. These are problems to

think about and be considered on the national as well as on the international level, as care drain and care shortage are not only current troubles that children of migration face, but also the problems of the Ukrainian elderly and future problems of the very migrant workers themselves.

VIII. Concluding remarks

The care chain between Italy and Ukraine is an example of global social and economic changes, such as the NIDL and the NIDRL, feminisation of productive work and feminisation of migration etc. The Ukrainian female migrant workers play a significant role in the organisation of welfare in both Italy and Ukraine. On the one hand, Ukrainian women satisfy the 'care deficit' in Italy, on the other hand, they provide for their dependants in Ukraine and remitting in hard currencies support the economy of the country. Simultaneously, such a *transnational welfare* causes other social phenomena, like 'mother-away' *transnational families* and *care drain* in Ukraine. As one of the children of migration, *Anna Farenuyk, 15 years-old,* expressed "*Italy is the stick with two edges: on the one edge – money, on the other – broken families*" ("Children of Emigrants..." 2009:155).

There is lack of research in the area to encompass a complete variety of problems and impacts related to the care chain between Italy and Ukraine. There is also a knowledge gap about the experiences of transnational families and their members. Within the limits of the thesis I tried to make my contribution and fill this gap, studying the experiences of Ukrainian transnational mothers and children. However, more studies should be done in the future, particularly concentrating on younger children, transnational fathers, and guardians performing "other mothering".

Through primary and secondary data analysis I have found that pushed by economic necessity Ukrainian women migrate and satisfy the 'care gap' caused by ageing population and growing female employment in Italy. Simultaneously, Ukrainian female migrant workers experience frustration from downward class mobility, separation from the family and guilt because of that, moreover, from being regarded as 'a wallet', uncertainty about the future and inability to rely on their children's material support when

they are retired. However, transnational mothers point out that they migrate for the sake of their children and parents: to be able to earn money and provide a decent life for their dependants in Ukraine. Ukrainian women do not abandon their family/dependants, but provide material, emotional and moral care through frequent communication, support, guidance, problem-solving, money, packages etc. Thus, one can talk about not a complete *care drain*, but *care shortage*. However, everyday caretaking is transferred to the extended kin (usually female grandmothers), unpaid or paid carers.

From the interviews with transnational children who are currently over 18 years-old, I learned that they appreciate the efforts of their mothers and feel no offence connected to their migration, although they miss and love them and they understand that the economic reality in their households could not be handled otherwise. However, according to how younger Ukrainian transnational children expressed themselves in "*Children of Emigrants…*", they would prefer to have their parent(s) nearby rather than to enjoy tangibles provided by them.

Even though the interviewed children confirmed that their mothers successfully provided care the way it was possible in their situation, care drain or shortage has its impacts on the Ukrainian society, children and elderly particularly. In general, transnational children experience such consequences as emotional hardship, deviant behaviour, conflicts, absenteeism, and different attitudes especially because of expectations that they have more money and should "share". Even though the problems with Ukrainian "social orphans" are being acknowledged there are only rare local projects that deal with them and no support or help at all on the national/state level. Neither attention is paid to the 'care gap' that Ukrainian elderly experience because of their adult children's migration and ageing population problem in Ukraine.

It is important to research and raise these issues publicly. Moreover, discussions should be opened about a changing intergenerational contract and a continuing care drain because migrants tend to get older as all people do, and they do not expect their children to provide for them. These are important and urgent problems that should be dealt with through the "co-welfare" of both sending and receiving states, because both benefit from the care chain or the international transfer of caretaking, thus both should become responsible for the consequences.

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Appendix 1

Semi-structured Interview Guide

(with transnational mothers, Ukrainian migrant workers in Italy)

<u>Background</u>

Name: _____

Age: _____

Place of origin/birth: _____

Place of residence:_____

Year of migration: _____

Occupation in Italy: _____

Occupation in Ukraine prior migration: _____

Education: _____

Number of children: _____

Marital status: _____

<u>Emigration to and life in Italy</u>

1. When did you come to Italy?

2. Why did you emigrate here? Why did you choose Italy?

3. What did you do for living in Ukraine before you came here?

4. Please, describe the process behind it. How did you know about the job there? Was it an independent decision? Who helped you to make this decision? Did somebody help you to get to Italy?

5. How did you feel leaving the country? What was the hardest experience about that?

6. Did you come legally or not? Which status do you have now?

   (if came illegally – Were you regularized? when were you regularized? Who helped you?)

7. What do you think about Ukrainian emigration to Italy?

8. What can you say about your living in this country?

9. How are Italians treating Ukrainians? What's their attitude towards Ukrainians?

10. Do you know/meet many Ukrainians in Italy? In the city where you live?

11. Do you have a lot of Ukrainian friends in Italy? Italian friends?

12. Where and with whom do you spend your free time?

13. Where do you live? By yourself or with somebody else?

14. If you have any kind of problems, whom will you go for help to (advice, money, accommodation etc.)?

Employment in Italy

15. What kind of job do you have? Was it the same job when you came to Italy? If not, how many of them did you change? How often? Why?

16. What can you say about live-in and live-out domestic/care workers? What is better? Why?

17. Who is your employer? What are the relationships with him/her/them?

18. What is your daily schedule? Do you have some time for rest during your working days?

19. Do you have days off? How many? How do you spend them?

20. Do you have some time for vacation to go to Ukraine? Low long is it? How often do you go there?

21. Have yours and your family's material situation improved after your working in Italy?

22. What is the average salary for your kind of job in Italy?

23. How much is your salary? Is it higher or lower due to the average? (Are food, accommodation included?)

24. Where (on what) do you spend your money mostly (food, rent, clothes, remittances…)?

25. Do you send remittances home?

26. How much of your salary do you send home? Who receives the money?

Family and care in Ukraine

27. Please, describe your family left in Ukraine.

28. How did you feel leaving your family?

29. Did you tell everyone in advance about the labour emigration? What was the reaction of family on the departure?

30. How often do you keep in touch with your family members?

31. Was it different when you just departed (concerning technological changes)?

32. What does taking care of your family/children (from the distance) mean for you?

33. Who is taking care of the family members/children on a daily basis while you are in Italy?

34. How do you see your mothering from distance?

35. How do you think, is caring from the distance enough?

    (If not) what else should you do? What else can you do?

36. Do you feel close with your children?

37. Is it difficult for you not to see your children often?

38. Do your children talk to you (first) when they have problems?

39. Did you experience any changes in the relationships with your children after your living in Italy? How has your relationships developed?

40. Do you take care of your parents in any way?

41. How can you reflect upon your taking care of children and the elderly, while your family members are left in Ukraine without your care?

42. Was it a better strategy going to Italy and earning money than staying in Ukraine with family without material provision?

    If you could turn in time would you still go to Italy or would you stay in Ukraine?

43. What kind of attitude do you face from your family, friends, society etc., about your migration?

44. Have anybody from the family visited you in Italy? Who? How often?

45. Where there any attempts for family reunifications?

46. Do you want to go back to Ukraine eventually?

47. Are you going to go back to Ukraine or to stay in Italy? Why?

    Was your attitude about returning changing throughout your living and employment in Italy?

    Thank you for your help and time!

Appendix 2

Semi-structured Interview Guide

(with transnational children)

<u>Background</u>

Name: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Place of origin/ residence: _____

Period of mother's living in Italy: _____

Education: _____

Occupation: _____

Marital status: _____

<u>Parents' emigration to Italy</u>

1. When did your mother migrate to Italy? How old were you?

2. What were the reasons for her migration?

3. Did she migrate legally or not? What is her status now?

4. What do you think about your mother's leaving the country/family/you?

5. How did you feel about that?

6. How has her departure influenced your life?

7. Did your mother ask for your advice, for your approval?

8. Where does she work there? Does she like it?

9. Do you think it was for your good or bad that she went to Italy to earn money?

10. Has your/your family's material situation improved after her working in Italy?

11. Have you ever visited your mother in Italy?

12. Is it possible for you to live there with her?

13. Does she plan to stay there or come back?

<u>Child's life in Ukraine</u>

14. Whom did you live with when she migrated? Where?

15. Did/Do you have some family left in Ukraine (father, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles etc.)?

16. Who was taking care of you when your mother was abroad? Who decided that?

17. What was your relationship with your guardian? Did you get along with him/her/them?

18. How did they care about you? Was their care enough?

19. Where did you study? Did somebody help you with homework?

20. What were you doing on your spare time? With whom did you spend your free time?

21. When you have/had any kind of troubles or need help who did/do you go to?

22. Did/do you know some other children in the same situation, with migrant parents?

23. Did you feel any kind of difference between your life and lives of children with parents in Ukraine?

<u>Caring from distance</u>

24. Please, describe your relationship with your mother.

25. What do you feel about her?

26. How often does mother come to Ukraine? For usually what period of time? Did it change throughout time?

27. Please, describe your communication while she is here, in Ukraine.

28. Do you feel close to your mother?

29. How did/do you feel not seeing her often?

30. Would you like her to come back?

31. How often do you communicate with your mother when she is in Italy? By which means?

    Is it enough for you? Is there any difference in communication throughout her migration period (from departure time till now)?

32. Can you get in touch with her whenever you need/want to? Was it the same before?

33. How can you define your mother's care for you?

34. Do you get enough of care you want? What do you need/would like to have more?

35. Can you name some advantages and disadvantages concerning your situation?

36. If you needed to work and earn money in the other country would you leave your children in Ukraine?

Community/state care and concern

37. Did you feel any different attitude towards yourself because your mother migrated?

38. Did you receive any kind of extra attention from your teachers/neighbours/people towards yourself concerning your migrant mother?

39. Did you receive any kind of help from the state? What kind of help? When? How?

40. Have social workers or psychologists ever been in touch with you concerning your migrant parent?

Thank you for your help and time!

Appendix 3

Semi-structured Interview Guide

(with the assistant of social questions in the commune of Locri, Calabria r., Italy)

1. What is the sphere of activities of your organization? What is defined as "social questions"?
2. What can you say about Italy welfare's care provision for Italians?
   What kind of state assistance (ex., benefits, special institutions or allowances) do Italians receive for the childcare, elderly care, care for sick and disabled people?
3. Do you have enough of institutions to provide care services for people needed (Children, the elderly, the disabled)?
4. Is it the responsibility of the state or the municipality to provide care services?
5. Do you have enough of state support in your municipality?
6. Is there difference between South and North of Italy in the case?
7. Is it true that the Italian state provides its citizens with cash allowance to hire a careworker? How is it applied in practice?
8. Do migrant workers fulfil "care gap"? Do you need more/less? Did you recognize any differences before, during, after the world economic crises?
9. How many of migrant domestic and care workers are employed on the territory of your municipality? For what kind of work? What is the share of Ukrainians among all migrant domestic workers?
10. How many of them are applying for work permit each year? What is the share of Ukrainians?
11. Are there any significant changes since the regularization of migrant workers in 2002?
12. What is the approximate number of illegal migrant workers?
13. Is there any trade union for domestic and care migrant workers in your municipality in the country? How do they work?
14. How would you describe conditions of work and life for domestic and care migrant workers in Italy?
15. Are there any programs for integration of immigrants in your municipality?
16. What can you say about Ukrainian community in the city?
17. Are there cases of family members visits' visa applications? How often? How many are successful?
18. Are there the cases of family reunions for female migrant workers? How many how often?
    Thank you for your help and time!

Appendix 4

Semi-structured Interview Guide

(with the head of trade union for the migrant workers in Locri, Calabria r., Italy)

1. What are the functions of your organisation? Is it the only one in your region?
2. Does the trade union protect the rights of the migrant workers? How?
3. Please tell about the process of regularisation/legalisation of migrant worker.
4. How does the trade union take care about social protection of the migrant workers in case of temporary unemployment, sickness and disability, reaching the retirement age?
5. How it works for domestic and care workers and babysitters?
6. Do domestic and care workers have social packages?
7. How do the contracts of domestic and careworker look like? Do they have a standard form for everyone? Is there any difference between the contracts of domestic workers and care workers?
8. Are there any national communities? Do you know something about the Ukrainian community in your region? Do you work with it in any way?
9. Can you give some information about the residence permits for migrants/migrant workers?
10. Can you give some information about the family members visits' visa applications and family reunification? How often? How many are successful?

Thank you for your help and time!

Appendix 5

Interviewers Sample

Ukrainian female migrant women

#	Name	Age	Place of origin	Place of residence	Occupation in Ukraine prior to migration	Occupation in Italy:1)currently; 2)experience before if different	Education	Marital status	Children	Year of emigration to Italy
1	Olga, *the key informant*	57	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Locri, Calabria region, Italy	Teacher of pedagogy and psychology, pedagogically specialized school	1)Domestic work; 2)Domestic and care work for children and elderly	Higher education in Pedagogy	Married with an Italian	Son, 19 years-old (*Dima*)	2001
2	Alla	53	Zolotonoshi, Chercassu region, Ukraine	Locri, Calabria region, Italy	Head of the financial department in the police	1)Domestic work and care work	Higher education	Divorced	Son, 29 years-old, and daughter, 25 years-old	2003
3	Anna	47	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Rocello, Calabria region, Italy	Market trade, private entrepreneur	1)Care work and domestic work	Specialized technical education, railway technical school + unfinished higher education	Divorced	Son, 25 years-old (*Kolia*) and son, 18 years-old	1999
4	Tatiana	38	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Palmi, Calabria region, Italy	Kindergarten teacher	1)Domestic work; 2)Carework	Specialized pedagogical education, teacher of physical education	Married with an Italian	Daughter, 19 years-old (Marina)	2002
5	Elena	42	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Siderno, Calabria region, Italy	Market trade, private entrepreneur	1)Domestic work: 2)Domestic work and care work, bartender, aestetist, assistant of hairdresser, sale-person	Higher education, in physical culture and fencing	Divorced	Son, 20 years-old	1999

Ukrainian children of migration

#	Name	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Place of residence	Year of mother's migration	Guardians	Occupation	Education completed at the moment	Marital status
1	Anton	20	Male	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Siderno, Calabria region, Italy	2000	Grandmother	Student, high school	Secondary school	Single
2	Marina	19	Female	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Kharkiv, Kharkiv region, Ukraine	2000 (*Tatiana*)	Grandmother	Student, university	High school	Single
3	Sveta	22	Female	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Kharkiv, Kharkiv region, Ukraine	2000	Grandmother, paid careworker, elder brother and sister-in-law	Manager in a store	Higher education	Single
4	Pavel	29	Male	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	2000	Grandmother, paid careworker	Manager in the store	Specialised education, railway technical school	Married
5	Dima	19	Male	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	2001 (*Olga*)	Aunts, unpaid friend of the mother, paid carer	Student, university	High school	Single
6	Kolia	25	Male	Kremenchuk, Poltava region, Ukraine	Kyiv, Ukraine	1999 (*Anna*)	Grandparents	Private entrepreneur	Higher education	Single

Experts

#	Referred in the text as	Position	Gender
1	First expert	The assistant of social questions in the commune of Locri, Reggio Calabria, Italy	Male
2	Second expert	The head of trade union for the immigrant workers in Locri, Reggio Calabria, Italy	Male