Dynamics and Decision-Making Processes in Transnational Families:

Home-Making and Return of Romanian Labor Migrants

By

Camelia Badea

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisors: Professor Prem Kumar Rajaram

Professor Andreas Dafinger

Budapest, Hungary

2014

Abstract

Historically women migrants have been associated with immobility and passivity regarding the migration project. As women migrants became more visible, they also gained more power in making plans and decisions, preferring oftentimes to take root at destination, thus contesting and challenging some of the existing norms on home-making through specific gender activities. Frequently, as pointed in some of the presented case studies, their quasi-empowering migration experiences changed the dynamics within their families, sometimes as much as structural factors. In order to bring out the dynamics of family life, I use home-making and return as analytical tools to highlight migrants' struggles to maintain a coherent and convenient migration project for all. Using a transnational perspective on migration, I investigate the gendered and aged dynamics between members of transnational families to show that besides women, children and other rooted family members get involved in decisions that represent more than just fulfilling household chores. Drawing on a multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork conducted among Romanian labor migrants in Sperieteni (Romania) and Zaragoza (Spain) my research explores the decision-making process in four familial migration projects in which members are multifariously involved. To evince the flexibility and inconsistency of transnational family life I conclude with a discussion on the coherence of the migration project as a non-teleological experience that uncover the resilient mechanisms members employ to face challenges.

Key words: *transnational families, migration project, return, home-making, multi-sited ethnography*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

Photo of a graffiti in Bucharest that reads "Children and grandparents of migration", credits: Ștef Liviu, source: Facebook

<<Offline Family>> presented on the stage of the Very Small Theatre (Bd. Carol 21, Sector 1 [Bucharest]) is the performance of coming of age. It is a performance of children who transform in grown-ups waiting to be together with their mother and father. Their growing up process raises innocent, affectionate and cynical questions about the world we live in: When are we old enough to take care of ourselves and of our beloved ones? When do we become mother? And when mother is not around, who is the mother?

(Cultural Association Replika, 2013, http://copiii-migratiei.blogspot.ro/)

Introduction. Of 'Children and grandparents of migration'

The 'Offline Family' theatre project, the one from which the previous quote is excerpted, is one of the few visual and arts projects[1] developed lately that documents the changes in family dynamics produced by transnational migration from Romania. It focuses on the children and other family members left behind and on their struggles to make sense of their parents' work plans and migration experiences. As a grassroots project, it aims to empower children, by giving them a voice, and by making them more visible in the migration stories they're part of. Thus, children finally come to be seen as actors - and not simply objects - in the migration projects their parents envisioned. With almost a quarter of Romanian households having experienced migration - directly or indirectly - (Sandu, 2006, 2010) [2] it is to no surprise that such projects mushroomed into a broader debate on the consequences of mass migration. After Romania's accession to EU, being the Union's eastern-most border has increased its visibility on the European scene. This impacted research funding and interest in studying migration, hence bringing the question of its consequences to the fore. Children's rights and well-being have become one of the most conveyable topics.

As the examples of the graffiti and of the play show, although migration became socially encompassing and immersed as a central topic in arts and (popular) culture, migrants' families

---

[1] The photo project "Pride and concrete", Petruț Călinescu and Ioana Hodoiu (2010-2013) http://prideandconcrete.com/about-the-project.php, and two documentaries "Here… I mean there…", Laura Căpățână (2012) presentation http://www.astrafilm.ro/film.aspx?id=4476 and page https://www.facebook.com/pages/AICI-ADICA-ACOLO/132819686894591, "Mama illegal", Ed Moschitz (2011) http://www.mamaillegal.com/start_en.html

[2] According to Sandu an indirect migration experience means having a member of the household abroad and getting in contact with the "language" of planning and experiencing migration. He also argues that this is an important source of future life and migration plans, especially in poor and isolated communities, with great effects on areas largely affected by deindustrialization. See the next chapter for a historical overview of Romanian migration abroad.

are generally portrayed stereotypically. Whereas undeniably the negative effects of migration need to be taken into account (Călin, Umbreş 2006, Sandu, Alexandru 2009), the transnationalization of migration produces new ways of organizing family life and household activities in a space which is now centered around home and/or the migration project (Sandu 2010). In my thesis I scrutinize family dynamics in a transnational social field to see how decisions on migration are made. I argue that, despite migrants' imaginings of their experiences at certain moments, their migration cannot be understood as a teleological project, but rather as an ongoing process of negotiation of projects, roles, imaginaries and practices in which family members contribute not as individual coherent actors, but rather like an incoherent collective one in which the resilient mechanisms they employ are no more than stitches that hold the migration project together. More so as decisions are often influenced by legislation, both at origin and at destination, by the structure of the family and household, by the timing of certain decisions, by the place in which this decisions are made, and by a complex imaginary of what family life is and should be. As the family histories on which my argument is articulated show, this is true both for people's decision to leave Romania, and for their choice to stay or to return. Depicting the current labor migration from Romania as a form of transnational, familial migration project (Ryan et al 2009, Sandu 2010, Fedyuk 2011), my thesis first examines the gender and intergenerational dynamics in impacted Romanian households created by different members' understandings of their roles in the migration project. Second, given the transnational nature of these families (Bryceson, Vuorela 2002, Portilla 2014) I examine how decisions are made with regard to the adjustment of the migration project.

Over the past four decades, migration has been gendered to the extremes, first focusing exclusively on men or addressing women only as variables (Mahler 2001) and more recently, to

make up for the imbalance, has been taken to the other extreme of 'feminization of migration', leaving men under researched (Pribilsky 2004). The call for using gender as relational and analytical tool to look at migration processes has been made in order to reduce these imbalances focused on actors and to place, instead, at center stage the labor processes and power dynamics it determines (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003, see also Munck 2009). Thus, scholarship has oriented towards more encompassing research units, where both genders, as subjects embedded in households, families, work relations, networks (Bryceson, Vuorella 2002, Ehrenreich, Hochschild 2002) could be represented in relation to the object of study. Most of these studies however, focus on migrants from impoverished regions of the Global South (Yeoh et al 2005); migrants who migrate across the globe for periods of time often extending one year and whose cross-border mobility is severely restricted. Yet in post-1989 Europe the short-term circular regional migration has become the most widespread migratory pattern (Morawska 2008).

I posit that circular migration has different impacts than long-term one because family member's absence from home is relatively short. When extended, though, given the proximity of the destination country, family members find the means to maintain relations. It thus allows for more diverse set of member responses and household strategies to cope with distance and crisis. Also, in times of radical changes (i.e. economic crisis) the question on who makes decision on migration and how are gender roles reproduced or challenged becomes even so more relevant with regard to type and access to resources in conditions of uncertain stability. In addition, I focus on migration's impact specifically on the first generation migrants whose unfinished migration experience imprints a nostalgic, often ideal understanding of home and return.

Being caught between two (or more) countries during the economic recession migrants' discourses about return are highly contextual and became more prominent during its first years,

3

but the actual steps towards practice were sometimes postponed or temporally pended (Sandu 2010, Stănculescu, Stoiciu 2012). They often blended in the discourse on return concerns about home and their membership rights as European citizens. Making the difference between ways of creating citizenship in European (Soysal 1995, Baubock 2007) and American context (Levitt 2001), the current research allows highlighting Levitt's observation regarding identity and citizenship formation in transnational context, which she sees as related to the cooperation and negotiation between origin and destination countries. Thus, the policies of the de-territorialized North American states lead to a definition of "home" as the place where remittances are invested, i.e. in the origin community, where migrants' identities have also been shaped (Morawska 2008), while in the European context, the double scale of membership rights (national and European) leads to more fluid meanings of home; "home" is where the local context allows the fulfillment and flexible change of the migration projects, settlement and identity. Besides the structural opportunities that largely contribute to the definition of home, cultural studies (Levitt 2001, Ahmed et al 2003) introduced the dimension of the power relations that allow migrants to permanently negotiate the space, the identities (Christou 2006) and the norms of home-making in different moments of time. Thus, in European context, the question of *home* raises naturally for Romanians whose membership rights have been upgraded in time and abruptly downgraded, allegedly because of the crisis (see chapter 1).

My thesis seeks to answer questions on who made the decision to emigrate in the first place and how other family members backed the decision up. I explore the ambiguous way in which both children and parents of migrants seem to be involved in this decision – neither as subjects, nor as objects. I further analyze the dynamics of transnational families with regard to the migration project they are embedded in, looking more specifically to the way the decision to

4

return is made (Laoire 2011). Consequently, I also look at how are different representations of migration and home negotiated with regard to the structural opportunities and the migration stage they are in. I forwardly seek to see how they address the ruptures, the coping mechanisms and the (dis)continuities of family life in time (Fedyuk 2011) and to explore the corresponding resilient migration strategies from the initial migration project. For answering these questions, I employ definitions of home and return adjusted to the migration of a first transnational generation in European context.

Thus, drawing on secondary literature on Romanian and Eastern European migration, in the first chapter I make a brief presentation of the dynamics of Romanian labor migration in Europe to contextualize the development of the transnational field in which migrants (re)organize their families and lives. I mark the most important turning points and legislative events, both in Romania and Europe that led to the constitution and the consolidation of Romanian migration flows and patterns. The timing of these changes and the geographical European space are significant for how the transnational life looks nowadays.

In the second chapter, I analyze four family histories, in order to pick up the meanings of the "roots and routes" (Blunt 2005) underlying the definitions of home. My research is based on multi-sited ethnography. The narrative strategy of my second chapter was to select four extended families and to follow through the transformation of their intricate relations as they became and stabilized as transnational families. Nevertheless, the conclusions of this research endeavor are also founded on multiple observations and interviews with other migrants, realized during a period of more than six years. My ethnographic account draws not only on thick description (Geertz 2003) of family life and decision-making processes but also on thick family migration histories. My research grew in a multi-sited field based in Sperieţeni, Romania and Zaragoza,

5

Spain, where the mobile part of the Romanian community is based (Mazzucato, Schans 2011) and on previous research on migration and life strategies during the crisis in the rural community in Romania (Badea 2009). While my previous research helped me identify the sites and stay in contact with some families, my current research, taking place in the winter of 2011 and the spring of 2012 allowed me to extend my observations and ask questions on the transnational family life.

The study strives for completing the families' migration stories of four of the multigenerational families I have previously become acquainted with, in order to uncover the dynamics, tensions, struggles and changes in maintaining a coherent and convenient migration project for all. I thus opted to explore the various meanings of home and return of transnational migrants, both rooted and mobile, through life stories. I have followed these families from Speriețeni cross-border and I got acquainted with three more other in Spain. In terms of individual histories I completed 5 more life stories (see list of other interviewees in the annex). I also made use of spontaneous gatherings with children (aged 16-18) of migrant families in Speriețeni to fathom the intergenerational dynamics (see the list of questions in the annex).

I utilized participant observation techniques to trace the changes in family roles, the usage of remittances, the management of emotions during the decision-making process and during migration, and the role other institutions (i.e. the church) play in these (Lutz 2010). So, I took part in driving and walking tours and informal discussions, family events (i.e. reunions), but also in everyday activities (i.e. shopping, picking up children from school, dinners and lunches, family visits) and mass services at three churches of different confessions. In order to grasp the intergenerational family dynamics I tried to defocus the migration story from the usually main male actor by offering space or provoking other family members to intervene or in separate

6

discussion. However, when children and parents were present altogether that was not always possible.

Thus, pointing out to the struggles of maintaining a coherent and convenient migration project for everyone, I attempt to show how the new meanings invested through a variety of practices open towards new forms of transnational families that preserve certain characteristics of conventional families. In the stories of these families I also indicate how the individual narratives do not interweave in a coherent idea about what migration is as a family project. On the contrary, I reveal how individual aspirations, needs, imaginings and resources come into collision in some very specific moments of family life. Thus, I conclude with a discussion on the meanings of migrants' mobility with an end in mind in which family members' individual contributions are incoherent, impermanent and constitute as stitches that keep together the migration project as a collective, rather than as an individual one.

Through the investigation of complex connections binding gendered subjects, home-making and decision-making in the space of transnational families, this thesis thus seeks to contribute to the existing anthropological scholarship on globalization, migration and family by its focus on intra-European components of transnational migration. In addition it seeks to extend the existing work by examining specificities of family dynamics which have been only marginally addressed in relation to return migration. Finally, focus on the intergenerational aspect will further enhance the understanding on home-making in a new type of transnational space.

7

Chapter 1. The Transnationalization of Romanian Labor Migration: Patterns, Flows, Institutions and Legislation

The presence of the 'Children and grandparents of migration' graffiti (see page v) on the buildings in Bucharest, as a cultural indicator of yet another economic era (Chelcea 2008), reflects the development of the Romanian migration as a postindustrial phenomenon. During the 25 years of mass migration Romania became an important mark on the map of the European labor market, entering, with its specificities, the global flows of migration (Surak 2013). After Romania's accession to the EU the labor migration became more visible, both nationally and internationally, due to its political implications and its conspicuous effects and consequences on the rural communities and urban areas (Horvath, Anghel 2009), migration becoming a "barometer of development" (Munck 2008: 1244).

With a history of intense internal migration before 1989 which displaced people, works and lives (Sandu 1984) the migration studies in Romania after 1990, with its international dimension, begun as community development studies (Sandu 1996). These studies focused, at their inception, on the changes produced by the transition from state socialism to market economy and were mostly driven by a development agenda; analytically these studies aimed to first answer the questions of "whos", "hows", "wheres" and "how many" of migration and only later looked at its "societal effects" (Sandu 2005a, 2006). When the accession to the EU prefigured to the horizon the stake has changed and the studies have been oriented towards analyzing the changes revolved around the community acquis and migrant incorporation in destination countries and consequent mobility patterns. After accession, given the structural changes that led to the formation of new patterns of migration, the attention centered on the transnationalization of migrant life and its consequences (Stănculescu, Stoiciu 2012: 46). I will

8

further depict the emergence of Romanian migration abroad in terms of patterns, flows and legislation, with focus on migration to Spain, highlighting the changes experienced during specific turning points. I thus aim to uncover the process of transnationalization of Romanian migration and the formation of a transnational field in which family dynamics, strategies and decision-making processes are constantly re-assessed (Levitt, Glick Schiller 2004). I argue that Romania's migration history through the accession to the European Union represents in fact its entering a dynamic of global labor dependence, in a very specific regional context that reproduces the global trends and the consequent work and interpersonal dynamics.

The existing multiple periodizations of Romanian migration abroad after 1989 (Horvath 2007, Diminescu 2009, Sandu 2006, 2010, Ulrich et al 2011) all take into account approximate time intervals to highlight the flows and the migration patterns of each period: (permanent) ethnic migration, political asylum seekers, reverse rural to urban migration, clandestine and circular migration, temporary work (e)migration, immigration and transnational migration. However, I won't use any of these time intervals per se, as they hide the turning points of the incorporation on the global market and for my argument is more important to show the dynamics of flows and their materialization into patterns. Thus, amid the turbulent early years of the 1990s, migration was mainly characterized by big outward flows of German (around 40.000), Hungarian (around 30.0000) and Jewish (3904) ethnic migrants which shrank by mid-1990s (Horvath 2007, Diminescu 2009). However, the stabilization of these flows in the following period is due to circular mobility between the origin and destination countries and a developing pattern of cross-border contraband and commerce. In addition, a strand of Roma migration began at the junction of ethnic and cross-border commerce. It was the visibility of their migration that pushed the state

9

to sign the first bi-lateral agreements and determined the then Romanian Roma leaders consider developing a transnational Roma political project (Diminescu 2009: 48).

The Roma were the ones who, playing an ethnic identity card and using the experience of cross-border commerce, first started asking for political asylum in the Western countries. There were, in total, between 1993 and 1996 66.300 asylum seekers (Roma and non-Roma) and double the amount of those returned to Romania (Diminescu 2009: 50). During this period, mid-1990s - end of 1990s, the non-ethnic migration flows have shifted from the East (Israel and Turkey) to the North (US, Canada, Western and Nothern Europe), and have diversified, including both labor migrants and the first high-skilled migrants (Diminescu 2009, Stoiciu 2014:72). The year 1997, when Romania took a loan from IMF to overcome the effects of previous bad politics that lead it to recession (Pajares 2011, Sandu 2005b: 38), is significant for both the internal and international migration as the flows dramatically changed. Therefore, the intensive internal rural to urban migration that began in the communist era, and slowed down after 1989, has now reversed into an urban to rural migration strategy employed to overcome the economic hardship. Internationally, the interest in the north-western countries of Europe decreases and migration concentrates in the Mediterranean countries: Italy, Spain and Greece. By 2001, when the Romanian legislation was brought up to date, Italy (counting 22% of departures from Romania) and Spain (counting 9% of departures, equal to Hungary, but less than Israel) gradually became main destination countries (Sandu 2006).

In fact, before the first accession discussions emerged (2001) Romania didn't have a legislation regulating migration, only a couple of bilateral acts that more hindered than fluidized the flows (Diminescu 2009: 55, Șerban, Stoica 2007: 52). These acts often hid migrants' precarity and vulnerability behind very general entitlements (aimed for all citizens) and avoided

addressing the social benefits and work conditions. The first Romanian institution, Labor Force Migration Office, was founded in 2002 and in 2004, only after a failed attempt to accession, the Romanian state adopted a policy in the field of immigration (Horvath 2007: 3). As the role of the policy was to meet Community's expectations so was its content, it aimed to answer European states' concerns with regard to the expansion of Romanian migration (Șerban, Stoica 2007: 51). The effect of these legislative changes, or lack of them thereof, was a restriction of individual private initiatives (not mediated by the state) (Șerban, Stoica 2007) in terms of exit opportunities before 2002. All the while the immigration Spanish law was more permissive, even more than the Italian one (Perez 2003), thus creating an opportunity for irregular mobility.

Thus, the flows at the beginning of the 2000s showed a shift towards temporary work migration and a concentration of flows towards Italy and Spain that by 2006 reached 50% and 24% respectively of departures for work from Romania (Sandu 2006: 24-5). Immigration to Romania also increased, the number of asylum seekers reached a peak of almost 2500 applicants in 2001, both meeting descending rates as the accession approached (Horvath 2007: 6). The diversity of migratory patterns increased to the point to which trafficking (of women, sex workers, children) became a visible flow. However, the state became more responsive to migration 'problems' and introduced legislation and founded institutions to deal with them. Yet, even today Romania lacks an institution to manage data on all types of migration patterns, while the existing research does not cover enough all its issues (Diminescu 2009).

In 2007 Romania entered European Union, gaining full traveling and working rights, but only 11 out of its 25 member states granted it that; Great Britain, Netherlands and two more countries have maintained restrictions until 2014. Since then, Spain and Italy became the two main destination countries which despite their different migration politics showed similar

immigration trends. During 2007-2013 the number of Romanian residents in Italy and Spain did not explode as expected, on the contrary, the rhythm of expansion of Romanian communities was lower than before accession. In June 2013 there were 925 thousand Romanians in Spain and around 1 million in Italy (Stoiciu 2014: 73). In terms of legislative changes, in 2007 Spain applied a moratorium for labor migrants, canceled it in 2009, and reintroduced in 2011the working permit for Romanian migrants who represented the largest immigrant group at that time (Pajares 2011). Italy however removed any restrictions for Romanians and Bulgarians. In the meantime, a flow of highly skilled migrants developed as the crisis emerged in Romania (Ulrich et al 2011). Nowadays, the total estimates reveal a number of about 2.5-3.5 million Romanians working abroad.

With a large history of emigration and a short history of immigration, Spain is one of the countries whose economic ascension in the 2000s allowed large flows of immigration. It was also the time when unrestrictive policies facilitated the absorption of a large amount of immigrants for the new created jobs, especially migrants coming from Eastern Europe; in ten years the number of Eastern Europeans grew eightfold: from 3,3% in 1999 to 25,8% in 2008 (Martinez, 2008, 171). Spain's economic growth also meant an important shift in the migrant sending countries, but also in the type of economic activities it developed: cheap workers in services and constructions (Lopez-Sala, Ferrero-Turrion, 2009). In the context of regionalization of economic rights and policies in the EU, Spain sent, through assisted return programs, its Latin American and North African labor migrants back to make room for Eastern Europeans, creating conditions for good incorporation. When things 'got out of control' the Government, using the pretext of crisis, re-introduced the work permit in 2011, at migrants' dismay and people's outrage (Tulbure 2011).

The regionalization of migration in Spain is best depicted by Martinez (2008: 179-81) in an analysis on Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants. The clustering is made on the division of labor on the job market and the development of migration networks in certain areas. The two groups, despite holding similar formal rights of work and residence, they do not share the same counties and municipalities, except for the Madrid area. Thus, while Romanians are spread along a more or less vertical axis orientated along the coast, starting from the French border and passing through Madrid, Bulgarians are spread more or less along an horizontal line: from the west to the east side of the country, also crossing Madrid. Africans and Latin Americans, the older immigrant groups in Spain were mostly clustered in the largest cities (with more than 100.000 inhabitants). The most popular area for Romanians and Bulgarians is the coast, where they live especially in the largest cities (also Madrid) or in the smallest ones and rural areas (i.e. municipalities with 5.000 to 10.000 inhabitants). Internally, Madrid is one of the most wanted and fast-absorbing destinations of immigrants from the whole Spain and by 2006, because of the large incoming flows, it also became a large distribution node of immigrants (Martinez 2008: 191). It first spread immigrants to large cities (i.e. Barcelona and Valencia) and then to smaller ones (i.e. Zaragoza and Castellon). Thus, Zaragoza, the fifth largest city in Spain by population, nowadays holds the same position for the number of Romanian immigrants (Sandu 2010).

At the same time, the Aragon region became the fifth region in Spain with the highest number of Romanian immigrants registered, after Madrid, Valencia, Catalona and Castilla-la Mancha. However, because of its limited capacity of absorbing immigrants (Martinez 2008: 189) and proximity to Madrid, the region also became a transit area. The arrivals in Zaragoza after 2004, when the city was chosen to host an international exhibition, are due to the Expo 2008 (an event on water and sustainable development that took place in September 2008) that generated a

13

lot of employment opportunities. Otherwise, except for the main city where the job market is more diverse, the opportunities in the rest of the county of Aragon are mainly in agriculture, but the conditions are harder. Thus, most migrants prefer a temporary stay in the city until they learn the language and obtain residence permits. Otherwise, they move towards the coast (Pajares 2011).

The Romanian flows of emigration as delineated above unfold after similar regional patterns to the immigration in Spain. An important turning point that shifted the outgoing flows regionally is the second major regularization that took place in Spain in 2001. It was grasped through a 2001 community census on migration in Romania (Sandu 2005a, 2005b). This census revealed that the ethnic migrations at the beginning of the 1990s have been initiated from Transylvania and Western Romania, where the most heterogeneous ethnic community lived. These first departures put the basis of migrant networks that later attracted circular migrants in Hungary and Germany. Until 2002 'migratory movements were mainly from regions that are not very poor and have high cultural diversity' (Sandu 2005b: 39), thus migrants had some resources to initiate departure. The counties with the highest emigration rates in 2002 were those in North Romania and West of the Moldova region. They chose as destination France and Italy. Migrants from Eastern Romania first went to Turkey, in the 1990s, and then, in the 2000s, to Spain. Those from the South, in the poorest counties, took to Spain, but only after the visa restrictions have been uplifted (after 2002).Migrants from the west Romania followed the pattern of cross-border commerce in Serbia and Hungary in the 1990s, and after 2000s followed networked routes to Spain and Hungary, respectively (Sandu 2005c). These flows later condensed in the two main streams to Italy and Spain based on the existing routes and networks from the destination county.

14

Thus, the convergence of flows towards the current two main destination countries followed a global dynamic in which temporality, space and the legal provisions structured the dynamics of migration. Also, as illustrated, the return did not come as a natural consequence of the development of migration as a process, but rather enforced by the economic context, i.e. the financial crisis. In this context I talk about the return of a first generation of migrants who envision migration and return in relation to a complex web of opportunities and constraints.

I have attempted in this chapter to show how the transnationalization of Romanian migration meant its entrance in a global chain of mobility for work in which the structural factors at origin and destination lead to the forms of transnational dynamics as we witness nowadays. I further depict these dynamics with regard to the transnational family life very much determined by migrants' working opportunities.

Chapter 2. Transnational Practices of Flexible Families: Imaginaries of Home and Return

There are many forms of imagining and maintaining a family life in a transnational space; especially when the context complicates due to structural factors (i.e. migration policies, crisis etc). This section aims to grasp the meanings of transnational family experiences of four 'ideal type' of such families by showing the intricate connections between decision-making and home making in migration. I thus further scrutinize the ruptures, coping mechanisms and (dis)continuities of family life when needing to deal with a difficult financial situation and a decision to return. By mapping out these mechanisms I aim to show in which way each of the family subscribes to a transnational ethos (Bryceson, Vuorela 2002).

2.1   The ideal transnational family

The type of migration experienced by the younger members of the Dan family has been classified as pioneering migration by virtue of the exploratory and irregular patterns it followed. The third departure, though, almost a decade later, followed a more trodden pattern. The legislative changes, mobility patterns in the three countries and the family structure imprinted dynamism in the transnational field in which the Dans were floating, allowing for a higher circulation of goods and people. Moreover, given the structural context and family fabric, the differences between family members' imaginings and practices seemed to be cohabiting in a less conflicting manner

than in any other family. All these gave a feeling of "familyhood" and made them look like an ideal transnational family (Bryceson, Vuorela 2002:28).

Everyone in Dan family experienced migration, directly or indirectly. Three out of four of Raluca and Ion Dan's children work or have worked abroad after 1989 (Marin, Mircea and Irina), and only one daughter (Cristina) had just travelled to visit her brothers and sister. Having a college degree that helped her find and keep a good job in Bucharest, Cristina didn't need to find work abroad. Parents, early retirees, have often travelled to help their children with child care at destination during the productive years. When the boys returned, parents also helped them re-organize their lives in Romania. Currently, only Irina with her husband and daughter are still abroad, bearing the effects of the economic crisis in Spain. Family members' back and forth travels between Romania, Spain and Greece spanned almost two decades.

Marin, the youngest child, left first in 1996, illegally crossing the border to Greece with the help of some friends and neighbors. Painter by trade, he easily found work in constructions and managed to legalize his status in two years, but was unhappy with the increased level of xenophobia, manifested by people and by the Greek authorities. His departure story determined his brother and sister consider a friendlier reception country when they left. After 2000, he started coming regularly home where he met Ilinca, a migrant neighbour as well, with whom he started a relationship. For a couple of years they had a relationship at distance and when the crisis hit they both returned and settled in the home village. Returned in 2008, Marin started the expansion of his father's house to make room for his family: he and Ilinca were planning to get married and have children.

Irina, the youngest daughter, left to Spain in 1999 with a bought visa, right after finishing her post-secondary studies. She was in a relationship with a guy (Andrei) from Târgovişte who

17

was fulfilling his military service at the time of her departure; she eventually married him and took roots together in Spain. She first found work in child care and changed some jobs as domestic worker until she got a permanent job as an accountant. In the beginning, Andrei worked in constructions but with the crisis he ended up doing different jobs (gardening and constructions). After marriage, Irina and Andrei bought an appartment in Spain and remained there to raise their daughter while maintaining family relations transnationally. Irina helped her older brother, Mircea, and his wife to find work in Spain in 2006. The two left to Spain at a time when Romanian migration expanded and returned two years later, in the meantime having bought an appartment in Târgoviște and their home in a nearby village restored with money earned in Spain.

The decisions to leave abroad for work were mostly taken individually, however, despite childrens' young age at departure (Irina and Marin left in their early twenties) parents supported their decisions by helping them with money and occasionally with pieces of advice:

> I told him: Bub, be careful that you go work abroad, you're working with strangers, there's no problem that you work in a team, they leave their tools, all kind of things, they pretend they forgot them, you seize it, take it [...] you need something, you go ask for it 'Sir, I want to do...' (Ion, 2008)

Mostly because of their lack of knowledge and understanding of these issues, Ion and Maria let their children deal with the complexities of their own problems, intervening only on request. For example, when Marin encountered the first legal problems and returned home for a couple of months in 1998, they didn't do much to help, just let him take his time and solve things by himself.

Children's decisions to return and settle back home have been met with support and understanding by their parents. Marin was the first who returned, in the fall of 2008, and asked to

extend his parents' current dwelling with two separate rooms to accommodate him and his wife, Ilinca. They planned the wedding for the spring of 2009 and prepared to welcome their first child the same year. For a while, Marin and his brother Mircea tried to manage a firm in a different county and to rent his apartment in a nearby town (Găeşti), but both their enterprises failed. Thus, the idea to take roots at home and found a family was a strategy to endure the crisis in a safer place, while imagining new plans for a future departure abroad, with the whole family, at the end of the crisis. In the meantime they tried to secure their family's comfort at home, while maintaining relations with family and friends abroad, i.e. the godparents of the firstborn were still living in Greece. In 2012, they had their second child. His parents, Ion and Maria, gladly offered to help with the expansion of the house and child care so that they can find jobs and revenue-producing activities.

In fact, the best support Ion and Maria offered to all was child care, wherever they lived. They also looked after Mircea's older children in Romania, while their son and his wife were in Spain. In order to take care of their grandchildren, they had to move from place to place around the county, so they lived in: Picior de Munte (a nearby commune), Târgovişte and Sperieţeni. When Mircea returned, he renovated his appartment in Târgovişte, preparing it for children's relocation to the city, for pursuing their education. Because he could not adjust to his life in Spain, he didn't plan to go to work abroad again, and his wife returned to her former job as a hairdresser in Târgovişte.

Although Mircea found life at home easier to bear, for his sister Irina and his brother-in-law Andrei, the idea of return was not viable. Their reasons for staying in Spain were first of all related to a strategic imagining of the next generation's future. Their daughter, Carmen, had been born and educated in Spain and they were unwilling to uproot her. Second, they decided to stay

19

because of financial constraints - they were indebted to the bank for their apartment in Zaragoza and they didn't really have where to return to either as they sold their apartment in Târgoviște and Irina's parents house has been inhabited by her brother's family. Andrei's parents were living in a small apartment in Târgoviște and were unable to host. Thus, when I visited them in March 2012, although their financial situation was difficult, they thought about returning to Romania only as a last resort. Moreover, being well integrated in Spain, they counted on the help of their Spanish friends and acquaintances in difficult situation.

The family life of Dans spread across three countries having a stable nucleus in the southern region of Romania. During the time spent abroad, all three children managed to buy their own apartments in the city, which they renovated and equipped in time. That was the way successful migrants from the village wisely invested remittances and ensured their future; this was the way they first envisioned the end of their migration project - by drawing away to their houses upon return. While the apartments were for rent during their stay abroad, they would spend holidays to their parents' house, in the home village.

Mircea and Marin knew they would live only temporarily in the destination countries, and didn't invest too much effort into accommodating themselves in a house. Mircea lived in his sister's formerly rented apartment while Marin, having lived with a couple of friends for a long time, had to find a studio for himself when they got married. Both brothers had strings that pulled them back to Romania: Mircea had a home and a family, while Marin had parents and a girlfriend. In spite of working in different countries (Mircea in Greece and Ilinca in Spain) they were visiting each other and maintained a transnational relationship for a couple of years. However, it was more convenient for them both to meet when visiting parents in the home village as it was more difficult at that time to withdraw from the networks each built in Spain and Greek

to be together in one place. Marriage was envisioned as a way to increase the resources and opportunities each of them had in anticipation of the moment when they would live together and they would have a common migration project.

As for Irina and Andrei, he followed her shortly in Spain, right after finishing the military service and both decided to settle there when Carmen was born. However, the decision to remain seeded in their minds when Adrian started feeling comfortable and welcomed there; she did not object to that since they got stable jobs, an extended and diverse network[3] and a house of their own. So, while her brothers were making homes from afar in Romania, she was settling in Spain, as the custom of the married daughter in the husband's family requires.

In Speriețeni, Dans family house was full of co-habiting antagonistic features: on the inside it looked like the two parts belonged to two different worlds, while on the outside they looked like a whole. The parents' part looked stuffed and old, while children's part looked spacious and modern. On the outside, the front yard looked conventional for a village household (a flower garden, a garage and tools spread around) while the backyard looked like a Mediterranean lawn (with a barbecue and a small pool for children). However, they all kept photos of close family members and friends on display, even of members living abroad, to show extended connections and to bridge distances. The young couple also displayed photos of them from the wedding, while the elders had a big collection of photos of children and grandchildren at different ages.

When I visited Irina and Andrei in Spain, their house looked familiar with a modern interior design in a small space, confering a feeling of comfort and closeness, a combination of the two smaller parts of the house in Speriețeni. I later learned that the arrangement of the space

---

[3] unsurprisingly, they live in the most densely populated neighbourhoods in Zaragoza, Delicias, one of the two most inhabited by Romanians (the second one is Torre-La Paz) (Solano 2002: 107-20)

this way and the frequent presence of Andrei at home (due to a shortage of work opportunities) produced tensions between him and his daughter Carmen. Just like home, photos of family members both from Romania and Spain were on display in their living room. When I asked about some of those portraying unfamiliar faces to me I was invited to a photo showing session in which the family life story unreeled. In fact, this moment purported a meaning for all of us: for the daughter to dig into her parents' past life, for the couple to remember their life before and arrival to Spain while for me it was a performance of good family relations and wealth.

Like in any other migrant family, food products and homemade food was a reason of celebration, sharing, and nostalgia about home. During the two weeks I spent with them, Irina and Andrei received food and gifts on almost every religious or secular celebration[4], directly or through relatives and friends from Sperieţeni. Receiving packages overlap with the holidays was not accidental, it showed the importance and strength of family connections and the perpetuation and the transnationalization of the holiday ritual of giving. Sometimes, the gifts were just pretexts for a closer form of sociality, both in physical and in symbolic sense. Visits to other migrant friends were opportunities for creating these moments. One evening, we paid a visit to a couple of friends living outside of the city so that Andrei could get his homemade palinka and sausages and Irina her much needed fresh parsley. It was another occasion to construct and maintain home and family through discussions like the ones I witnessed that evening, when we were all around the kitchen table: talking about home made food, looking up home houses on googlemap, building virtual farms based on real life experiences, or spreading news about the hosts' due baby and rumors from the village.

---

[4] my stay in Spain overlapped with the beginning of spring when were celebrated: Mother's Day, Woman's Day and a couple of religious feasts: 40 Martyrs of Sebaste (9th of March) and Winter's All Souls' Day (last Saturday of february). Even though the Dans were not practicant Orthodox they would celebrate these holidays by exchanging gifts.

22

The emotional dimension of this big family is visible mostly in the way they maintain relations at distance, and less transparent in the decision-making process or in the way gender roles are played. These instances are more difusse. For keeping the family fabric alive, the amount of information about migration at each of its stage was as important as it was required for being able to take part in life-changing decisions - among which the decision to migrate or to return were key. Generational hierarchies were often reversed in the decision-making process when parents stepped aside, while children were explicitly consulted. Gender roles also became more egalitarian with the involvement of men in household chores and child care, and with the fact that economic activities did not contribute to fully reinforce them. Thus, the migration process has its share in emancipating people from their "traditional" gender relations, and in teaching them to live sidy by side (Pribilsky 2004: 316, Sandu 2010). Mircea, for example, the one who found the readjustment in Spain more difficult was not quite able to think and do so.

2.2 The 'returnees'

"I'm not returning to Romania until I build my own house[5] here."

(Cristi Costache)

While having the migration story of my relatives as background knowledge of everyday struggles to make ends meet, I haven't become fully interested in it until my first direct experience with

[5] In Romanian "casă" has the meaning of both house and home. Given the fact that he didn't get along well with his parents and had nothing else to return to (he was planning to bring his older son to Spain) he also meant, in a way, to reunite his new family under one roof, to built a new home, in better conditions.

23

managing a life and a family abroad when I visited them in 2006. Until the next family reunion in Spain, in 2012, I was again more of a passive observer of their developing lives and struggles. The two occasions and few brief discussions I had with my aunt in the meantime caught my attention with regard to the meaning of a family in the making as a migration experience in a transnational field. As from afar it does not look like a typical migrant family story (Vlase 2011b) I aim to bring forward some of the practices and imaginaries members employed to make sense and use of this experience.

Costaches' migration seem to have been invested with a lot o certainties due to Cristi's determined, sometimes even stubborn, plans, but in reality his migration experience always took place on moving sands. He would always explore new grounds. However, given the fluid and changing strategies and the different temporalities of family members this migration project subscribes to a transnational migration agenda. The return, thus temporary, is just one way Cristi would describe his current migration situation.

During the summer of 2006, half a year before accession, I accompanied my aunt Ioana to visit her two children in Spain and to meet the newborn grandson. At that time, she hadn't seen her boys Cristi and Ilie in four years and one year respectively. Cristi, the older one, left Romania in 2002, when he found out that there was out there a recipe for a successful migration experience, to find work abroad after two years of struggles to find a proper job in Târgoviște. At the time of departure he left behind a wife and a four years old son – Alex – in the city, and parents and a brother in the home village. He was imagining his stay as a sojourn during which he would make a living and then return.

However, within a year, enthusiastic with his new living and working conditions in Spain he decided to reunite his family there. The attempt to improve family's financial situation by

24

bringing his wife failed and the two broke up - even if they legally divorced only in 2012. In the meantime my aunt, a retired grandmother making her living from agriculture, took care of her grandson Alex in Romania. During the week they were living in the city, where his father wanted him to attend school. This put a lot of pressure on her attempt to maintain a household and a family life in her village during the week-ends. Following a typical pattern of migration in steps, after his wife, Cristi invited his brother Ilie in Spain, to help him bear life and get a properly paid job. As at that time Ilie was also struggling to find a well paid job back home, Cristi started considering settlement in Spain.

The visits among family members were few and brief before 2006, both ways, but largely increased afterwards, after Cristi met his new partner, Ema, whose family visited them more often; they were also helping with caring for the grandson or were working in Spain during their three months stays. With a bigger house and a more stable financial situation, they could afford having visitors over for longer periods, also allowing a more constant flow of goods between the two countries. The baptism of his son, though, offered Cristi the occasion to re-connect with some more family members and friends and allegedly reconcile the lack of past interactions with them on that particularly cheerful occasion.

My aunt's aim for the visit was to confront him about his older son's situation in Romania whose upbringing was becoming tiring and expensive for her. Cristi was only providing 300 euro for the exact expenses of Alex's education in the city while Alex's mother sent only some packages with sweets and toys once in a while. Thus, Ioana was hoping, on this occasion to either get some more money for her and the household's livelihoods or to hasten Alex's departure to Spain. In the end, what seemed to be a two weeks trip for family reunion on festive occasions

25

ended up in family turmoil, family reunions working in this case as an emotional valve where members try to re-establish order, priorities and negotiate future plans, as further explained.

In 2012, after six years, a more spontaneous family reunion took place with the same actors, when my aunt, at her third visit in Spain, came again to ask for clarifications about her older son's plans for return. Undeterred by his stubbornness, having his dreams shattered after ten years of ups and downs in Spain, and forced by circumstances Cristi decided to return to Romania. Despite his mother's investments in properties in their village, made on her own initiative and to a great extent on her expense[6], he did not want to return there but to settle at Ema's parents, where they had no dwelling arrangements made.

As the main breadwinner, the context of return was set by a series of problems and disappointments about Cristi's working situation, on a background of fewer opportunities for Ema. In 2010, Cristi lost his stable job in constructions because the firm he was working at went bankrupt, and his boss ran away with the money. After the corruption scandal, he and some of his colleagues sued the boss and won. Cristi was waiting to get the money to return to Romania while being on unemployment benefits and occasionally finding work. This unhappy event entailed the loss of the house he was building with the help of his firm. The degradation of his working situation started when, because of an internal fight related to some short-term working arrangements he had made for his father-in-law, he lost his friends who were working at the same firm. Being the team leader, he kept his job, but lost opportunities to find new means to supplement his income in the following years.

---

[6] Ioana started taking care of two single older villagers in exchange for their properties after their death. With some of the money from old villagers' pensions and some sent by her son Ilie, she managed to buy land for building a house for Ilie and was planning to settle Cristi through this type of care-for-house arrangement to which he also needed to bring contribution. She was upset that he didn't do that.

Ema's work trajectory was also full of discontinuities, either because of her imposed family duties or because of the changes on the labor market. When she met Cristi, she was working in a bar and was housekeeping for 1-2 regular customers and the owner of the bar. She soon got pregnant and was not allowed to work more than a couple of hours a week, for which she would get paid 5-7 euro/hour, until David, her son with Cristi, went to the kindergarten. During the crisis, while she would still maintain the same level of payment, scarcity of opportunities for supplementing her income and the constraints related to David's education - for instance, the restrictions to take David with her after school - made her earnings drop. She was the one persuading Cristi they would easier find work in Romania if they moved to her parents. Cristi came to terms with that conclusion given his previous good collaboration with his father-in-law and knowing the in-laws would take good care of their son, David. Thus, the plan to return seemed doable and set. Meanwhile, Cristi's brother Ilie remained in Spain and got a more stable job. Cristi' first son, Alex, also stayed in Spain in good hands, being rooted in his mother's new family while his younger step brother, David, was heading to Romania together with his parents.

Against Cristi's plans, during his mother's 2012 visit, he was reminded that it was moral to return home, at his parents, and not live with his in-laws. In order to avoid further scandals, when Cristi returned, he did try to live with his parents for a couple of months. He even brought improvements to their house, making them believe he would settle there. But soon the young couple and their son moved out, using David's need to go to a city school as an excuse. Although David's education was never part of their return plans or discussions until then, the proximity of the in-laws to the city was brought as an argument for the necessity to move from Cristi's parents.

The two family reunions I witnessed, besides shared moments of nostalgia about home and performances of family ties, also became spaces where vehement emotional positions of family members regarding what migration abroad was supposed to be were colliding: for Cristi it was a source of stability in a prosperous family[7], for his mother a source of development and investment at home, in the village (preparing for return), for Ema a project of putting down roots, for his brother a source of wealth, and for children a temporary situation. Sometimes explicit, but more often not, these positions also had material representations that I will further depict.

Cristi's approach on migration and settlement can easily be read in his ability to build a *familiar* comfort in his new environment in Spain, where he came to feel like home, taking up all the existing opportunities: he learned the language very fast, made friends of different ethnicities without big prejudices, and took every possible job until he found a stable one. Moreover, he tried to create a modern ethos of the family, however preserving gender roles and some traditions from Romania: he was going fishing in the delta, going for barbecues in the mountains during week-ends, slaughtering pig on winter holidays, and was having Ema prepare diverse Romanian and Spanish traditional food. For him home was where social entitlements and good living conditions were and where opportunities allowed for its materialization in goods, lifestyle and housing.

For his mother Ioana, less mobile in the transnational field, the migration project came only as a fulfillment of an investment project in her home village. However, during her trips to Spain, she understood the power of proper gifts brought from home in negotiations. Thus, she tried, on her third visit, to re-create in Spain the atmosphere of home through food and photos, in

---

[7] family in terms of the maintenance of its members' (gendered) roles, not necessarily as a formal institution. He refused to marry the second partner because it costs too much '200 euro papers for marriage and 500 for divorce; it's too expensive for me in these times of crisis'. Being afraid of another failure, in order to prevent child abandonment he (more) forcefully kept Ema at home, alienating her, until David's school age.

order to reconnect Cristi with his home and make him return there. During the unpacking, children assisted as observers to the adults' thrust into the food with the taste of home, and only briefly checked the photos afterwards. None of them showed real interest in these, not even Alex, who was portrayed in some. Ema and Cristi, who have never visited Romania since they got together, became nostalgic about the taste of food, which tasted differently when cooked with Spanish products, and got thrilled at the traditional bowls. Men were also interested in the homemade alcohol. As for the photo showing session, Cristi, usually hard to impress, was the only one to react emotionally to the image of the front yard and of the house, and only briefly commented on a photo of his father. Ema also asked a few questions. But the overall impact of the photos was nothing like Ioana expected.

For Ema, migration was a way to find a good partner to put down roots with and to master housekeeping skills. Oftentimes meeting Cristi's food needs and habits and nurturing his nostalgia for traditional (in this case both Romanian and Spanish) home-made dishes was of a high concern. She would often invite Cristi's brother Ilie for dinner, especially after he became single, as a way to extend her nurturing self, even though she would often comment on his lack of contribution for dinner. For Ilie, believing in conservative family connections and normative gender relations as those that make a good home was a sign of good behavior of a wife. His good feedback on Ema's cooking food and style, especially given the fact that he was more mobile and able to compare it at the source, was very welcome. He was also the guardian of conventional family relations. He scolded me for not calling them earlier when I arrived in Spain, as he found out from his mother that I was there, before I made my arrangements in Zaragoza: "What does it mean that you stay there alone while we are in Castellon? When were you going to tell us that you're here? Were you even going to tell us?" He made his brother come pick me up from

29

Zaragoza to spend the week-end with them because no matter where "family" is in Spain, they have to be together.

This family's clear ideas and plans on the migration abroad contradict the uncertain reality they lived. By persisting in their own representations they look like what economic studies of migration called returnees (Kubat 1984). However, the reality of return proved to be as ambiguous as the decision of the first departure (Vlase 2011a, 2011b).

2.3 They who live apart

I have been acquainted with the Dănescu's for six years now. My relationship with them consolidated during a part of their fifteen years migration history, marked by multiple changes in family dynamics and household maintenance. In the 1990s, they were performing the roles of a Romanian rural family,with the male partner - Mădălin - being the migrant figure for about a decade. During the mid 2000s, the experience of a new world made them into a more mobile family, with gender roles re-defined, and with increased possibilities to receive other family members as guests in Spain. The financial crisis of 2008-2009 brought about a change in the main migrant actor, with Andreea, Mădălin's wife, departing for work in Italy and Mădălin looking after the household and occasionally traveling to Spain. Their family has become what is known of as 'satellite' family (Waters 2002), a family with a 1 or 2 rooted members while the others are pendulating between different countries, producing imbalances in the way members fulfilled family needs. In 2010 when both of them left to England, where they currently are, they left their underage children fully in charge with household chores, and further transformed into

30

more of a 'living-apart-together' (Levin 2004) type of family; a family in which the conventional roles are fulfilled from the distance, the roles and the household being the one that keeps them together. The changing the family dynamic overwhelmed almost all of them with duties and responsibilities they couldn't fully accomplish. I will further explore how these changes became relevant for a new meaning of transnational family and how it transformed migration plans and definitions of home.

Mădălin, a 50 years old Baptist turned Adventist, first left to Spain in 1999, after changing several jobs in different counties in Romania while living with his family in the rural community of Speriețeni. He converted to Adventism in 1992 to be able to marry his current wife, convinced by the advantages of the new religion. As it turned out, the choice proved fruitful when his brother-in-law, an Adventist himself, helped him out with the departure to and accommodation in Spain during his first weeks there. The decision to leave for work abroad at the end of 1990s was taken only by consulting with his wife, Andreea. At that time, their girls Anca and Diana were too young (5, respectively 4) and his mother, a widower, took care of them. Although the couple shared the same courtyard with Mădălin's mother and asked for her help, the two families (his and his mother's) had never been in good terms.

Andreea came to the village from a neighboring commune with an even higher emigration rate, mainly to spend her life as a housewife. When their turn came to experience migration, during Mădălin's stay abroad she took care of the household, his business and family, including a sick father-in-law and an old mother-in-law. After the death of her father-in-law, because of some tensions with Mădălin's mother, they decided to split the two families and to manage their own financial and household chores separately. She also held employment at an import family

31

business before Mădălin's departure, but they closed it soon after he found a stable job in Spain as the business was time consuming and not profitable enough.

Confronting with the difficulties of finding a job in Spain, Mădălin developed skills in constructions. As he needed to meet requirements for a residence permit, he stayed put and he visited his family only after three years. Having worked as skilled electrician far from home before, distance was not a problem, but the infeasibility of visiting his wife and children made him feel trapped away from home:

> When I was leaving home back [to Spain] it felt like I was going to serve a conviction, I didn't like it, [but] I had no choice, I had to leave... that's how I saw things. When I was witnessing friends from Spain going home I was like… it felt like… and not necessarily for money, I stayed put for a long time for permanent residence, and you needed to be permanently employed for that. (Mădălin, 2010)

Over time, until the economic crisis hit Spain, he managed to open his own *empresa* (construction enterprise) with which he developed business connections for a while both in Spain and in Romania. During the good years he brought his family to visit, without making any plans to settle in Spain, and managed to maintain a transnational life through regular visits home, a flow of social and financial remittances for his unprofitable plastic import business, lead by his wife, and for children's education. Communication increased to the nowadays frequency (at least once a day) and diversified in means (they extensively use social media now).

The crisis left him unemployed for a year, and while collecting the unemployment benefits from the Spanish state, he stayed at home, in Romania, travelling back and forth when he had to sign the papers. He did occasional work in the village, while expanding and renovating his own house and taking care of the family. Having accumulated debts from buying - on credit - a

32

second house in the village, due to chance, Andreea left as care worker in Italy for two years, leaving the family and the household in the hands of her husband.

While caring for the household, he planned and prepared his departure to England, not only to make the money faster, but also to supplement his pension contribution in the EU. He was contemplating the idea of working in England since his unemployment started in Spain. Consequently, he got there and ended up working two different jobs in London. Soon after his arrival, he managed to bring Andreea to London, to help him bear life and make money faster. Thus, children, despite their wishes, were left home with the grandmother, taking care of themselves and of the household under the parents' strict supervision.

In 2005, she got pregnant with their third child, the small boy Ovidiu, and her activity focused more on children's education and household chores. In 2009, when children grew older and became more independent, she used some money to finish high school and became more involved in entrepreneurial activities with cosmetics in the village. She got a driving license and started taking long distance night school classes. Although she was more mobile, missing a lot from home, she was still homebound. Soon after she started her night studies, she found, through a friend from Italy, a job as a lived-in care-worker in northern Italy. Empowered by her latest accomplishments and facing family financial constraints, she took the challenge to uproot herself, though doubtful and worried for her children. Only when she was already in Italy and Mădălin was traveling to Spain her worries burst, but developed technical skills to be able to keep a closer eye on her children via internet.

Just like Mădălin, Andreea often sent home packages and money, and visited once or twice during the stay in Italy, but more often she extensively talked to her family about her emotional needs and constraints, sharing her experiences there. Similarly, she was frequently

checking to make sure things run smoothly home with the roles and chores allocation she made. Thus, Mădălin was left in charge with the financial aspects, the restoration and the expansion of the house, but the household chores remained mainly the girls' responsibilities, as taught since they were little. At the time of her departure to London, in 2010, she re-assigned duties and responsibilities within the household and established connections with other helpful family members. Then, Ovidiu entered primary school and the girls were in their last years of high school; 'a problematic age' of all of them, as she and the girls acknowledged. Thus, Anca the older daughter became the head of the household running it with the others' help. While children were struggling home to maintain an ideal household running, Andreea's frequent interactions with them and her toilsome job in an Italian restaurant in London prevents her to integrate there or be very present in any of the places.

I have started my fieldwork in Sperieţeni, in the winter of 2012, visiting the Dănescu's and I ended up living in their house for a couple of weeks during the winter break. During my previous visits, there was at least one of the parents at home, but now there were only the children and the grandmother. Andreea worried in advance that they might 'not live up to expectations' but she was willing to let me stay there upon their agreement. Children worried as well, especially since they didn't really know me, and were talking to their parents a couple of times a day to make sure they do it right. The grandmother, though, was monitoring everything. Anca's boyfriend, Luci, also visiting, helped them go through the whole tiring hosting process, but he was usually helping with chores, oftentimes contributing with money.

Despite the aura of independent housekeepers, the two weeks stay revealed a dynamic in which other members often contributed to the household's functioning: members of the extended family (an uncle, the grandmother), and sometimes members from the outside of it (neighbors or

family by extension, i.e. girls' boyfriends, other villagers). An uncle from the city helped the family with transferring the money from England as the girls were underage; they didn't want to involve the grandmother in this. The marginalized grandmother's contribution was undervalued, being acknowledged only for picking Ovidiu up from school. However, she was contributing with money when girls ran out of it, as often happened, or with food supplies. Even though everything was given back, she was the first and closest person to ask for help when needed. She was also vigilant, though controlling, to the consumption of resources (wood, electricity, gas); but that was just botheration for children. In fact, Anca and Diana were struggling to take care of everything: their younger brother, the household chores, to learn for finals and college admission, have private and social lives, when they were grounded (as in fixed in a place) by their parents constant control, exhausting exigencies and overwhelming duties. They just wanted to live their teenage lives.

Oftentimes, in bursts of anger or disappointment, they reproached all these to their parents whose guilt made them spend more time online and on the phone with them, whenever needed and possible. This itself raised further problems as it was fragmenting everyone's time. Other times, the cumulated negative emotions materialized as unfortunate incidents for which the presence of a parent was needed, i.e. Anca's sickness or loss of personal documents. However, they were also spending good time together chatting, as happened during my stay, on provoking or interesting topics, i.e. gendered power relations in a couple. Acknowledging the main difficulty of the girls' lives, Andreea's sole response was to promise to take Ovidiu to England to ease girls' lives; nevertheless she was delaying the moment.

Besides the relational and the emotional aspects, there was also a material aspect of home children brought out: the physicality of home, food and photos. While they proudly showed the

35

big, unfinished house and exposed the past and future development plans of their parents, they were building their own dream houses on internet games, houses wearing the influences of those seen abroad. Their imaginings of home were very much dependent of their parents, but fancied the idea of having two homes - one in Romania and one abroad - especially for the potential to pendulate between them. However, the ideal home would be a house in the city or in a less isolated and monotonous place than their village.

The cooked food and the photos, very much charged with the nostalgia of a mother at home or a reunited family, were quite missing from the house or were well hidden; parents' constant presence through rules and responsibilities was marked by a lack of a material presence in the house. The only photo displayed was of a closer aunt, who was living in Spain. I think it was rather an accident than a meaningful action; they gave no clear answer when I asked about it. Their photo showing session came as a response to my displaying of photos from my travels, done at Anca's request. Browsing through older family photos aroused nostalgic feelings for the times when they were more mobile and happy, though. As for the cooked food, even though Anca would prepare some once in a while, they were all yearning for mother's cooked food, hence her presence home.

The Dănescu's changing strategies of migration and of dealing with its consequences on family life have been marked by constant stuggles of all family members, especially in the past 4 years. However, the living apart strategy seems to be more manageble since the girls' full age. This type of small details mattered in the way they managed family life and household since Andreea's first departure abroad. Is this type of small details that make family life transnational.

2.4 The in-betweens

I got acquainted with Daniel Ionescu, his family in Zaragoza and their migration story during one full week-end I have spent with them. All the other families I have known and followed for years, across borders, to be able to pick up the dynamics, imaginaries and meanings of their migration story. But, as I have learned during my stay in Spain, pre-existing relations and interactions are often altered and fragmented when abroad. I think that, despite the short interaction with Ionescu family, by the structure of the family and the migration story they carry the meanings of a transnational family. Moreover, their active religiousness (that lacks in the other families) that positions them in a broad network, adds information on how religion interferes with, or on the contrary enhances family roles and migration practices. Thus, I aim to complete the image of the family relations' dynamics in a transnational space with this alleged out of the place story that emphasizes the temporality, fragility and often spontaneity of interactions and cross-family relations built abroad. I thus argue that the story of Ionescu family is only seemingly different from the previous three stories and I will further show how it fits into the puzzle of transnational family dynamics.

In Ionescu family Daniel, 45 years old Adventist working in constructions is the active, visible migrant, with a rich internal and international migration history. His wife Ana, 42 years old Adventist, is an ironing lady in a company that keeps the household and the family together. They have an older unemployed son, Cătălin, 22 years old who did not change his religion when his parents did so. The couple has four more children: the 12 years old twins Gina and Elena, a 5 year old girl Crina and a newborn son, Dragoş. Except for Cătălin who lives separately, they all live together in a neighborhood of Spaniards.

37

I came to meet the Ionescu's after my first attendance of a mass service at the small Adventist church in Zaragoza[8]. Being on duty during the week I reached it, Daniel approached me and offered to help and guide me around. The next thing I know is that I was invited for lunch the next day with his family, after the morning service. For Adventists this is a sign of faith and hospitality to greet and feed newcomers, but also to preach for them. Thus, I met the Ionescu's and spent two full days with them, part of it at church and the other at their home in the Las Fuentes neighborhood.

I got the chance to observe him and his three daughters at the church during two mass services and to listen to his life and migration story during our three walks together, back and forth from the church. While during the walk talks the girls behaved and were silent they became very active once arrived at home, especially the youngest one, Gina. Thus, being the most talkative one I learned that Daniel Ionescu, a former boxer, changed several jobs and turned to Adventism during his travels. Coming from a village in the Arad County, in the West, on the Romania's border with Hungary, his migration started in the 1990s, first internally then abroad. Giving up box, he first travelled in the region looking for different jobs in the neighboring counties Timiș and Hunedoara. When he went mining in the Jiu Valley he met his current wife Ana, who came from Galați (in East Romania) to visit her sister who was also working in the valley. After they got married, Ana moved to Arad.

During the first years of marriage, after Daniel and Ana's son, Cătălin, was born, he left to Israel, with the help of some friends, to work in constructions and changed his religion there

---

[8] I came to understand that there are two Adventist churches which Romanians from Zaragoza attend based on self class ascription. Allegedly the one I attended a couple of times, more centrally positioned, is smaller and for the poorer migrants. The second one, whose search took great pains to find as no one was giving any clear information about it, was incomparably bigger and for the richer migrants. It is located somewhere in the Torrero-La Paz neighborhood, where is also the second biggest Romanian community in Zaragoza; the first one is in Delicias (see footnote 3, page 21).

for the first time. Baptized as Eastern Orthodox as an infant, he turned to Evangelism in Israel in the mid 1990s and then to Adventism when he and the family arrived in Spain at the end of the 1990s. The three took the road again, to Spain, with help of friends, when Cătălin was 10 years old. Upon their arrival in Spain, Ana gave birth to the twin girls Elena and Crina who were brought up as Adventists. When the girls grew up, Ana started working as a housekeeper while Daniel found work in constructions. As seen in the previous chapter, migration from south (where all the other three families were coming from) followed different routes from those from the west, but religion mattered similarly in the patterns of migration, i.e. network migration. The biggest migration flows from the south of Romania oriented towards Mediterranean countries, while migrants from the western counties went to Western Europe; however, religious networks attracted migrants to Italy and Spain.

At the time of my visit, during lunch, I met the whole family: Cătălin, the twins Elena and Crina, the young girl Gina and the newborn Mihai. Cătălin, 22 years old, and his girlfriend just passed by to take away the food, but didn't stay over for lunch. Unlike his whole family he didn't change his religion and tried to avoid discussions on the topic, especially with his father, as it raised tensions. He took classes at an architecture and design university in the city and worked for a printing house until the crisis left him unemployed. He, thus, started taking classes to find work either as a flying attendant or any other job in an airport. He was living separately with his girlfriend and was not contributing to the household's expenses, albeit he was using some of the household resources, i.e. food.

The 12 years old twins, Elena and Crina, were attending a Spanish elementary school and were studying instrumental music at the Sabbath school where they were spending most of their free time. The 5 years old Gina was schooled at home during kindergarten years for financial

reasons but also because Ana's retired parents, who moved to Spain, helped her raise her children. At the time of my visit, during the day when children were at school and the husband at work she was doing household chores and taking care of the newborn and in the evening she hold a part time job in a an ironing company; she was and felt more than ever homebound. Everyone in the family and at church noticed that, and Daniel started complaining about the burden of having to take care of certain needs outside of the home, i.e. to buy them clothes. The gender division of activities has been thus reinforced because of the family's financial constraint and the burden was on both sides.

However, these gender roles were sometimes challenged at home and the decisions about migration imposed by a majority. During lunch, the flow of discussion was suddenly interrupted by one of the twins who asked loudly her mother if they were going to return to Romania. She heard her father answering me to the question about return with a certain "yes, we're going back, but when the girls finish school", i.e. secondary education. Daniel didn't feel comfortable neither with the city, nor with the family fabric developed in Spain. Allegedly wanting to return to the "green fields and the flowing water" he wanted to escape the new responsibilities and the hardship to resist there in times of crisis. However, Ana's answer was as determined as his that there's no discussion about return. To her, the discussion was pointless even though she admitted the difficulties they were facing because they made a life in Spain, they were settled. It all ended with Daniel sipping the soup.

Before the lunch was ready the girls showed me photos and told me their stories: family photos, photos of them both in Spain and in Romania when they visited the grandparents. They only had a couple of photos of them displayed around the TV set, in the living room, but most of them were put in photo albums hidden in the cabinets. When talking about their grandparents in

40

Romania one could see their enthusiasm and joy. However, being born in Spain and living there their whole life, they saw Daniel's parents house in the countryside only as an exotic place for vacation, not as a place to return or to settle to. Moreover, during the past years the frequency of visits decreased and family members become more rooted in Spain as the family increased, making it more difficult to travel all together.

Given all these, Daniel was happy to have found the best dwelling in the city, after changing a couple of neighborhoods before. It was in a good neighborhood with big green areas and playgrounds for children, a small canal nearby their block of flats, close to the church and school; it looked safe for children. However, the apartment itself, not enough for all of them, looked old, stuffed and unmaintained. It was the closest to home he could get in Spain.

Finding himself betwixt and between family life in Spain and the itch to return, Daniel's life is simpler in his plans and imaginings than in real life. Only when confronted with the majority of the family's representations of migration and return he does realize that. However, the smallest material representation on his imaginings in real life (i.e. how the housing environment should look like) keeps him connected with the others. Transnational family life is also about constant negotiation of all these.

Final Remarks and Conclusions

Contemporary scholarship on transnational families is built around the scrutiny of the transnational family life or women's care work, both waged and unwaged. It is commonly assumed that the fabric of such families is built around family member's individual strategies and understandings of the migration project. However, less are addressed the exact transnational dynamics originating in the 'global capitalism where a hierarchy of mobility rights exist' (Portilla 2014) that disrupts both men and women lives, often uprooting them. How do working and mobility rights influence the way people make decisions to migrate or to settle down? How do they imagine and make homes in contexts of changing such rights?

In my thesis I took upon uncovering the family dynamics in contexts of mobility with an end in mind and unpacking the variety of contributions members bring to it. I tried to extend the often conflicting understanding of decision-making and home-making as processes developed in an intra-European transnational migration context. In the pages above I showed what kind of ruptures, coping mechanisms and (dis)continuities migrants face when confronting challenges on maintaining a coherent narrative and a clear image of their migration project. The coherence of the decisions and experiences lay beyond the individual actors' aspirations, needs, imaginings and resources, and crosses the borders of the state. In fact it lays in a more fluid constellation of objects, individual imaginaries, projects and interactions, both individual and collective that come together in a transnational social field.

The transnational family framework I employed allows me to look beyond the gendered family roles in making decisions and of a home and to include age as an analytic category when observing dynamics. That enables a broader understanding of how emotions and remittances are

managed and played in the making of a transnational migration project and how they contribute to making decisions on departure, stay and return. I thus showed how individual contributions to it are incoherent, impermanent and constitute as stitches that keep together the migration project as a collective, rather than as an individual one. In chapter 1 I mentioned that the return was caused by an economic crisis, rather than the natural development of transnational migration abroad. This is an issue that requires more problematization, I believe. The question for me remains: how would return impact families' decision-making and house-making outside of an economic crisis? Or is crisis (in general) subscribed to the same global dynamics of capitalism that make and unmake the transnational migrant actors?

Annexes

List of family members of the families mentioned in the paper

Dan family - the ideal transnational family

Ion - main informant, 61 years old, retired

Maria - wife, 60 years old, retired

Mircea - son (the oldest), 44 years old

Marin - son (the youngest), 38 years old, returned migrant, works in a family business in Sperieţeni

Ilinca - Marin's wife, 35 years old, Adventist, returned migrant, housewife

Cristina - daughter (the older daughter), 42 years old, works as economist in a multinational company in Bucharest

(all except Ilinca are Orthodox, all located in Romania, February 2012)

Irina - daughter, 40 years old, works as an accountant, in Zaragoza, Spain

Andrei - Irina's husband, 44 years old, works in constructions and gardening, in Zaragoza, Spain

Carmen - Irina & Andrei's daughter, 12 years old, pupil, in Zaragoza, Spain

(all three located in Spain at the time of the research, March 2012)

Obs.: I first met Ion in Sperieţeni in 2008 and in 2012 I met his son Marin and his family in Sperieţeni, and his daughter Irina and her family in Zaragoza, Spain. Given the family dynamics, I considered Irina's family in Spain as part of her extended family (and not giving them a different family name) as they were mostly helped by her retired parents and other family members. Andrei's parents were still working in a factory in Târgovişte and were less mobile and to some extent less involved in their lives.

Costache family - *the returnees*

Cristi - 34 years old, returned migrant, worker in constructions in Romania

44

Ioana - mother, 57 years old, retired in Romania

Ilie - brother, 32 years old, worker in constructions in Castellon, Spain

Ema - Cristi's second partner, 33 years old, shop assistant in Romania

Alex - Cristi's firs child (from a former marriage), 17 years old, currently living in Castellon, Spain with his mother

David - Cristi's second child (from a common-law marriage), 8 years old, currently living with his parents in Romania

Obs.: at the time of last visit in Spain, March 2012, except for Ioana, all were located in Spain; currently only Ilie and Alex are still in Spain; they are all Orthodox; my relatives

Dănescu family - the living-apart-together family

Mădălin - 50 years old, main/first migrant in Spain for 10 years, now having a day jon in London and working at the metro during the night

Andreea - wife, 42 years old, working in an Italian restaurant

Anca - daughter, 20 years old

Diana - daughter, 19 years old

Ovidiu - son, 14 years old

Geta - Mădălin's mother, 67 years old

Obs.: I first met Mădălin and Andreea in Speriețeni, at the Adventist church, in 2008 and only interviewed them in Romania. At the time of last visit, March 2012 only Mădălin and Andreea were abroad; in the meantime Anca also followed for some time

Ionescu family - the in-betweens

Daniel - interviewee, 45 years old, main migrant for years both in Romania and abroad before coming to Spain, now working in Zaragoza in constructions

Ana - wife, 42 years old, housewife and worker in an ironing company

Cătălin - son, 22 years old, unemployed, taking retraining courses

Gina and Elena - twin daughters, 12 years old, pupils

Crina - daughter (the youngest), 5 years old

Dragoş - newborn son

Obs.: I first met Daniel, through a friend of him, Doru. We first talked on the way to the Adventist church, in Zaragoza, Spain, March 2012. They are all adventists except Cătălin who is Orthodox.

List of other interviewees, i.e. migration stories

Families

fam. Călin: Nicu - returned migrant (worked in constructions in Spain for 10 years), 54 years old
        Dima - wife (unemployed), 50 years old
        Alina - older daughter (pupil), 17 years old
        Monica - younger daughter (pupil), 16 years old
        Cosmin - the youngest son (pupil), 11 years old
Orthodox, met in Sperieţeni; first met in 2008; girls participated in the focus group in Sperieţeni, January 2012

fam. Tache: Doru - main migrant (driver for a transport company from Sperieţeni)
        Andra - wife (unemployed)
        Ancuţa - daughter 3 years old
Evangelists, met in Zaragoza, Spain through the shop assistant of a Romanian bakery; from Arad county, Doru and Daniel (the interviewee in the 'in-betweens' family) are old friends; live in Spain for 6 years

fam. Adamescu: Nicu - friend and former co-worker of Cristi Costache (interviewee in the 'returnees' family), 30 years old (worker in constructions)
        Mirela - wife, 29 years old (unemployed)
        Robert - son, 8 months old
Orthodox, met in Castellon, Spain; from Transylvania, in Spain for 4 years

Individuals

Marian, 31 years old, unmarried, Adventist, Speriețeni, worked in Spain

Cristi, 34 years old, unmarried, Adventist, from Speriețeni, worked in Italy and Spain for 8 years; first met in Speriețeni in 2008 and 2010, accidentaly (after refusing to meet me) met in Zaragoza in 2012, at the Adventist church. In 2010 he returned home for a couple of months because of lack of work opportunities, but left back.

Adrian, 50 years old, divorced, Adventist (converted in the past 5 years), from Argeş county in Romania; works in constructions; met in Zaragoza in 2012 at the Adventist church

Mihaela, 17 years old, pupil, Orthodox, Speriețeni, mother living in Spain with her new husband and child; met in Speriețeni, friend of Anca Dănescu (interviewee in the 'satellite' family); participant in the focus group in Speriețeni, January 2012

Angela, 40 years old, divorced, Orthodox turned Adventist, waiting to be retired through illness (because of a work accident); from Târgovişte, Dâmbovița County, met at the Adventist church in Zaragoza, Spain, March 2012

Questions used for the informal held with children of migrants from Speriețeni (January 2012)

1. Presentation of names
2. What is it like to be in high school?
3. How did you choose the high school? How did the parents contributed to your choice?
4. What would you do after graduating high school?
5. What do you do in your free time?
6. What was it like when the father returned? How was it to have him home?
7. How does it feel to have the parents abroad? How often do you talk? How often did you visit?
8. What was the present/gift you expected the most from your parents?
9. Are/were you involved in the decision-making process regarding your parents' departure? What about the financial and household chores?
10. Where is home?
11. What it's like to have two homes? What would be like to have them? What about having two homes in two countries? Where would you settle?
12. What do you like in your parents? What don't you like? What would you change in your family?
13. How are the household chores divided among family members? Who does what?

14. What would the 18th anniversary mean for you and for the family?

Obs.: with the exception of Ovidiu, the group was non-mixed in terms of gender, but mixed in terms of family and personal migration experience; the hosts called some friends from the village for a small talk at their place. There were 5 girls participating in the focus group, 3 of them still having parents abroad, and only two having a returned father, mother never having left the country

Reference List

Ahmed, Sara, Claudia Castaneda, Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller (eds.). 2003. Introduction to *Uprootings/regroupings: questions of home and migration.* Oxford & New York: Berg, pp. 1-22.

Anghel, Remus and Istvan Horvath (eds.). 2009. *Sociologia Migraţiei.Teorii şi studii de caz româneşti* [Sociology of Migration.Theories and Romanian case studies]. Iaşi: Polirom.

Badea, Camelia. 2009. *Migraţia de revenire. Studiu de caz în Sperieţeni, un sat de tranziţie* [*Return Migration. Case Study in Sperieteni, a Transition Village*]. Iaşi: Lumen.

Baubock, Rainer (ed.). Introduction to *Migration and citizenship. Legal status, rights and political participation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Reports.

Blunt, Alison. 2005. Introduction to *Domicile and Diaspora. Anglo Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home.* Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-22.

Bryceson, Deborah and Ulla Vuorela (eds.). 2002. Introduction to *The Transnational Family. New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford & New York: Berg, pp. 3-59.

Carlos, Vargas-Silva (ed.). 2012. Introduction to *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 1-3.

Călin, Romelia and Radu Umbreş, 2006. *Efectele migraţiei. Studiu la nivelul comunităţii Vulturu, Vrances* [Migration's consequences. Community study in Vulturu, Vrancea]. Iaşi: Lumen.

Chelcea, Liviu. 2008. Introduction to *Bucureştiul postindustrial. Memorie, dezindustrializare şi regenerare urbană* [Postindustrial Bucharest. Memory, deindustrialization and urban regeneration]. Iaşi: Polirom, pp. 7-11.

Christou, Anastasia. 2006. Introduction to *Narratives of place, culture and identity. Second-Generation Greek-Americans Return 'Home'.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Dissertations, pp. 15-30.

Culic, Irina. 2010. State of imagination: embodiments of immigration Canada, *The Sociological Review*, 58:3, pp. 343-360.

Deneva, Neda. 2012. Transnational Aging Carers: On Transformation of Kinship and Citizenship in the Context of Migration among Bulgarian Muslims in Spain, *Social Politics*, 19:1, pp.105-128.

---. 2013. Caring satellites: wives, mothers and grandparents in the transnational family project, pp. 235-266 in *Assembling fragmented citizenship: Bulgarian Muslim migrants at the margins of two states*, PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU Budapest College.

Diminescu, Dana. 2009. Exercițiul dificil al liberei circulații: o introducere în istoria migrației recente a românilor [The difficult exercise of free circulation: an introduction to recent migration history of Romanians] pp. 45-64 in *Sociologia migrației.Teorii și studii de caz românești,* edited by Remus Gabriel Anghel and Istvan Horvath. Iași: Polirom.

Domnișoru, Ciprian. 2011. Scrisoarea deschisă a emigrantului român către Jeffrey Franks [Open letter of the Romanian migrant to Jeffrey Franks], *CriticAtac*, November 2011, retrieved June 3, 2014 (http://www.criticatac.ro/11886/scrisoarea-deschisa-a-emigrantului-roman-catre-jeffrey-franks/).

Donato, Katharine M., Dona Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan, and Patricia Pessar. 2006. A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies, *International Migration Review*, 40:1, pp. 3-26.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Arlie Russell Hochschild (eds.). 2002. Introduction to *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Henry Holt, pp. 1-10.

Fedyuk, Olena. 2011. *Beyond motherhood: Ukrainian female labor migration to Italy*, PhD thesis. Budapest: CEU Budapest College.

Geertz, Clifford. 2003. Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture, pp. 143-169 in *Turning Points in Qualitative Research. Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*, edited by Y.S. Lincoln and N.K. Denzin. Waltnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2003. Introduction to *Gender and the U.S. Immigration. Contemporary Trends*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 3-19.

Horvath, Istvan. 2007. Romania. Country Profile 9, *focus Migration*, retrieved May 20, 2014 (http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Romania.2515.0.html?&L=1).

Horvath, Istvan and Remus Gabriel Anghel. 2009. Migration and Its Consequences for Romania, *Sudosteuropa* 57:4, pp. 386-403.

Kofman, Eleonore, Albert Kraler, Martin Kohli, and Camille Schmoll. 2011. Introduction to *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (IMISCOE Research), pp. 13-54.

Kubat, Daniel (ed.). 1984. *The Politics of Return. International Return Migration in Europe*. Rome & New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Laoire, Caitriona Ni. 2011. Narratives of 'Innocent Irish Childhoods': Return Migration and Intergenerational Family Dynamics, *Journal of Ethnic Migration*, 37:8, pp. 1253-1271.

Levine, Irene. 2004. Living Apart Together: A New Family Form, *Current Sociology*, 52:2, pp. 223-240.

Levitt, Peggy and Nina Glick Schiller. 2004. Conceptualizing simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society, *International Migration Review*, 38:3, pp. 1002-1039.

Lopez-Sala, Ana and Ruth Ferrero-Turion. 2009. Economic Crisis and Migration Policies in Spain: the Big Dilemma, paper prepared for the *COMPAS Annual conference 2009* "New Times? Economic Crisis, geo-political transformation and the emergent migration order", retrieved May 25, 2014 (https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/events/previous/events-2009/annual-conference/)

Lutz Helma. 2010. Gender in the Migratory Process, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36: 10, pp. 1647-1663.

Mahler, Sarah J. 2001. Transnational Relationships: The Struggle to Communicate Across Borders, *Identities*, 7:4, pp. 583-619.

Martinez, Rafael Viruela. 2008. Población Rumana y Búlgara en Espańa: Evolución, Distribución Geográfica y Flujos Migratorios, *Cuadernos de Geografia*, 84, pp. 169-194.

Mazzucato, Valentina and Djamila Schans. 2011. Transnational Families and the Well-Being of Children: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges, *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 73, pp. 704-712.

Melde, Susanne. 2012. *Transnational Families and the Social and Gender Impact of Mobility in ACP Countries*, Background Note BN06, International Organization for Migration and African Caribbean and Pacific Observatory on Migration, retrieved May 15, 2014 (http://www.acpmigration-obs.org/BN6TransnationalFamilies).

Morawska, Ewa. 2003. Disciplinary Agendas and Analytic Strategies of Research on Immigrant Transnationalism: Challenges of Interdisciplinary Knowledge, *International Migration Review*, 37:3, pp. 611-640.

Morawska, Ewa. 2008. East European Westbound Income-Seeking Migrants: Some Unwelcome Effects on Sender-and Receiver-Societies. A report on a study in progress, Working Paper 16, *EUI-Florence Political and Social Science Department Working Paper RN1989*, retrieved May 2012 (http://repository.essex.ac.uk/1786/).

Munck, Ronaldo. 2008. Globalization, Governance and Migration: an Introduction, *Third World Quarterly*, 29:7, pp. 1227-1446.

---. 2009. Afterword: beyond the 'new' international labor studies, *Third World Quarterly*, 30:3, pp. 617-625.

Pajares, Miguel. 2011. Imigranți români în Spania, *CriticAtac*, December 2011, retrieved June 3, 2014 (http://www.criticatac.ro/11314/imigrantii-romani-in-spania/).

Pantea, Maria Carmen. 2011. Young People's Perspectives on Changing Families' Dynamics of Power in the Context of Parental Migration, *Young*, 19: 4, pp. 375-395.

---, 2012. Grandmothers as Main Caregivers in the Context of Parental Migration, *European Journal of Social Work*, 15: 1, pp. 63-80.

---, 2005. *Children of Global Migration. Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pedraza, Silvia. 1991. Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, pp. 303-325.

Perez, Nieves Ortega. 2003. Spain: Forging an Immigration Policy, *Migration Information Source*, February 2003, retrieved May 25, 2014 (http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/spain-forging-immigration-policy).

Portilla, Hilda Joyce. 2014. An Epistemological Look at the Concept of Transnational Families, oral presentation abstract for *XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology* "Facing an unequal world: challenges for global sociology", 13-19 July 2014, Yokohama, Japan, retrieved May 31, 2014 (https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/wc2014/webprogram/Paper65382.html).

Pribilsky, Jason. 2004. 'Aprendemos a convivir': conjugal relations, co-parenting, and family life among Ecuadorian transnational migrants in New York City and the Ecuadorian Andes, *Global Networks*, 4:3, pp. 313-334.

Ranek, Mikolaj. 2009. Patterns of Romanian and Bulgarian Migration to Spain, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:9, pp. 1627-1644.

Rostáș, Zoltán and Sorin, Stoica (eds). 2006. *Tur-retur. Convorbiri despre munca în străinătate.* [Tour-retour. Conversations about working abroad]. Bucharest: Curtea Veche, Actual series, vol I and II.

Ryan, Louise, Rosemary Sales, Mary Tilki and Bernadetta Siara. 2009. Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35: 1, pp. 61-77.

Sandu, Dumitru. 1984. *Fluxurile de migrație din România* [Migration flows in Romania]. Bucharest: Socialist Republic of Romania Printing House.

---. 1996. *Sociologia tranziției. Valori și tipuri sociale în România* [Sociology of Transition. Values and social types in Romania]. București: Staff.

---. 2005a. *Dezvoltare comunitară. Cercetare, practică, ideologie* [Community development. Research, practice, ideology]. Iași: Polirom.

---. 2005b. Dynamics of Romanian Emigration after 1989. From a Macro- to a Micro- Level Approach, *International Journal of Sociology*, 35:3, pp. 36-56.

---. 2005c. Emerging Transnational Migration from Romanian Villages, *Current Sociology*, 53:4, pp. 555-582.

Sandu, Dumitru (ed.). 2006. *Living abroad on a temporary basis. The economic migration of Romanians: 1990-2006*. Bucharest: Open Society Foundation.

Sandu Dumitru (ed.) and Monica Alexandru. 2009. Migration and its consequences, pp. 266-286 in *Riscuri și inechități sociale în România* [Risks and social inequities in Romania] edited by M. Preda, a Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Social and Demographic Risks research report, retrieved May 20, 2014 (http://cparsd.presidency.ro/?pag=36).

Sandu, Dumitru. 2010a. Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate [Social worlds of Romanian migration abroad]. Iași: Polirom.

---, 2010b. Modernizing Romanian society through temporary work abroad, pp. 271-288 in *A continent moving west. EU enlargement and labor migration from Central Eastern Europe*, edited by R. Black, G. Engsbersen, M. Okolski and C. Panțîru. Amsterdam University Press, IMISCOE Research.

Sandu, Dumitru, Cosmin Radu, Monica Constantinescu and Oana Ciobanu. 2004. A Country Report on Romanian Migration Abroad: Stock and Flows after 1989, *MigrationOnline*, Multicultural Center Prague, retrieved May 20, 2014 (http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/romanian-migration-abroad-stocks-and-flows-after-1989).

Solano, Enrique Grillo. 2002. *Zaragoza barrio a barrio, veinte años después. Prontuario de estructura y política urbana para conciudadanos.* [Zaragoza, district by district, twenty years later. Handbook of structure and urban politics for fellow citizens] Zaragoza: Ibercaja, Obra Social y Cultural (Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja), pp. 107-120, 250-280.

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1995. Introduction to *Limits of citizenship: migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-12.

Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia, and Victoria Stoiciu. 2012. *Impactul crizei economice asupra migraţiei forţei de muncă din România* [The impact of economic crisis over labor migration from Romania]. Bucureşti: Paideia.

Stoiciu, Victoria. 2014. Libera circulație a forţei de muncă în Uniunea Europeană: ce pierdem şi ce câştigăm [Free movement of labor force in European Union: what do we lose and what do we win] pp. 72-84 in *Raport anual de analiză şi prognoză – România 2014. Cum facem din integrarea Europeană un succes*, edited by the Romanian Academic Society, retrieved May 15, 2014 (http://sar.org.ro/raport-sar-libera-circulatie-a-fortei-de-munca-in-uniunea-europeana-ce-pierdem-si-ce-castigam/).

Surak, Kristin. 2013. Guestworkers: a taxonomy, *New Left Review*, 84, pp. 84-102.

Şerban, Monica and Stoica, Melinda. 2007. *Politici şi instituţii în migraţia internaţională: migraţia pentru muncă din România. 1990-2006* [Policies and Institutions in International Migration: Labor Migration in Romania. 1990-2006]. Bucharest: Open Society Foundation.

Toth, Georgiana, Alexandru, Toth, Ovidiu Voicu and Mihaela Ştefănescu. 2007. *Efectele migraţiei: copiii rămaşi acasă* [Consequences of migration: children left behind]. Bucharest: Soros Foundation Romania.

Tulbure, Corina. 2011. Nu încap toţi săraci... [Not all poor fit in…], *CriticAtac*, December 2011, retrieved June 5, 2014 (http://www.criticatac.ro/11307/nu-incap-toti-saracii/).

Ulrich, Louis, Bojincă, Marian, Stănciugelu, Ştefan and Viorel, Mihăilă. 2011. *Al patrulea val: Migraţia creierelor pe ruta România-Occident.* [The Fourth Wave: Brain Drain on the Romania-Occident Route]. Bucharest: Open Society Foundation.

Vlase, Ionela. 2011a. Migraţia de întoarcere a românilor din Italia. Studiu de caz în Vulturu, Vrancea [Romanian Return migration from Italy. Case study in Vulturu, Vrancea], *Calitatea Vieţii*, 2, pp. 155-176.

---, 2011b. Migranţii reveniţi în ţară, prinşi între criza economică şi tensiunile domestice [Returned migrants, caught between the economic crisis and the domestic tensions], *CriticAtac*, retrieved May 21, 2014 (http://www.criticatac.ro/11032/migrantii-reveniti-in-tara-prinsi-intre-criza-economica-si-tensiunile-domestice/).

---, 2013. Women's social remittances and their implications at household level: A case study of Romanian migration to Italy, *Migration Letters*, 10: 1, pp. 81-90.

Waters, Johanna L. 2002. Flexible families? 'Astronaut' households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 3: 2, pp. 117-134.

Yeoh Brenda S.A., Shirlena Huang and Theodora Lam. 2005. Transnationalizing the 'Asian' family: imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents, *Global Networks*, 5:4, pp. 307-315.