The Patterns of Narrating Care Work in Transnational Families: The Case of Georgian Migrant Women

By Natalia Tchamiashvili

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Erasmus Mundus Master´s Degree in Women´s and Gender Studies (GEMMA)

Main Supervisor: Andrea Pető (Central European University)
Second Supervisor: Rachel Alsop (University of York)

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Abstract

The feminization of migration from Georgia creates a care crisis in Georgian transnational families since, traditionally, Georgian women are primarily responsible for care work in families. This research is expectedly centered around migrated Georgian women and care work distribution in their transnational families. This study investigates how Georgian migrant women narrate the care-related task distribution back home, what kind of narrative patterns they portray and why. The possibility of mapping the changes and transformations in traditional families or maintaining traditional gender roles in changing family structures is an opportunity to identify how migration influences gendered family structure and functions within the family.

To meet the research goal, I conducted fifteen online oral history interviews with Georgian migrant women with different backgrounds who work as caretakers in different countries, such as Greece, Portugal, Italy, and the United States.

As a result of qualitative analysis, I argue that the narratives of my respondents can be classified into five different narrative patterns. Some of these patterns are already identified in the literature on migrant women, and some of them are specific to the Georgian context. None of these narrative patterns challenge gender norms. The narratives of my respondents are constructed for their communities back home which significantly supports transnational families in terms of care in exchange for displaying commonly shared values by the family members, including migrant women. My findings go against well-established argument in academia that transnational families display family-like relationships. I argue that my respondents display family values instead of family-like relationships.

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; it contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis are accurate:

Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices, etc.): 25 484 words

Entire manuscript: 28501 words

Signed by Natalia Tchamiashvili

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Introduction

This research explores the patterns of narrating care work in Georgian transnational families among my interviewees, who represent Georgian migrant women. The research on this topic started earlier. As Iashvili explains, the research on transnational families in the Georgian context is fragmented due to the lack of funding: the data is inconsistent, and the research methodologies are different (Iashvili et al., 2016). Hence, it is hard to compare data and analyze tendencies. Existed literature does not provide a comprehensive picture of the problem for governmental and non-governmental profit organizations responsible for Georgian migrants' and their family members' conditions and their families back home. Due to this fragmented knowledge, Georgian governmental and non-governmental bodies have difficulty planning and implementing the result-oriented projects to help Georgian migrant women improve their working and living conditions during and after migration. Supporting the organizations in the needs assessment is one of the motives why I decided to do my research on Georgian migrants. Also, the possibility of mapping the changes and transformations in traditional families or maintaining traditional gender roles in changing family structures is an opportunity for me to identify how migration influences gendered family structure and functions within the family.

Research Question

According to Cappelli, since women try to earn capital in western countries, they do not have the resources to perform unpaid care work for their families. (Cappelli, 2020). As Cappelli further develops the point, the care crisis in Global North creates opportunities for caretakers from less developed countries to migrate and do paid care work Cappelli, 2020). Due to their migration, a care crisis occurs in their families back home (Cappelli, 2020). Cappelli claims

that, on the one hand, middle-class western women are dependent on lower-class women from the global North in terms of care. On the other hand, the host country needs affordable care labor force to help middle-class women work and earn money in a capitalist society (Cappelli, 2020). According to Cappelli, every engaged part in this process is a victim of a patriarchal transnational globalized economy since all women are forced to spend less time with their family members to earn capital (Cappelli, 2020).

The migrant care workers remain invisible to the public in both countries, and they rarely get representation in popular culture, and other members of their communities rarely consider their existence. There is little attention in media, and only more privileged women among the unprivileged are chosen for those kinds of interviews in the Georgian context. According to Iashvili, the research on Georgian emigrant women does not explain why Georgian migrant women display family in the way they do (Iashvili et al., 2016).

Family Display is Finch's theory (Finch, 2007). According to Finch, kinship and family are reproduced through reasoning and doing (Finch, 2007, p.72). As Finch further develops the point, "families not only need to be done but also displayed" (Finch, 2007, p 72). Families are observed regardless of their wish to be displayed (Finch, 2007). Family members are aware that they are observed. Hence they "family display" to get the social reality (Finch, 2007).

Erin Trouth Hofmann and Cynthia J. Buckley, in the article- "Cultural Responses to Changing Gender Patterns of Migration in Georgia," explore one of the factors that transnational families consider during family display. They observe how Georgian female migrants need to deal with gender stigma, a social process of devaluing people or groups, due to their different gender performance (Hofmann and Buckley, 2011). According to the authors, women must justify the decision on migration since they are afraid people will judge them for performing the opposite

gender role and abandoning the appropriate role such as being a primary caretaker for the family (Hofmann and Buckley, 2011).

According to Ani Gogberashvili, CEU graduate student in the Gender Studies department, motherhood is a highly respected role in Georgian culture. It requires all time and attention of mothers to spend on childbearing and childcare; hence there is no space for women to experience other aspects of womanhood (Gogberashvili, 2020, p. 27). As Gogberashvili explains, Georgian women are required to display "Intensive Mothering" (Gogberashvili, 2020, p. 30). "Intensive Mothering" is Sharon Hay's term that describes women who put aside their desires and interests and build their whole life around children (Ennis, 2014, p.2). "Intensive Mothering" requires women to be physically close to their children (Ennis, 2014, p.2). Hence physical distance from the children is another stigma Georgian female migrants need to deal with while family display.

This research aims to investigate the characteristics and explanation of patterns which my respondents use while family display and deal with stigmas through narrating care work back home. The study has the following objectives: First, collect information and describe what my respondents narrate about housework distribution in their families back home. Second, identify the patterns and classify them. Third, explain the reasons and motives for using the patterns of narration that my respondents use to describe how care-related responsibilities are distributed in their transnational families. By meeting the research objectives, this study aims to answer the research question: **How do my respondents, as Georgian migrant caregivers, narrate care work?**

As the result of this research, I argue that Georgian families display the commonly shared family values instead of displaying family relationships. The narration of house and care work distribution in my respondents' Georgian transnational families exhibits similar characteristics

and allows classification. The narrations affirm traditional gender roles for the following reasons: First, gender is strongly embodied in my respondents' lives, and it is accepted as natural, not being questioned. Second, my respondents depend on their communities which requires gendered patterns of narrations about care work. Third, my respondents do not have spaces where they rethink their values. My contribution to the feminist academia is describing and classifying the strategies of narration in which my respondents, as Georgian migrant women, explain house and care work distribution in their transnational families. The basis of my research is Finch's theory of "Family Display" and the theory of "Intensive Mothering."

Methodology

According to Finch, narratives are one of the tools of the family display. Observing what is family displayed and what is not through the narratives helps find the motives and reasons for narration (Finch, 2007). To get the access to the tools of display, I recruited 15 Georgian migrant women from different countries as the interviewees using the snowball method. My respondents originate from rural and urban areas of Georgia. They live in different countries such as Italy, France, the USA, Portugal, and Greece.

Limitations

This study has been conducted with limited resources. This research did not have financial support and had a short period for interviews and analysis. Hence, it was impossible to conduct interviewees face to face, so I conducted interviews online. In this short period, I could not interview family members of my respondents back home and their paid caretakers. As my

analysis will show, there was some commonality across the interviews, but we should be cautious in generalizing from my findings as the sample was small. Also, the results of this research are specific to the Georgian context and cannot necessarily be generalized to other geographical contexts and cultures. Specific findings from my research include the importance of communities in care and housework in Georgian transnational families. Other themes include the narratives of abandoning children by Georgian transnational mothers, and so on.

Structure

In the introductory chapter, the context of the study has been introduced. The research question, aims, and objectives have been identified, and the value of such research is argued. The limitation of the study is also considered. In the chapter on theory and literature review, all the relevant literature regarding key concepts: migration, care, care crisis, transnational family, transnational hyper maternalism, family display, intensive mothering, and digital intimacy will be gathered and reviewed. The theoretical framework will be presented, and in the methods chapter, the adoption of qualitative research methods will be justified. In the chapter on methodology, I will discuss the process and consequences of oral history interviews that I conducted to obtain the relevant narratives for the research. The second part of the paper is divided into three analytical chapters. The first chapter serves the first objective of this research. It is about what Georgian female migrants narrate about their engagement in care and housework back home and what do they family display. The second chapter serves the second objective of this research and explores and classifies how my respondents narrate the distribution of house and care work and how they family display. In the third chapter, the reasons and motives of these narrations, this specific type of family display will be discussed

as a result of meeting the third objective of this research. In the concluding chapter, I will present the findings and limitations of this research and opportunities for further research.

Methodology

I reviewed relevant literature to get comprehensive information about unpaid care work distribution in Georgian families and changes in transnational families. As a result of considering existed literature, such as the reports published by the European Training Foundation (ETF), Tchatchava, and Iashvili, et al. (European Training Foundation, 2013; Tchatchava, 2020; Iashvili et al., 2016), I discovered that the research on the topic in the Georgian context is fragmented and does not illustrate the whole picture. Mostly accessible information on the subject includes qualitative data produced by non-governmental or international organizations and the government of Georgia (European Training Foundation, 2013). These entities work with migrated Georgian women abroad or returned migrant women in Georgia. There are some academic works on Georgian migrant caregivers (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, 2010), (Hofmann and Buckkley, 2011) (Tchtchanava, 2020), but academic work is also limited. To add to this small but growing body of research on Georgian migrant caregivers, my research explores how my respondents, as Georgian migrant women, narrate the distribution of care work in their transnational families.

Recruitment of Research Participants

I chose this group of participants because it is an invisible group. The experiences of my interviewees have not publicized before. The sample is small for generalization and explaining

larger group with the findings might be misleading. Still, this research is important because the experiences of my interviewees are representative and this research creates the basis for further, more representative studies.

To gain access to the potential research participants, I used social media and personal contacts in the first place. I shared the post in thematic Facebook groups of interest to Georgian migrants such as: "Georgians in Italy", "Georgians in Greece", "Georgian Emigrants", and so on. Several respondents reached out to me and expressed their readiness to talk to me. After five interviews, I had the contact information of some further care community members. At the end of the interview, I asked if the interviewee knew someone who would like to talk to me. Most of the participants were ready to help me reach out to more research participants. I did not experience difficulties during the recruitment process.

The participants have different backgrounds, and their age varies from 27 to 67. Interviewees had different professions before emigration: They had worked, for example, as a small-scale business owners, pharmacists, and promo girls. The majority of interviewees were housewives before migration, and all of them are now employed in the care sector. Most of the research participants come from villages, but some are from cities (none of them is from the capital city). My research participants have different relationship statuses: married, divorced, widowed, and remarried. They have different legal statues in their host countries which defines their access to travel back home. Several of the interviewees can go to Georgian once, in a while, some of them manage to take their family members to their destination countries, and some cannot leave the host country at all. My interviewees differ regarding the level of education as well. Several of them have university degree. Others graduated the high school. The research participants' diverse backgrounds and living conditions helped me understand how different factors affect the distribution of housework in Georgian transnational families.

Some of my respondents do not own legal documents that allow them to stay in their host countries. To eliminate the risks that could cause the reveal of their personalities, I ensured the confidentiality of all research participants. All the data I obtained is kept in a password-protected computer, and all the participants are anonymized. I changed details in their stories to ensure that their identities would be covered.

Technicalities

All my research participants are live-in caregivers in different countries. All of them work six or seven days a week. It was hard to fit in their schedules since they were busy doing paid care work and had very little free time. I did not want to overwhelm them with my interview. For this reason, in most cases, I did not have a separate preliminary meeting but provided all the necessary information in written form. I suggested several time slots for the interviews. Most research participants asked me to interview them on weekdays after work when their host family members were already asleep; caregivers from Georgia were done with all the responsibilities for the day and could talk to me. As Baddeley et al. posit, the time of the day affects memory, and the performance of the immediate memory is much better in the morning (Baddeley, AD et al., 2007). I have also noticed differences between interviews conducted in the morning and the evening. In the evening, I got shorter answers that included fewer explanations of the stories my respondents were narrating.

For this reason, I tried to offer time slots in the morning, but unfortunately, it was not always possible to conduct interviews earlier. In the case of daytime interviews, we had several interruptions by host family members due to the research respondent's duties and busy schedule. During preliminary conversations, several interviewees explained the specificities of

their job and that they never know when the care receiver calls for them. The respondents warned me about possible interruptions, but we could not avoid this issue. Sometimes interruptions took several seconds or minutes, but we had to stop the interview and continue later in one case. Interruptions have been stressful for my interviewees, and they tried to fix the problems and talk to me simultaneously.

I planned to do interviews via Zoom and record videos, but unfortunately, none of my interviewees could join the zoom meeting. I gave detailed instructions to them and explained that they had to participate with the video and microphone, but there was always a technical problem. In most cases, my respondents were using zoom for the first time. We had several attempts, and then they suggested another medium, for example, Google Teams or Facebook Messenger. As I discovered later, my respondents use different channels for communication with their family members, sometimes, they organize group calls, but they mostly use Messenger or Google Teams. They are comfortable with those platforms and asked me to stick with them. For this reason, I organized Messenger calls and recorded voices with several devices. After five interviews, I changed my strategy. I was asking if the respondent was familiar with the Zoom platform, and I did not try to explain how Zoom works in case of a negative answer. I used the platform my respondent was aware of to save her time.

Consent

Before the interviews participants were informed about the goals and ethics of the project. I explained the interview details on record; I obtained consent to record the voice of the interviewees. I explained that participants could stop the interview anytime if they felt uncomfortable, and they could also withdraw their consent form within two weeks after the

interviews. No one used these options. My interviewees got confused about my effort invested in explaining the consent form, the goal of the project, and ethics. Many research participants emphasized that they trusted me unconditionally and there was no need for explanation. Unconditional trust can be explained by my connections with some research participants and my activities on social media. I will discuss this part later in the subchapter of positionality.

Regarding the consent form, I also consider that having it in English, which is the language that my respondents do not speak, is unethical. For this reason, I provided an English-Georgian version of the consent form. As I mentioned before, my interviewee never questioned my intentions, integrity, and honesty. However, it is essential to provide the consent form in a language that the research participant can understand. Unfortunately, my research participants could not sign the paper since we were communicating online, and they did not know how to sign documents in PDF or word. Hence I obtained recorded oral consent from the research participants.

Translation and Interpretation

I was careful with the interpretation of the interviews. Dwyer et al. explain that the researcher can be biased when working in her community (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Katherine Borland's experience also shows how different the interviewer's and interviewee's perspectives can be even when they are related and living in a similar socio-economic setting (Borland, 1998). After reading the paper, I wanted to avoid misunderstandings and chances that any research participant would mention- "That's not what I said" (Borland, 1998, p.310-321). However, I faced the following challenge: several interviewees assumed that I had background information, and they did not go into the details. For example, I asked what they meant by their

responsibilities at home. One of the answers I got from Eteri[1] was "everything, like in families in general." I think this comes from the assumption by the interviewees that I am from the same culture, and I already know how life is in Georgia. They do not think that some details are worth explaining. These details should already be known to me. To eliminate the risks, I asked clarifying questions every time I had doubts. I sent the transcribed parts of the interviews to the research participants and asked them to confirm if they were comfortable with my interpretation. I was ready to change the text or take out some parts in case of discomfort, but I did not have to.

I conducted interviews in the Georgian language, a mother tongue of my respondent's and me. One of the issues that I needed to deal with was the translation of the transcript, which became extremely challenging since the Georgian and English languages belong to different language groups. There are several problems: First, there is no gender in the Georgian language. When the respondents use neutral Georgian pronouns (there is only one pronoun in the Georgian language, it is neutral), it is hard to translate neutrally. I need to use my Georgian respondents' pronouns in English, but this is not the issue that many of them are aware of since they do not speak English and do not have to choose pronouns in Georgian. Also, several interviewees are from different regions of Georgia. They have a specific style of talking and use many proverbs and idiomatic expressions that do not or hardly make sense in translation. These kinds of expressions are culture and place-specific. For example, one of the respondents- Eteri mentioned that when she left the country, the parents of her daughter's classmates said – "She is gone, but she has left two Eteris" (the respondent's name is Eteri). By this expression, she meant that her Mother-in-law took care of the household twice better as she could do. So, she did not have to worry about her daughter or the house; her kin family members were getting

[1] Interview with Eteri on March 16, 2022. See the list and profiles of anonymized interviewees in Appendix 1.

good care, even better than she (respondent) could provide for them in case of physically being at home. This case shows one of the many consequences. Unfortunately, I believe that the interviewees' characteristics are lost due to translation. It is impossible to hear the Georgian dialect in English or express the attitudes said in the tone of voice.

Positionality

I tried to take a feminist approach to the research, and as part of this feminist research approach, it is important to define my role and positionality in the study. Understanding insider/outsider phenomena were important for defining the risks and advantages I would get during the interviews. As Dwyer and Buckle explain, participants, are more open with the insider researchers. Insiders understand the context and can often recruit participants more easily. (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.54-64). According to the authors, outsiders need more time and effort but being an outsider minimizes the risk of confusion regarding the role of the researcher. Also, the researcher is less biased during analysis (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p.54-64). I was confident that I would be perceived as an insider since I was talking to the respondents in their mother tongue, familiar with their backgrounds and the reasons for migration, and they, the respondents, perceived me as an insider even more than I expected. Most of them had researched my background through their contacts and social media. They were looking at me from different angles depending on their source of information. Some of them saw a young girl in me, some saw a social worker, and for some, I was an active person on social media with many followers. I believe that the information my respondents had about me had a tremendous impact on the interviews.

Power relations were present in the interviews, but the powered side changed from interview to interview depending on what the respondent knew about me before the interview.

Position 1: The Researcher as the Social Worker

I am a social worker back home. I am the founder of the largest women's professional network, which has an online presence and media coverage. Up to 60 000 women are active members of this network, called- Women for Women (W4W). My organization plans and implements projects to empower women in different professions. We teach how to write CVs, and motivational letters, search for vacancies, create a LinkedIn profile, what to do in case of sexual harassment at the workplace, and what to do with maternity leaves. We try to gather information about companies that mistreat women to shame them in our community. Most companies are afraid of their image damage and try to improve conditions for women after being humiliated in our community.

Women share their stories about their first jobs, entering the Georgian job market, and other work-based stories. We also try to raise funds to finance our projects in the regions of Georgia to teach skills for digital professions. To gain more funds and mobilize people, we try to raise awareness about our activities in any way possible. I am the communication manager; hence I am the one who appears on social media and tv the most. Information about me and my work is public, transparent, and accessible. Hence, many respondents did not have any trouble collecting information about me. Some of them even have been indirect or direct beneficiaries of my projects. For example, the respondent of the second interview is the mother of the person who did an internship at my organization. I also helped her daughter get her first job. At the beginning of the interview, Tina[2] explained that she knows me well, sees my pictures on social

[2] Interview with Tina on February 2, 2022. See the list and profiles of anonymized interviewees in Appendix 1.

media, and supports and respects me from a distance. Later she helped me find interviewees from her network. It turned out those respondents also had information about my activities. My respondent- Manana[3] shared- "by conducting the interview, we will help someone not get on this path… If we can help someone tomorrow, it will be a huge step. You have chosen such a path; I must compliment you on it. I am sincerely glad that you are such a good and thoughtful girl." As we see from the comment, my respondent had good impressions of me in advance and expected that she would help someone by telling me her story since she knew that I usually research needs assessments to design the projects and support women. I did not want to make a wrong impression, I tried to explain that this research was different, and my respondents were helping me in this case. I provided more detailed information about the research goals during the preliminary conversations with the interviewees for the following interviews.

Position 2: The Researcher as an Active Person in Social Media

I use social media for different purposes. Besides sharing information about my professional life, I share my ideas about politics and social issues and personal stories. I have several followers; for this reason, sometimes different companies and non-governmental organizations reach out to me to do advertisements through my channels. I was sharing all information publicly since, on the one hand, social media is one of the sources of my income, and on the other hand, I believe I can make an impact by sharing my political views. I was highly active on social media during the first days of the war in Ukraine (I was working on the recruitment of research participants and conducting interviews). I criticized the current government for not being supportive enough of Ukraine. After that, I heard negative comments about the government in my interviews. Several respondents blamed the Georgian government for not

[3] Interview with Manana on March 14, 2022. See the list and profiles of anonymized interviewees in Appendix 1.

being supportive of people and explained that one of the biggest reasons they had to migrate was the government's inactivity. According to Central Election Committee, In general, emigrants tend to be on the opposition's side according to election results (CEC, 2020). Still, I believe that my political comments also could influence the conversation with my respondents. I was worried that politicized comments could overshadow the personal stories and personal perspectives, so I decided to stop sharing political posts for a while.

Several interviewees mentioned that they follow me and read my posts daily. For instance, the respondent from the first interview mentioned that she had watched my videos since I started recording them. She said she liked me before and had a positive attitude towards me at the beginning of the interview. On the one hand, it was a privilege that the respondent had trusted me and was willing to share personal details, but on the other hand, I did not know what my respondents knew about me. So, I had to investigate this issue before interviewing by checking if the respondents were following me on any channel and who our mutual friends were.

Position 3: The Researcher, as a Young Woman

One of the respondents- Ia[4] shared the story that she started a business, could afford anything she wanted and was happy with her life.Then, suddenly, she realized that her husband had started gambling, getting drugs, and cheating on her. She said she was disappointed with her life and blamed herself for making the wrong choice about choosing her husband when she was young. She believed she would have a different life with a different partner. At the end of the interview, she started to give me marriage advice; she explained that it is necessary to to conduct a research about a person before marriage. She said that "The person should gather information about who are the family members of the beloved one, if they are educated if they

[4] Interview with Ia on February 10, 2022. See the list and profiles of anonymized interviewees in Appendix 1.

do drugs or gamble, and so on." In this interview, my age allowed the interviewee to exercise agency. She assumed I would be less experienced and unmarried because I am younger. The differences between our ages created a hierarchy among us that placed me in an inferior position. Being a young woman was beneficial for me as an interviewer because I was getting insight and detailed explanations of the decisions my respondents made, so I did not have to ask follow-up questions during this term.

To summarize, in my research, I explored that the influence of interviewers differs from interview to interview depending on how much and what the interviewees knew about the interviewer. The source of knowledge can be social media and personal connections. As Finch explains, people make changes in their family display considering the audience (Finch, 2007). I wanted to remain a neutral person during our interviews because I aimed to investigate how my respondents display family generally, not for me specifically. For this reason, I tried to minimize my influence, but I could not eliminate it. I believe it is essential to analyze what information is known to the interviewee about the interviewer, especially in the era of social media.

Theory and Literature Review

This chapter will discuss the main concepts and academic pieces that helped me understand the topic and focus on relevant details in my research. I will discuss the following concepts: On one hand- care, gendered care, and care crisis. On the other hand- migration, family structure, Family Display, transnational parenthood, Transnational Hyper Maternalism, Intensive Mothering, and digital intimacy. At the end of the chapter, I will provide all the valuable details

explaining the Georgian context regarding gendered migration and the Georgian transnational family.

1.Care

1.1 Defining Care

It is essential to understand the definitions of care and care work and what is expected from care workers to use as analytical concepts. One of the most valuable sources is an article by Kirstein Rummery and Michael Fine on "Care: A Critical Review of Theory, Policy, and Practice" (Rummey & Fine, 2012). The paper summarizes preexisted literature on the topic and explains that it is hard to define the term- care work in academia. According to the article, the word "carer" was first used 200 years ago in Britain, and it referred to a person who is constantly worried and neurotic (Rummey & Fine, 2012, p. 321- 343). As the authors further describe, in the late 1970s, the term changed its meaning and appeared as a term for a woman who does not have a public life and provides lifelong unpaid care for family members (Rummey & Fine, 2012). According to Tronto, care is everything human beings do to maintain and continue their existing world (Tronto, 1998). As Tronto explains, care can have several facets, such as feeling toward others, which are defined as interest and understanding of responsibility towards someone. Second, care as labor, fulfilling others' needs through direct contact with the care receiver. The critical component of this definition is a receiver benefiting from this process, which includes a financial reward for fulfilling the workload by the caregiver. Third, Care can also be understood as a social relationship that involves dependency and power relations (Tronto, 1998, p. 15-30). As Tronto further develops the point, in this setting, the caregiver might lose autonomy for taking responsibilities; the care receiver can also

face risks because the person might become dominated by the caregiver (Tronto, 1998, p. 15-30). In the case of my research, I have to consider all types of care, especially social relationships and observe the dynamics of power relations between my respondents as caregivers and care receivers in the host family and my respondents as the caregivers and care receivers as their kin family members back home.

1.2 Gendered Care

One of the topics discussed in Fine's and Rummery's article is the gender aspect of care and the differentiation of care about versus respect for in a British context (Rummery & Fine, 2012, p. 321-343). As authors cite Graham, men care about family members, but women have an assigned role of caring for children or elderly relatives (Rummery & Fine, 2012, p. 321-343). Graham builds his idea on Tronto's argument that there are four phases of care: The first phase is to Care about, which implies knowing about other people's needs. 2. The second phase is to Take care of- At this level, preparations are made to fulfill the person's recognized needs. 3. the Third phase is Caregiving- actual physical work 4. And the Last phase- Care receiving by the care receiver (Rummery & Fine, 2012, p. 321-343). According to Tronto, women typically participate in all phases, while men participate only in the first two (Tronto, 1998). This finding created some expectations about my research. I expected that my respondents could also narrate that they are or have been physically involved in their family member's care and were care-receivers. This article inspired me to examine if my respondents narrate stories about someone taking care of them and how their migration affects the care they receive.

1.3 Care Crisis

In her book– *Care Crisis*, Emma Dowling mentions that the care crisis in EU and North American countries is the basis for care-related migration (Dowling, 2021). Dowling defines a

care crisis as the lack of human resources in care (Dowling, 2021). According to Dowling, the reasons for the care crisis, such as: increasing life expectancy, lack of nursing schools, fragmented community services, lack of investment in care for disabled bodies, refugees, and elderly people, mental health problems, the number of people who require care is increasing in the UK and other western countries (The USA, Canada, Greece, Italy, Germany, Austria) (Dowling, 2021). Also, the number of freelancers and zero-hour (jobs that do not guarantee working hours) contractors increases, so fewer people get care-related benefits from work (Dowling, 2021). As Dowling explains, the lack of caregivers in western countries creates demand for care workers from overseas and is a pull factor for people from poorer countries to emigrate (Dowling, 2021). According to Cappelli, over 60 million women migrate to more prosperous countries to take the position of caregivers (Cappelli, 2020). The author mentions the dependence of middle-class western women on lower-class women from the global North in terms of care and explains that every part is a victim of the patriarchal transnational globalized economy (Cappelli, 2020). As Cappelli explains, all the women- both those employing care and those providing care- are forced to spend less time with their family members to earn capital. In turn, fulfilling the needs of western families by the migrants creates a care crisis in the home countries of migrants (Cappelli, 2020). Georgia is one of the countries where migrants relocate to western countries. The Care crisis in western countries is why care-related work is available for Georgian women abroad. In this paper, I will explore how the migration of care workers affects care in Georgia according to my respondent's narrations.

2. Migration

2.1 Defining Migration

This section explores various theoretical perspectives that seek to explain migration. Based on one of the oldest theories of migration- Neo-classical theory, work-related migration is the imbalance between labor supply and demand countries, as Wickramasinghe explains (Wickramasinghe et al., 2016). According to Wickramasinghe, the workers migrate to countries where they can get higher-paid jobs. They send remittances back home and promote production; capital is collected in the poorer geographical area, ending the imbalance between wages and migration itself (Wickramasinghe et al., 2016). The theoretical perspectives put forward by Wickramasinghe made me think of changes in Georgia that occur due to immigration. I am interested in how migrants see the future of their families. If they believe that migration might improve living conditions back home, they might be interested in going back home forever. Their vision of the family's future might influence the current distribution of care and work-related tasks in the family. This theory inspires me observe onb my respondent's plans. I will focus on the differences in the narrations of housework distribution between migrants who plan to return and the migrants who do not plan to return to Georgia.

According to Wickramasinghe, The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) takes a micro-level approach to analysis and claims that migration decisions are not individual but collective (Wickramasinghe et al., 2016). As Wickramasinghe explains, individual behavior is also essential, but it should be observed in the group (Wickramasinghe et al., 2016). Wickramasinghe also mentions that migration decision is the risk management strategy of the group. Group members try to reduce the risk of losing income by planning economic activities in host and home countries (Wickramasinghe, 2016). According to the theory, migrated family members want to return in case of saving capital and acquiring skills (Wickramasinghe et al.,

2016). Since Georgia is considered a collective society, the migration decision might be made collectively. As the author claims, women also participate in the discussion and think about alternative ways of having different types of revenue and the risks that the family might face (Wickramasinghe, 2016). The stakes might include a care crisis. I am interested in whether care work is also part of the decision-making discussion and how responsibilities are distributed among family members.

According to Wickramasinghe, the institutional theory looks at the process of institutionalization that occurs as the result of migration (Wickramasinghe, 2016). It claims a mismatch between the numbers of visas available and visa-seekers (Wickramasinghe, 2016). For that reason, non-governmental organizations are created that help migrants get legal documents and necessary items, as Wickramasinghe explains (Wickramasinghe, 2016). Some private companies and enterprises do the same, providing credits or facilities in exchange for profit (Wickramasinghe, 2016). The institutional theory helped me emphasize the entities that develop with the rise in numbers of immigrants. For instance, I discovered non-profit organizations that collected and analyzed data on Georgian migrants. Also, some companies make a profit from services designed for migrants. For example, communication companies that sold phone cards. Also, some transportation companies ensure the travel of migrants to the host countries (sometimes illegally) and back. Those companies enabled caregivers to take care of their family members physically from time to time.

As Wickramasinghe explains, Cumulative Causation Theory is close to Network theory and emphasizes the role of relatives or friends living in destination countries (Wickramasinghe, 2016). According to this theory, the first emigrant is the social capital for the relatives back home. This person holds information about travel and work opportunities in the destination country and work conditions (Wickramasinghe, 2016). As Wickramasinghe (2016) claims,

from the perspective of Cumulative Causation Theory, information that the first migrant provides encourages more and more people back home to migrate to the destination country (Wickramasinghe, 2016). This approach has been helpful for my research in several terms: First, I observed if caregivers from Georgia support each other abroad, how they find host families, and how they spend their free time. Second, I recruited people quickly since I expected that migrated people would most likely not be alone in the destination country. During the interviews, I asked a question about the respondent's friends who might become the respondent for my interview.

Different theories of international migration see different angles of it. Considering literature on migration theories has been helpful for me in terms of identifying the possible motives of migrants, their lifestyle, and the results of migration. None of the aspects are explored before my research in the Georgian context.

2.2 Family Structure

To examine family structures, it was vital for me to understand what the family structure is and how I can classify them to compare data obtained from interviews. Family structure is defined by several factors: how many persons contain family, twho are the family members, and how they are connected. Karen Smith Conway and Minghua Li, in their article- "Family structure and child outcomes: a high definition, wide-angle snapshot," analyze the data from the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) to understand what is the relation between different family structures and children's achievements living in families (Conway et al., 2010). They start by classifying the data and claim that there are three types of family structure: First, the family where two parents are represented. In this case, parents are married traditionally or cohabitate. Second, one parent is represented in the family. The parent can be a biological or adoptive father or mother. They can be single, cohabiting, or married. Third, no parent is

represented in the family (Conway et al., 2010). In this case, they had two subgroups distinguished: in the first subgroup, grandparents take care of their grandchildren, and in another one, all the non-parent families are united (Conway et al., 2010). This classification is helpful for research. It allows me to distinguish stories from each other and compare different experiences, but this classification is incomplete. I believe the family with a migrant parent or parents deserves a separate subgroup. Also, adjusting this classification to the Georgian context requires being specific about the last subgroup where all the non-parental people are represented. This subgroup should have at least the following subcategories: families with children having paid caregivers, children living in relatives' families, and children without care. These are the type of families I will observe within the framework of this research.

Patricia Voydanoff, in the article- "Work Role Characteristics, Family Structure Demands, and Work/Family Conflict," explains that the aspects of family structure, such as the number and age of children, working hours, and partner's working hours, are related to Work/Family conflict (Voydanoff, 1988). The author claims that traditionally women's responsibilities at home affect the work more than men's since women spend almost twice more time on house chores and a third more time on childcare (Voydanoff, 1988). According to the research (Voydanoff, 1988), women often prioritize family issues overwork more than men in practice (Voydanoff, 1988). Voydanoff also claims that the pressure that women and men experience from family structure demands can be decreased if an individual has control over energy and time spent on work (Voydanoff, 1988). Vodanoff does not explain what happens in the families where parents or a parent is migrated. Still, based on the author's findings, my respondents might be under pressure from the family structure since Georgian relocated caregivers' job location is far from home. Migrated caregivers have no control over the time and energy they need to spend on work. In many cases, caregivers cannot visit their families for years due to legal issues. I am interested in the degree family structure influences work/life conflict in

Georgian migrated caregivers' lives and how they deal with it, and how my respondents' migration affects their family structures back home.

2.3 Family Display

Finch is the author of the theory of Family Display. Finch refers to Morgan's theory of "Doing Family" and explains that families are "sets of activities which take on a particular meaning, associated with family, at a given point in time. "Family" is a facet of social life, not a social institution. It "represents a quality rather than a thing" (Finch, 2007, p. 66). According to Finch, families are done and displayed. As Finch defines, "Display is the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute "doing family things" and thereby confirm that these relationships are family relationships (Finch, 2007, p. 67)." Finch also claims that the tools of the family display are narratives (Finch, 2007). Since I have access to the narratives of my respondents, where their family display the distribution of housework in their transnational families, I can observe how gender influences family display of care work.

2.4 Transnational Parenthood

According to K.M. Zentgraf and N. Stoltz Chinchilla, generally, women and men practice transnational parenthood differently (Zentgraf et al., 2012). As the authors claim, migrant mothers report preparing their children before departure by explaining what their absence means for the family and how family members should deal with it (Zentgraf et al., 2012). According to the authors, migrant women mostly say that they leave because of necessities during the departure. This way, women try to minimize emotional damage to their family members, especially children (Zentgraf et al., 2012). As authors further claim, generally,

migrant fathers tend to leave without explanations to avoid hard conversations and upsetting children (Zentgraf et al., 2012).

There are more gender aspects of transnational parenthood: Based on the research in Mexico Chinchilla and Zentgraf claim that being a good multinational father in a general context is defined by economic success (Zentgraf et al., 2012). According to the authors, being a good mother means a solid emotional connection with the children (Zentgraf et al., 2012). As the authors further explain, fathers also consider they are good fathers if they send remittances back home, while mothers measure their motherhood practices by having emotional contact with the children and economic success at the same time (Zentgraf et al., 2012).

Jørgen Carling, Cecilia Menjívar, and Leah Schmalzbau, in "Central Themes in the Study of Transnational Parenthood," summarize existing general knowledge on transnational parenthood and notice similar patterns in different geographical areas (Carling, 2012, p.191-217). According to the authors, transnational parenthood implies physical absence but social presence and participation in the migrant's family's everyday life back home (Carling, 2012, p.191-217). This article focuses on child-parent distance relationships. The authors differentiate transnational motherhood and fatherhood. According to them, transnational motherhood mostly means sending money, and gifts, having communication with their children regularly, and often expressing sadness for "abandoning their children (Carling, 2012, p.191-217)." while, according to A ̈kesson, migrated men are more likely to abandon their children (A ̈kesson, 2009, p. 381- 398). According to Carling, another critical difference is that when fathers migrate, mothers take their roles in the family. When mothers migrate, fathers step aside, and other female family get involved in care work. (Carling et al., 2012).

Most importantly, the absence of family members within the families where the gender roles are segregated can cause the formation of a new type of family and rethinking of who belongs

to the family, when, and why. Who does what, how long, and on what ground? This pattern can be relevant to the Georgian context as well. According to Hania Zlotnik, migrant women from different backgrounds in different countries have similar problems (Zlotnik, 1995). Most of them cannot be physical with their family members and need to make special arrangements to care for their children and elderly (Zlotnik, 1995). According to Zlotnik, by becoming care migrants, women start fulfilling the role of breadwinner, a traditionally male role in most societies. But they still defend traditional and social norms to avoid negative evaluations by other members of their communities and provide a better life for their dependents (Zlotnik, 1995). Since Zlotnik claims that this is a general pattern, I will observe in my research if the Georgian context fits in this finding.

In the article "Mothering from Afar: Conceptualizing Transnational Motherhood Heather," Milman talks about the same paradox. The author believes motherhood is a sociocultural and personal experience (Milman, 2013). Immigrant mothers construct their identities in their social environment in which transnational mothers go against gender roles, become breadwinners, and get the power of financial control over other family members (Milman, 2013). According to Milman, they do not challenge the system. On the contrary, in their narratives, women reinforce existing social norms by fulfilling their traditional roles from a distance to meet their standards of good mothers (Milman, 2013). I will be looking at the agencies for my respondents. By agencies, I mean the feeling of control over actions and their consequences.

Milman explains that, surprisingly, Latina migrants in the US work in families and take care of children for money (Milman, 2013). Still, they are against having non-relative care for their children in their families (Milman, 2013). This is one of the factors that might affect care work

distribution in the Georgian context. Hence, I will focus on how my respondents see the involvement of paid care workers in their lives.

According to Latina migrant women in Milman's sample, being a good transnational mother means being able to create opportunities for the children by providing them with education and material resources (Milman, 2013). In their narratives, the money that care migrants earn is mentioned as something more than money, like well-being and future opportunity for family members (Milman, 2013). According to Milman, for most paid caregivers, transnational motherhood does not mean abandoning children, and it is just an alternative form of motherhood where the difference from traditional motherhood is that women are physically distant. They support them financially in addition to doing care work for them from a distance (Milman, 2013). As a result, transnational mothers do not oppose existing norms; they expand their understanding of motherhood to fit an alternative form. As the literature shows so far, there are two patterns of "Narrating Transnational Motherhood" in the Latin American context: First, explaining that transnational mothers are fulfilling their traditional gender roles from a distance, and second, as transnational mothers explain, transnational motherhood is a relatively new but legitimate way of doing mothering. I will observe if any of these patterns are relevant to the Georgian context in my research.

2.5 Transnational Hyper Maternalism

In the paper- "Reconceptualizing Motherhood, Reconceptualizing Resistance", Tungohan claims that transnational mothers remain primary caregivers (Tungohan, 2013). The way transnational mothers do care work from abroad is described as a Transnational Hyper Maternalism by Tungohan (Tungohan, 2013, p. 39-57). According to Tungohan, transnational mothers try to show care as much as possible (mostly even more than non-transnational mothers do) (Tungohan, 2013, p. 39-57). They also construct the ideals of practices of

motherhood in their minds. The imaginary ideal of motherhood is influenced by popular culture and commonly shared values circulating in society. This new construct is the superior female caregiver who expands her gender roles by becoming the breadwinner and being a super caregiver (Tungohan, 2013).

2.6 Intensive Mothering

According to Ennis, Intensive Mothering has been discovered in different cultures. The women who practice "Intensive Mothering" put their children's interests and needs before theirs (Ennis, 2014, p.2). As Ennis further develops the point, the "Intensive Mothers" have imagined a picture of the ideal mother and compare themselves to that image. They police themselves and point out differences between their practice and the ideal of motherhood. Whoever differs from the ideal feels guilt (Ennis, 2014, p.2). As Gogberashvili explains, the Georgian context also requires women to exercise "Intensive Mothering" (Gogberashvili, 2020, p. 30). In my research, I will look at how my respondents deal with this requirement from a distance.

2.7 Digital Intimacy

According to Taniesha Burke et al., Weingarten defined intimacy as momentary interactions that occur "when people share or co-create meaning and can coordinate their actions to reflect their mutual meaning-making (Burke et al., 2007, Pg. 5)." As the authors explain, intimacy can be expressed differently across cultures. For example, intimacy can be expressed through shared enjoyment, self-disclosure, emotions, and physical proximity (Burke et al., 2007, Pg. 5).

As Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė explain, transnational mothers are often stigmatized for not being able to do mothering appropriately from a distance (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). According to the authors, one of their concerns is that transnational mothers cannot maintain

intimacy with their children (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). In my study, I focus on how my respondents deal with intimacy. The only way to maintain intimacy with the family members from a distance is through a digital way. Hence, I need to understand digital intimacy situated in different transnational families.

According to Jørgen Carling, Cecilia Menjívar & Leah Schmalzbauer, communication is key to maintaining a transnational family (Carling et al., 2012). As the authors suggest, communication serves two purposes: firstly, telling facts and exchanging information, and secondly, creating emotional bonds (Carling et al., 2012). According to them, during the communication, parents usually advise on personal and professional lives, helping their children with schoolwork, take care of their physical and emotional well-being, etc., which is hugely dependent on the channels (Carling et al., 2012). As Jørgen Carling et al. explain, phones were widespread in the 1980s and 1990s but were not affordable for most migrants. In the 1990s, phones became more attainable (Carling et al., 2012). By that time, children of migrant families were more likely to have a phone than those of non-migrated parents since the telephone was the primary bonding mechanism (Carling et al., 2012). Gradually, the cost of calls and messages decreased. The internet is helpful in many countries, but access to it is limited in many developing countries.

Cecilia Uy-Tioco, in the article- "*Overseas Filipino Workers and Text Messaging: Reinventing Transnational Mothering,"* a result of interviewing Filipino mothers, claims that the development of cell phones and the internet makes it easier for families to maintain the structure and traditional gender roles (Uy-Tioco, 2007, p. 253-265). As the author further explains, by migrating, women become breadwinners. Still, by having accessible, cheap, or freeways of communication, they are back to fulfilling their traditional roles such as emotional

care and nurturing. As a result, they extend their traditional role and, besides online caregiving, become primary providers for the family (Uy-Tioco, 2007, p. 253-265).

Paris Youna Kim, in – "*Digital media for intimacy?: Asian nannies' transnational mothering,"* also posits that the development of technologies is not necessarily empowering for migrant women (Kim, 2017, p. 200-2017). According to Kim, since the migrant women's physical segregation from family is a moral issue, migrated women are under pressure. They construct a new type of mothering through technologies that over demonstrate the performance of mothering in narratives (Kim, 2017, p. 200-217). To do so, as Kim further explains, mothers feel obligated to get access to the internet and gadgets, do not use their leisure time for themselves, and spend all their time on paid care work in the host country on distant unpaid care work back home (Kim, 2017, p. 200-2017). According to Kim, the problem is that transnational mothers feel guilt for leaving their children physically. They become even more concerned since the media links social problems with abandonment more than related (Kim, 2017, p. 200-2017). As Kim explains, having the chance of constant communication is not necessarily a positive development in terms of women's liberation since its increases anxiety and feeling of guilt in transnational mothers, and the sense of distance does not entirely disappear (Kim, 2017, p. 200-2017). Kim brings an essential perspective to my thesis. Considering the author's findings, I will observe how my respondents narrate the effect of digital communicational channels on their digital intimacies with their family members and do they find it empowering or not.

3. Relevant Research Conducted in the Georgian Context

3.1 The Reasons for Migration from Georgia

Researching transnational families in Georgia requires specific attention. The Georgian context is different from any other for the reasons, nature, and motivation of emigration. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Georgia became an independent country. According to Tamaz Zubiashvili, the collapse of the Soviet Union caused an economic and political crisis in Georgia. It gave rise to ethnic conflicts, which resulted in an increasing number of people being forced to migrate either in the country or abroad (Zubiashvili, 2014). The leader of the nationalist movement- Zviad Gamsakhurdia, was elected as the first president of Georgia. As Tabula describes, the relations between the supporters of Gamakhurdia and his opposition became intense and resulted in the war of Tbilisi from 1991-to 1993 years (Tabula, 2017). As a result of the war, the first president of Georgia had to escape from the country. The second president of Georgia was Eduard Shevardnadze. According to Radio Liberty, in 1992-1993, Russia also initiated a war in Georgia and occupied Abkhazia. As the result of the War of Abkhazia, approximately 10 000 Georgians died, and 300 000 people had to relocate (Radio Liberty, 2006). After the war, especially during the presidency of Saakashvili, Georgia started to develop close relationships with western countries such as the USA and EU members. The new partnerships with western institutions and governments positively affected the Georgian economy, but soon Russia initiated was again in 2008, as we see in the reports of the World Bank (World Bank, 2017). As a result of the invasion of Georgia in 2008, Russia occupied more than 20% of Georgian territories. Georgians living in these territories were forced to leave their houses and relocate. The displaced people have lost property and jobs, negatively affecting Georgia's economy. As Radio Liberty explains, many displaced people, including

women, decided to migrate abroad to create living conditions and future opportunities for themselves and their family members (Radio Liberty, 2006).

As Georgian blogger Tiko Khatchvani describes, Russia continued its creeping occupation of Georgia's territory. Russian soldiers moved the border towards the capital city and increased the space of occupied territories. Also, they kidnap and Georgian torture people from the border territories (Khatchvani, 2019). As Khatchvani further develops the point, due to the violent behavior of Russian soldiers on the border, more and more people are forced to leave their houses and relocate (Khatchvani, 2019). Even more people (in different regions of Georgia) are threatened by unstable circumstances in the country, especially since the beginning of the pandemic and the war in Ukraine against Russia, which has a similar scenario to what Georgians experienced before. Georgians and Ukrainians loose soldiers, properties, territories, women, and children who got raped and killed for being willing to be allied with European countries. The Ukrainian case renews the pain that Georgians had to endure and concludes that the dream of escaping from Russia might not become a reality soon.

3.2 The Characteristics of Emigration from Georgia

As Sumbadze explains, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the first migrants from Georgia were primary men since they were the primary providers of the family, and men's work was available for them in post-Soviet Union countries. Still, recently, the ratio of female migrants has increased (Sumbadze, 2006). The explanation for this shift is related to Georgia's attempt to build better relations with western countries, simplified visa procedures, and higher salaries overseas compared to post-Soviet Union countries. The European Training Foundation looks at the issue from a demand-supply framework. According to the European Training Foundation, more and more Georgian women want to go to western countries because domestic work is available for them (which they find through personal networks) (ETF, 2013).

International Center for Migration Policy Development claims that different types of jobs are available in other countries (ICMPD, 2015). As a result, Georgian migrant men and women are distributed unequally in different countries. Most Georgian women migrate to Greece, Turkey, Italy, and Germany. According to ICMDP, most remittances are sent to Georgia by migrants from these countries and Russia. Remittances constitute 8% of Georgia's GDP (ICMPD, 2015). As ICMDP explains, most migrated women come from rural areas, and they migrate due to the economic hardships they experience. The majority of the women who migrate find employment in the domestic sector and work as nannies or caregivers in families (ICMPD, 2015). According to ICMPD's report, migrant caregivers share similar challenges in different host countries; Most Georgian migrant women stay in the host countries illegally; hence they do not have access to health care and freedom of movement. No law protects their work rights. Sometimes they must work on weekends or work all day without a break (ICMPD, 2015).

3.3 Research Conducted with Georgian Migrants

There are several pieces of crucial statistical information and papers, such as the the report published by the European Training Foundation, that give reliable statistical information that might be helpful later in connecting qualitative data with the general picture (European Training Foundation, 2013). Still, as ETF explains, all the conducted researchers are limited due to the high number of non-responses, providing different answers to the same questions by the different family members from one family, etc. (European Training Foundation, 2013). According to European Training Foundation, it is impossible to talk about the exact numbers of Georgian emigrants since there is no agreed definition of migration on the national level and studies are inconsistent (ETD, 2013). Also, the Georgian government had not successfully collected and analyzed data before 2013 (ETD, 2013).

Meri Tchachava, the Georgian Institute of Politics researcher, also conducted interviews with returned migrants (Tchachanava, 2020, p. 23). She investigated their place in the Georgian job market and their feelings about family. Most of her research participants claim they fear an emotional gap between them and other family members (Tchachanava, 2020, p. 23). For example, one of her interviewees claims that she sees her grown-up daughter as a child. She wants to take care of her and tell her what is right and wrong, but the daughter does not accept her care. Another research participant expressed her happiness that her child was still little during her return and she could participate in the upbringing process (Tchachanava, 2020, p. 23). This comment emphasizes that women feel that they cannot do care and emotional work when they are away as much as possible in case of physical closeness with the family members. The paper does not explore how the respondents narrate the importance of physical proximity or physical distance regarding care. The influence of physical proximity/distance is one of the aspects that I will look at in my research.

The European Training Foundation explores the reasons for the return of Georgian female care migrants (ETF, 2013). According to the ETF's research, Georgian emigrants return to their country of origin due to emotional and economic problems, especially family obligations and homesickness, followed by residence permit expiration, unemployment, and deportation (ETF 2013). Since the European Training Foundation did quantitative research, there is no opportunity to get deeper information about the family obligations of Georgian women.

According to Hofmann and Buckley, most Georgian migrant women plan to return to Georgia and reenter traditional society (Hofmann and Buckkley, 2011). Hofmann and Buckly work on the premise that the Georgian family is traditional, where the woman's role is the care and emotional work, men's role is the family's financial support (Hofmann and Buckkley, 2011). According to Georgian gendered stereotypes, the article claims that women should be

domestic, take care of the house and children, and support them emotionally. Otherwise, they get stigmatized (Hofmann and Buckkley, 2011). On the other hand, as the authors explain, men should be responsible for the family's material well-being (Hofmann and Buckkley, 2011). It is interesting for my research if men also need to deal with the stigma of doing care and emotional work (if they do it) when women migrate. If yes, how does the stigma affect the housework distribution among family members?

Margharita Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, in her article- "Treading on the fine line between self-sacrifice and immorality: Narratives of emigrated Georgian women," claims that the children of migrated women in Georgia are perceived as spoiled (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, 2010). According to the author, there is the assumption that there is something wrong with the children of the migrated mother; neighbors of transnational families often claim that women managed to buy material things for their children. Still, they could not support the children emotionally, and their negative behavior resulted from the mother's physical absence (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, 2010). None of the quotes from the research participants expresses that since women are breadwinners, men are responsible for raising children and giving emotional care (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, 2010). They also do not blame men for not being good breadwinners, which, according to the authors, hints that the understanding of the female role in the family is broader now and that, in addition to the traditional requirements, women should provide for their families (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, 2010). This finding opposes the previous research conducted by Hofmann and Buckley that indicated that performing the role of breadwinner is a stigma for Georgian migrant women. This contradiction is something to be explored during interviews in my research.

Nana Sumbadze, a professor of Social Psychology at Tbilisi State University, provides brief information about the structure of Georgian families (Sumbadze, 2016). She explains that

traditionally the head of the family is a man in a Georgian family, which means that he is responsible for decision-making and providing for the family (Sumbadze, 2016). On the contrary, according to Sumbadze, women are caretakers; they are closely tied with other family members. They are accountable for child upbringing; they provide love and support (Sumbadze, 2016). Sumbadze also cites the famous Georgian poet- Vazha-Pshavela, who claims that women have great power over children and older adults. The woman decides the fate of children" (Sumbadze, 2016, p. 324). Women need to be educated and kind because If they cannot raise their children properly, the nation will be ruined (Sumbadze, 2016, p. 324). Hence, from the nationalist perspective, Georgian women are the mothers of the nation, which allows the public to control women's behavior. According to nationalist stereotypes, as Sumbadze explains, women should be domestic, and their sexuality should be controlled (Sumbadze, 2016, p. 324). As we see from this statement, Georgian women are responsible for family and the nation. It is interesting what happens to this responsibility for the nation in transnational families where the woman is physically distanced from the family. This is one of the aspects I will observe during my research.

Based on the consulted literature, I gathered patterns as examples of how the care work is distributed and narrated in transnational families worldwide and how my respondents narrate this type of distribution of house and care work. I will try to understand if there are similar patterns in the Georgian context and explain why.

Chapter 1- Narratives of Care Work by my Respondents

Finch explains that many facets of "doing family" are covered in regular and daily activities. The facets should be part of regular activity cycles, so they do not give room for questioning,

"they make meaning of family activities" (Finch, 2007, p.79). To understand the logic behind the effect of migration on care work distribution in Georgia, I collected information about what was the routine and the role of my respondents in their families before migration. Also, to what degree are my respondents able to continue fulfilling their previous routine and roles from a distance, and what kind of adjusting mechanism do they have as a response to physical distance from the family. As a result of the analysis of the obtained data, this chapter attempts to describe how the care work distribution and negotiations on care-related responsibilities in Georgian transnational families are displayed by my research participants.

To better understand the context, it is important to acknowledge that the state of Georgia has no role in care work. There are no services for helping working or migrant parents. Also, in the case of divorced families, as my respondents, Tamuna[5] and Elene[6] narrate, the state does not play a significant role in care-related task distribution. Hence, family members decide and find solutions themselves regarding how to react to the absence of a caregiver at home.

1.1 The Life Before Migration

1.1.1 Women as Primary Caregivers

According to Anna Rekhviashvili, CEU graduate student in the Gender Studies department and teaching assistant at York University, to earn appreciation from society, women should be mothers, stay at home, take care of children, and their sexuality must be controlled (Rekhviashvili, 2010). As Rekhviashvili cites Sunny in her work, the traditional role of Georgian women is subordinate and domestic (Rekhviashvili, 2010); hence women who cannot

[5] Interview with Tamuna on April 3, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.
[6] Interview with Elene on April 3, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.

do domestic tasks get stigmatized. Rekhviashvili claims that the idea of Georgian womanhood equals motherhood, and this understanding has been influenced by Georgian culture, traditions, and Orthodox Christianity (Rekhviashvili, 2010). Sumbadze further develops the point and claims that from the gendered nationalistic perspective, Georgian women are perceived as mothers of children and mothers of the nation (Sumbadze, 2008). This commonly shared belief in society enables relatives, neighbors, and friends to get involved in the family business to protect future generations, hence the nation.

Georgian context, which values a woman based on her mothering skills, demands that my respondents, as Georgian women, display what Sharon Hay calls "Intensive Mothering" (Ennis, 2014, p.2). As Ennis explains Hay's idea, "Intensive Mothering" is a gendered model which requires women to invest enormous time, money, and energy in raising their children, reject their interests and desires, and follow their children's interests and desires (Ennis, 2014, p.2). From this perspective, the mothers should be the primary caregivers for their children and devote their emotional and intellectual resources to children without rest or having a break.

According to my respondents, they were primary caregivers in their families before migration. They were displaying "Intensive Mothering." Their tasks were different depending on the location of the family residence. As my respondent, Eteri explains, in cities, women's unpaid care work included cooking, washing dishes and clothes, taking care of children and older adults, ironing, and emotional support of family members. According to my respondents from rural areas, their responsibilities included taking care of domestic animals, yards, plants, and sometimes working on the ground.

1.1.2 Women as Providers

Some of my respondents had demanding professions besides being caretakers at home. Having a job did not liberate them from housework. Also, doing the housework did not release them from breadwinning. One of my respondents, Nana, explains:

> I worked at a hospital as a nurse in Gori. My salary at that time was 39 GEL (13$) … I worked as a promo girl in a psychotropic pharmacy in Tbilisi as well. I also took care of all the housework. I did not have the appliances then, and I could not have had them due to my salary, but no one helped me.

Most research respondents, for example, Tina and Elene, have similar experiences. Most of the working respondents were doing service jobs for low salaries. Only one interviewee- Nino[7] worked at the university as a professor, and Lali[8] was a small-scale business owner before migration. Regardless of their profession and position, all my respondents were primary caregivers in their families. Only Lali from the conflict zone is the one who remembers that her husband was more engaged in the family business than she. At the beginning of the relationship, she was the only one working in the family. Her husband did not work but "was trying to do something." She remembered:

> The first five years were ideal. When I came home from work, sometimes my husband would make me soup, and sometimes he would make pasta. I flew with joy. He loved me unconsciously before he got involved in these affairs. He was the ideal husband.

Later in the interview, she added that gradually her business started to grow, and in a short period, she achieved great success. She could afford several houses and brand cars. With the growth of her business, she had to work more and more. Her husband was supportive and even begged her to work more till she discovered her husband was cheating on her, secretly spending money on drugs, gambling, and losing all the property she gained from scratch. She doubted

[7] Interview with Nino on March 16, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.
[8] Interview with Lali on February 21, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.

why her husband was different from others and why he was so supportive. Now she thinks her husband's secret habits explain everything. According to my respondent, to cover his habits, her husband was over-supportive (which included sharing care-related tasks).

In conclusion, to what extent are women responsible for housework insignificantly varies across families and depends on several factors, including the location of the family's residence, the relationship between women and men, and the number and gender of other family members. Based on my interviews, I argue that the same pattern is noticeable in all families of my respondents: women are the primary responsible persons for care work in the family. In the cases where women are relatively liberated from unpaid care work, they narrate the story in a unique way, distinguishing their stories from existing norms.

To conclude, the role of breadwinning is not new for my respondents. For example, some of the respondents, Nana, Tina, Nino, Eteri, and Elene, already had paid jobs before migration. The paid employment of my respondents before migration led to poverty, but now, they can earn a wage that covers their costs and enables saving. This change allows my respondents exercise new role: They become primary providers for the family.

1.2 The Care Work from a Distance

> Thanks to God, the internet exists, and I talk to my children every second. As of now, I can already visit my children and my family. I can also help them anytime, and I can be there for them so that they don't think that I am too far away. In the case of other immigrants, they work in a family, but hosts never let them come and go as women ask. You cannot have a vacation whenever you want or go to your country with your own family and children. I can do that now. I go to Georgia every three or four months.

This quote from Nana[9] illustrates one of the examples of how my respondents narrate their options of connection with their children, husband, and parents depending on several factors, including the existence and affordability of communication channels for them and their family members. Also, host country regulations, relationship with the host family, the scope of work, time differences between countries, and having or not having legal documents.

Tina refers to these factors by narrating her privilege compering to other Georgian women since she has good relations with the host family, which allows her to talk to the family members as much as she wants. In addition to having a good relationship with the care receiver, she owns legal documents such as a residence and works permit that allows her to travel to Georgia. All my respondents explained that to get the legal documents, they should live in the country for a certain amount of time, apply for documents and wait till the results come. The procedure takes years. My respondents differentiate the conditions of legal and illegal caretakers. Life is harder for those who live in the host country illegally. They cannot negotiate salaries, and work is underpaid. In case of health-related emergencies, they cannot go to the hospital and practice self-healing. Sometimes the police control gets intense. They check the documents of people in the streets. Hence my respondents should stay home as much as possible to hide. The only mechanism my respondents possess to fight for better conditions is applying for the documents and becoming legal residents of the host countries. Till that moment, they try to accommodate to given circumstances. For instance, interviewee Elene explains- "I did not have documents. I could not go to Georgia. I am waiting for it. When I get the document, I will go to Georgia to see my family".

Having good relationships with the host family does not only mean support in terms of giving free time for communication with the family and allowing flexibility to answer calls when care

[9] Interview with Nana on February 4, 2022. See the list and profiles of anonymized interviewees in Appendix 1.

workers need or will. Good relationships also enable women to take care of the host family and kin family members simultaneously. For example, Lali explains that she managed to introduce her care receiver and children to each other. She takes care of the old lady who likes children in general, so sometimes she organizes calls where her children and care-receiver lady communicate with each other and provides emotional support for both at the same time. She is grateful that she can look after her children while working. Another respondent- Eteri explained that she is allowed to cook for the host and call her family members, giving them advice at the same time.

As my respondents narrate, they do two shifts and get paid only for one. They are constantly involved in care activities. On the one hand, they do the paid care work for the host family. On the other hand, whenever they have free time from work, they call home and do unpaid care work. Some of the women do double care work simultaneously if the host family allows them to do so. Eteri explains:

> Always and from here as well. I was always checking, and I brought up my daughter online. I was teaching her chemistry, English, and so on online. For hours every day. Luckily, I had such a job that I had the opportunity to talk to her for hours, give her lessons, and control every minute and I was completely involved.

The ability to perform consistent and double care work results from developing communication channels, computer skills, and access to the internet. The mothers who have emigrated for a long time explain that their relationship with the family changed over time. At first, the price of communication was high compering to what care workers could earn daily, it required unique cards to make calls, and there was no opportunity to see their beloved ones. Ana[10] remembers:

[10] Interview with Ana on March 7, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.

> When I left, the internet in Georgia was terrible. Imagine so many years ago… They used to go to my relatives in Kutaisi to talk to me. I used to buy phone cards here. They cost me five euros each, and you could talk from the street, from a phone booth. I used to buy 5 or 6 because they each lasted twenty minutes… It was the hell.

Although having access to travel and communication technologies is acknowledged as an enormous privilege by Georgian migrants, some authors claim it might not have an empowering effect. For example, Paris Youna Kim posits that transnational motherhood is stigmatized, which forces women to do more (Kim, 2017). As Kim further develops the point, technologies allow and keep women under pressure to work harder for their families back home (Kim, 2017). Kim's conclusions are valid in the Georgian context. Even though my respondents narrate access to communication as a privilege, most of them (except Nino) claim that they dedicated their lives and all their free time to their children. Double and instant care are also the signs that my respondents live selfless lives. Hence, I argue that migration and technologies are not necessarily empowering for their agencies.

One of the critical factors that affect communication between the migrant woman and her family is the time difference between host and home countries. For instance, Nana explains that she is required to work when the host family members go to sleep. Only after this is she allowed to call home. Georgia is ahead of time of the country's respondents migrated to, including Turkey. Hence when she is free, it is too late in Georgia to talk. According to Nana, she does not want to wake up children, so she has difficulty communicating.

The cost of travel is one of the critical factors that affect communication between migrants and their family members and how much they can take care of their family members in person. Women who live in Turkey are more likely to travel to Georgia and see their families since they can cross the border with an ID card and Georgia and Turkey are neighboring countries. The distance is short; travel is relatively cheap. In the case of south European

countries, women mostly take flights and depend on the price of tickets set by airlines. Lately, a relatively affordable airline, Wizzair, started direct flights towards Georgia, which enabled my respondents to see their family members more often in person. Still, for some women, the tickets are too expensive compared to what they can spend from leftover money after sending remittances back home. Hence, they must take a road trip in challenging circumstances to return home. Nato[11] explained that Georgians had to travel for more than ten days when they took a road trip to Greece by bus and they could not sleep and eat properly. Also, since the pandemic started, flights were canceled for several months, and it was impossible to cross the borders legally, which made physical communication in transnational families even harder. Marina[12] also mentioned:

> I used to go back every year. When I got the document, it would have been four years since I had left. Back then, I could not afford to come and go by plane. I contacted the guys who used to send parcels, and the two of us went with them to see my family. Since then, I have gone every year. Sometimes twice a year. I do not miss the opportunity to see my family.

Some of my respondents- Ana, Eka[13], and Mari[14] display the use of all opportunities to perform "Intensive Mothering." Also, doing their best to be physically close to their family members. As Lutz explains, physical proximity is essential for transnational mothers in the east and west, and they cannot merge their ideals of good motherhood and physical distance (Lutz, 2015). According to Lutz, the negative attitude towards the way of doing their mothering is reinforced by society, media, and the state practices internationally (Lutz, 2015). Based on Lutz's argument, I argue that the stigmatization of women's migration results in displaying the

[11] Interview with Nato on April 5, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.
[12] Interview with Marina on February 9, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.
[13] Interview with Eka on March 29, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.
[14] Interview with Mari on March 30, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.

importance of physical proximity, which became one of the standards of good mothering created by society as the result of transnational families.

While being with the family members, my respondents narrated that they do all their care work alone in Georgia. In addition to housework, when my respondents arrive in Georgia, they meet relatives, go to the houses they have in the village to take care of it, and see friends, and this period is tiring. One of the respondents-Marina remembered that when she went to Georgia, her son took care of her in the beginning. He cooked with simple recipes that he had learned online while she was gone. The mother was being asked to have a rest and accept this care, and she thinks her son does it with pleasure. Usually, this service takes place for two days. Then her son misses things made by her, so she "transfers into the role of a housewife."

My respondents who could not see their family members physically expressed guilt. They also narrated guilt in the cases when their family members had to go to their host countries to meet them. For example, Ana brought the eldest child to the host country for a year, then the youngest one. She was working on getting the family paperwork, but the children did not stay because they had friends in Georgia. She claimed- “I brought them here, but they must abandon many things for me. They have friends back home. They get an education, and I could not ask them to stay with me.”

1.3 The Display of Sharing the Burden of Housework

Even though my respondents narrated that they do their best to maintain their role in the family, there is a need to share some care-related tasks with other family members due to the physical distance. All my respondents referred to housework as a burden, especially in cases where my respondents were doing two shifts (one at work and one at home). According to Santana,

spending a lot of time on housework and doing two shifts negatively affects women's mental health (Santana, 2011). As Santana explains, most women worldwide have low-paid jobs. Hence, they get additional stress from horrible working conditions and devaluation of their work, and low-paid professionals also need to work longer hours (Santana, 2011). This statement is especially true for nannies, maids, and cleaners, hence my respondents. My respondents openly acknowledge that housework is a burden and that the person who takes care-related responsibilities must take the burden.

In this chapter, based on the interviewees, I argue that there is a specific pattern that most of my respondent's transnational families follow while distributing care work at home in their transnational families. According to this pattern, the first reliable person in the family is the eldest daughter if she is old enough to perform her mother's gender role in the family. According to my respondents, they choose women for housework because of traditions and beliefs, and practical reasons. Old-enough daughters already know how to do housework, and they have already participated in the process, so it is easier for them to replace mothers in the family. For instance, Marina explains:

> I set my expectations on the daughter because she had all the responsibility when I was working. When she was little, she was already able to do everything. She would always prepare dinner; she always stood by my side with her studies. When I left, I knew that the responsibility would shift to my daughter, and she'd take over the burden.

This quote illustrates the typical pattern identified by Parreñas, that older female child in the families is under considerable pressure (Parreñas, 2005). According to Parreñas, Filipino eldest daughters have a similar experience (Parreñas, 2005). In the author's research, Filipino Daughters complained that they do more housework than their fathers (Parreñas, 2005). In the Parreñas's research, none of the other children in the family narrated that their workload significantly extended after their mother's migration (Parreñas, 2005). According to Parreñas,

the eldest daughters consider that radical change in their daily routine after their mothers' migration negatively affects them; they have less time to spend with their friends or study (Parreñas, 2005). Some of the Parreñas's research participants narrate housework as a burden for them (Parreñas, 2005). For some, housework is training, and participation in housework is part of a strategy that leads the family to prosperity and future opportunities (Parreñas, 2005). Unfortunately, my research does not provide the perspective of daughters in Georgian transnational families, but according to my respondents, their daughters are negatively affected by their migration. The negativity is presented in mental and physical illnesses and a lack of interest in education. For instance, Nato claimed:

> When I left, my daughter started having allergic skin itching out of nervousness. She cried and lot and did not even tell me that her legs were in such bad condition. She could not even stand, and everything was because of stress. The doctor also said so.

In my respondents' Georgian families, where daughters are not represented or are too young to get engaged in the care work, grandmothers get involved. Grandparents' involvement depends on two factors: their health conditions and location. In some cases, several generations live together, so grandmothers are already involved in care work. In this case, the grandmothers extend their responsibilities and do the tasks they were doing before migration. The grandmother's health conditions worsen throughout the time due to aging. If the family has a daughter, when she grows up, she replaces her grandmother, as happened in Eteri's case, for example.

In the cases where several women are represented in the family, my respondents hope that all the female family members will distribute tasks among them. Eka from a big family explained- "This is how the distribution happened: My daughter's education, upbringing, and taking care of her were taken over by my sister, and my mom and grandma took over the rest of my duties." As this quote illustrates, this mother distinguishes childcare and housework from each other.

Suzanne M. Bianchi et al. explain different attitudes towards childcare and housework in the US context (Bianchi et al., 2012). According to their research, housework is seen as more of a burden than childcare, and housework is boring, repeatable, and meaningless when relationships with the children are irreplaceable and lifelong (Bianchi et al., 2012). Hence, The relatively minor burden such as childcare is transformed to the younger family member, and more burden such as housework is transmitted to the elder one.

The younger women get freed from care work when older females are available. For example, according to Ana, the daughter of her sister-in-law became the primary caregiver in her family. At some point, her sister-in-law could also live with the family. She took all responsibilities for housework such as cleaning, cooking, doing dishes, and washing the clothes. The daughter of sister-in-law was free from housework during her presence in the house; when she left, the tasks were transformed back to the daughter of her sister-in-law.

Elene's case is differed. She explained that she did not have any female relative to leave her children with, so she hired a nanny, one of her relatives. Even though she had an ex-husband, she would rather trust a nanny than her husband in care work because she did not want to rely on her ex-spouse. According to her, nanny was a more experienced caretaker for her children, who already had established relationships with them. Elene explained:

> She is my relative. I have known her since my childhood. She is quite experienced in dealing with children. She worked as a nanny in Moscow and other countries, and I also paid attention to that matter. That was all I needed—an experienced person who has direct contact with children and so on. The children can't resist being without her.

According to Parreñas, the migration of primary caretakers of the family results in an international division of labor (Parreñas, 2005). As Parreñas further develops the point, the burden of care work is transmitted to less and less privileged females (Parreñas, 2005). Transmitting housework to women enables men to be free from care responsibilities and creates

tensions among women (Parreñas, 2005). For example, in the Filipino case, as Parreñas explains, not every new caretaker is happy with their new duties. Sometimes, they do not even see the duties as their responsibilities (Parreñas, 2005). In my research, no tension has been identified among females. All the respondents explained that they have a close relationship with the primarily responsible females back home. They share trust, benefits of migration, and problems. For instance, a migrant woman sends remittances to the primary caretaker back home. They negotiate how to plan the budget. The caretaker spends money accordingly. The caretaker also gets to spend the share of this money for herself. When the family faces the problem, the migrant woman and the primary caretaker discuss it and find solutions together. The caretaker acts accordingly. For instance, in the case of Tamuna, when the child is ill, the issue is discussed with the transnational mother, who decides which doctor and medicine are better. Then, the caretaker follows her instructions. By explaining this process my respondent narrates the exercise of her agency and performs "Intensive Mothering". She displays as family-like relationships as possible due to the distance from family.

In this chapter, I argued that my respondents "Family Displayed" the pattern behind the care work distribution in transnational families. This pattern is not specific to the Georgian context, and it is noticeable in other patriarchal societies where care work is gendered and performed by women. According to this pattern, life-in females who can perform care work due to their age and health conditions are given priority. If no live-in woman can take care of responsibilities, the household extends, and relatively distinct female family members become closer. Sometimes the changes in household structure are automatic; sometimes, it occurs as the result of negotiations among family members. According to my respondents, the negotiations on care work redistribution are easy because other family members assume what they should do after the woman's migration. I argue that the decision-makers regarding care

workers are women, and they play the role of gatekeepers and give the least priority to men regarding care work.

Ana Gogberashvili noticed the same pattern when observing how working Georgian women handle their time. She discovered that live-in working women struggle with time and require external help (Gogberashvili, 2020). According to Gogberashvili, Georgian women usually get care-related help from female family members, most likely from mothers or mothers-in-law (Gogberashvili, 2020). Hence, I argue that the mechanism of filling the gap in care work where the primary caretaker is absent already existed in Georgian culture before the feminization of migration. It became more prominent in transnational families because the need to fill the gap in care work created by the women's physical distance is constant.

Chapter 2- The Patterns of Narrating Care Work

According to Finch, "Family Displays" has its tools. "Family Display" occurs through pictures, giving gifts and so on (Finch, 2007). The narratives are the most common and visible tools for "Family Display" (Finch, 2007). To see the logic behind "Family Display," the research should observe the patterns of narratives that display families. In this chapter, I will classify my respondents' narratives, identify patterns, and compare them to patterns already identified in different contexts.

2.1 Narrating Lack of Opportunities

> In the beginning, one of my children wanted to study. We were socially vulnerable (this is the status that the state gives to the families who are beyond

> poverty) then. I thought she would attend the university for free, but she could not get it. I hoped that this social vulnerability would help us with something (to get state funding), but we had to pay tuition. My daughter wanted to study, so I went abroad for a while.

This quote from the interview with Manana illustrates one of the patterns that my respondents use to explain that they did not have a choice due to the material conditions. Mostly, these kinds of conversations continue with talking about the socio-political situation in Georgia. The respondents who follow this pattern mention wars and a lack of jobs due to the need to escape from oppressive and poor environments. They often emphasize that more and more people leave Georgia, which means there are no opportunities for survival in the country. According to my respondents- Tamuna, Nato, and Natia[15], they do not go abroad to buy luxurious things. They just want to escape from extreme poverty and create future opportunities for their children by providing good education. My respondents who use this pattern to justify their choice, talk about their wish to come back after the necessities of their family members are satisfied. With this pattern, they also justify their husbands not being providers for the family by explaining that there are no jobs for men in Georgia.

This idea of not being able to make other choices is not specific to the Georgian community, and it takes place in diverse communities. For example, in Cappelli's research project, a Mexican mother- Marisol, explained that she had to migrate without children because of her children (Cappelli, 2020). According to Marisol, her behavior was altruistic, and she did not have a choice in decision-making (Cappelli, 2020). The same pattern, such as narrating no choice due to the lack of opportunities, is noticeable in the case of Lithuanian migrants (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). For instance, one of the participants in Juozeliūnienė and

[15] Interview with Natia on April 9, 2022. See the list and profiles of participants in appendix 1.

Budginaitė's research explains that she had to pay the loan, and her only choice was migration to earn money (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018).

Narrating no other choices is the pattern that justifies all the practices and characteristics that do not suit traditional gender roles. I argue that these practices and characteristics are abnormalities in gender roles. The abnormality is the physical absence and the new role of a breadwinner for women. For the men in their families, this is the inability to provide for the family. My research participants perceive this pattern as convincing since it refers to the commonly shared national problems, such as war, economic difficulties in the country, pandemics, etc. By using the pattern of narrating the lack of opportunities, my respondents display the only way of functioning family.

2.2 Narrating Self-Exploitation

> Sometimes, when many thoughts come together, I think I might go crazy. It affects the nerves too. From what I see in others when I look at my friend group, I wonder how I could have been so calm that I have passed so many years so easily… For example, I know from a relative that this person jumped from the fourth floor…It affects the nerves a lot because not everyone can stand loneliness, being isolated, and longing. It's not easy.

This is the quote from the interview with Nino. This line that my respondents do not have an easy life abroad is a typical pattern noticeable in almost all interviews. Several respondents, such as Manana and Mari, even remembered that many Georgian women working as live-in-caregivers are not allowed to eat extra. Sometimes the portion is not enough for them. They feel weak and devastated.

The interviewees often mention that they do not have fun, especially during corona time. They try to take care of their host family members and go out as less as possible. In general, they

also try to use free time for communication with their family members back home. Sometimes caregivers can go out, but they do not want to because they are already tired. Some of the narrators explain that they have fun rarely, but the variety of activities is also limited and includes rare gatherings with other Georgians. Nato explains:

> I think I was not born for happiness... I do not want to go out, I'm at home, and it's stressful. Already when I look at people on the street, I feel dizzy. I cannot endure going out. When I go outside, I get tired. Working at home is as tiring as going out, having relationships, and having contact with people. I no longer want to be in touch with anyone.

In this case, not having fun is not wanting to have fun, which is internal. By claiming not to have fun, my respondents emphasize that they center their lives only around the family. That way, they claim family as not just an important value but the only value they have.

Narrated selflessness and total self-sacrifice are what differentiates Georgian transnational mothers from others. For example, according to Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė, in the case of Lithuania, the research showed that Lithuanian women are trying to take care of their children and themselves at the same time (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). Women's well-being, needs, and wishes are also crucial in their narrations. Their research respondents oppose the mainstream idea of motherhood in Lithuania that mothers should unconditionally do everything for their children (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). The difference between Georgian and Lithuanian transnational mothers could be explained by the specificity of the idea of Georgian womanhood that equals "Intensive Mothering".

The narration of self-exploitation by my respondents includes remarks on having no free time, not spending money for personal pleasure, not having friends, and not wanting to communicate with anyone other than a family member. Ana Gogberashvili explains that this phenomenon is also seen in working mums who do double shifts in Georgia (Gogberashvili, 2020). According to Gogberashvili, her respondents, working Georgian women also tend to spend their leisure

time with children and narrate unsatisfaction. (Gogberashvili, 2020, p.44). As it seems, transnational mothers are narrating patterns that already existed and have been narrated by working women back home before feminization of emigration from Georgia.

Using the patterns of "Narrating Self-exploitation", my respondents acknowledge that their behavior, such as moving abroad alone and becoming the breadwinner, is not normal in their societies. These respondents do not try to challenge the norms and normalize their position. They reinforce the existing gender roles. My respondents display their values by narrating self-exploitation, such as "Intensive Mothering." They connect themselves to the ideal, imaginary family through their values, not their experiences.

2.3 Narrating Security

> I can say that everything is done now better than I would. My family members are in a system, and my mother-in-law raised my one and only child. I had left my son in a family-like situation with my brother and my sister-in-law, and I was not worried.

This quote by Ia illustrates another pattern that my respondents use to justify physical distance with their children. According to this pattern, children are in good hands, mothers are ideally replaced, and there are no problems back home. Another research participant- Eteri narrated that even other people notice how well her mother-in-law can care for her child. According to her, people would say that her mother-in-law is twice as better as her at care work. Hence, she does not have to worry.

This sentiment is different from what one can find in the existing literature. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Pierrette's research emphasizes the contrast between the findings. As the authors explain based on conducting interviews with Latina mothers, their participants think the

mother is irreplaceable (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, 1997). According to one of their research respondents, "One's mother is the only one who can really and truly care for your children" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, 1997, p. 559). In general, Hondagneu-Sotelo's research showed that, unlike Georgians, Latina transnational mothers are worried that relatives or paid caregivers might not take care of their children appropriately (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette, 1997).

As Iftekhar Amin and Stan Ingman explain, Bangladeshi immigrants also look to hire people for care work if they cannot find a backup among their relatives. Still, not everyone can trust an employed person (Amin & Ingman, 2019). One of the Bangladeshi respondents in Tungohan's research claimed that she could not control the quality of the job done by the hired person from a distance (Tungohan, 2013). According to Hondagneuh-Sotelo and Aliva, Latina migrants have similar issues (Hondagneuh-Sotelo & Aliva, 1997). Their respondents express mistrust toward paid care workers (even though respondents are paid care workers themselves) due to the several violent cases when nannies physically abused babies (Hondagneuh-Sotelo & Aliva, 1997). Hence, it is not common to see the narration of family members' security in narrations of Bangladeshi and Latina transnational mothers.

Compared to Latina and Bangladeshi transnational mothers, my Georgian respondents do not have a problem hiring people to do house and care work because they hire experienced relatives who are strongly connected with the family; hence trust is not an issue. Outside help is desirable, sometimes so desirable that it becomes the goal of migration. For example, interviewees- Nana and Marina explained that the primary reason for migration was the need for a tutor for their children. Children were graduating and needed help to pass Georgian national exams.

Emphasizing contrast between different geographical areas helps find the Georgian context's specificities that promote a certain pattern of security narratives. One of the specificities of security narratives is the emphasis on the unconditional trust towards females relatives regarding care. The previous chapter illustrated that my respondents trust distinct female relatives better than their husbands and sons in care work. As Tungohan explains, acknowledging female superiority over males in care work is one of the signs of "Transnational Hyper Maternalism" (Tungohan, 2013). According to Tungohan, men are considered distinct and unreliable from a "hyper maternalistic" perspective (Tungohan, 2013).

In the Georgian case, the mistrust toward men is explained by my respondents by the lack of experience and lower standards in care work. According to my respondents, men need to take time to learn how to do care work. Also, they cannot differentiate the different qualities of housework. For example, one of my respondents- Nato, explained that her husband could not hang clothes outside beautifully. He cannot understand why the beauty of clothes displays matters and why his jobs are worse than others. I argue that the display of clothes is the display of family security. It is evident how a woman's physical absence affects the family. If the quality of work is maintained, the family members are as secure as before the woman's migration, and the image of the family is preserved. This way, the family displays not the family relationships but the results of family-like relationships, which should be the same as the results of family relationships. The neighbors should see that care work is done perfectly even though the woman is not at home. Hence family-like relationships work perfectly.

The work of females can better display the family-like relationships as a family because usually care work is displayed by females. Their involvement in care work is not suspected, and their quality of care work, hence the family security, is not questioned. The trust for female paid caretakers comes from their experience and previous connection with the care receivers.

Female paid caretakers are also relatives but not close relatives, so the families must pay for care and housework. Hence, kinship, experience, and gender of the caretaker are essential for the narration of security. The neighborhood also plays a significant role in the security narration Georgian context. Eteri explained that her two families (mother's and mother's-in-law) get external help in housework. She mentioned:

> I have a neighbor's girl with my mother in Georgia, who often helps. My mother-in-law brought someone for house cleaning, and she brought a helper 2 or 3 times in total. When I went back, it turned out that she had brought a helper, and I did not like the job she did.

As we see here, she mentions two different people. In the first case, the helper is a neighbor, and in the second case, the cleaner is a stranger. The stranger person is the only external helper in my interviews who got a negative evaluation and lack of trust for her job. Based on these examples, I argue that kinship and neighborhood define trust in Georgian females in the absence of the state services.

My respondents narrate the security of their family members back home to display that their family-like relationships work. The abnormality of their position, such as physical distance from the family, is justified by reducing their role and emphasizing their families' insignificant loss. For the narration of security, my respondents display trust toward new caretakers. By displaying the caretaker as a female relative and not displaying them as males, my respondents emphasize the imagined high expectations towards females that ensure family members' security. For instance, Tamuna explains:

> My mother has five children, and she knows very well how to do everything. My mother does not need to be told how to do what for my child. I trust her completely. I'm not telling my mother what to do because I trust her in every way: in terms of studying, in terms of cleanliness, and in every way. Nothing needs to be redistributed.

The pattern of "Narrating Security" does not challenge the norms and, on the contrary, affirms existing norms. One of the affirming norms is presenting primary caretakers as females. The deviation from normality- the mother's physical absence and inability to be a primary caretaker, is justified by narrating a cost-benefit analysis where deviation costs are much less than the benefits. According to this pattern, the small result of deviation (from gender roles) is necessary for reaching the big goal: the family's well-being. If the result is achieved, the deviation is justified.

2.4 Narrating Transnational Hyper Maternalism

Jørgen Carling, Cecilia Menjívar & Leah Schmalzbauer, in their work- *Central Themes in the Study of Transnational Parenthood*, claim that transnational mothers use all the opportunities and channels to exchange information and bound emotionally with their family members (Carling et al., 2012). Their finding comes from consulting and analyzing the worldwide literature on transnational mothers. As a result of the research in the Georgian context, my findings follow their claim even though my research is conducted after ten years. My respondents explained that they have frequent communications with their family members and get information about every family-related issue. Some of my research participants remembered that they were engaged in the home-making process by choosing the suitable materials for renovation, working on interior design, recruiting hand workers, communicating with them, and so on. As my respondents explain, caregivers from Georgia are informed about what their family members are eating and often are engaged in the food preparation process by teaching recipes through video calls. The conversations also include giving instructions on how to make a grocery list wisely in Tina's case, where to buy quality products, and how to use the washing machine and iron clothes in Nato's case. Andrea Pető explains in the chapter- "Food-

talk: Markers of Identity and Imaginary Belongings," that food is a tool for women to socialize. Making food together, sharing recipes, and gossiping in the kitchen is the important part of women's lives (Pető, 2021, p. 165). My respondents cannot engage in this type of socializing anymore in their host countries, but they can do it back home online. By engaging in food making process and decisions regarding meals, women, including my respondents, exercise agency and symbolic power.

All respondents narrated a high frequency of communication with their children as a criterion for being a good mother. They claimed that they have an everyday conversation with their family members, and they use all the possible opportunities to call home. The respondents of this research communicate not only with children but also with their parents daily. For instance, Marina explains that she and her family members have individual conversations and group calls. Nino's relatives have weak meetings in zoom. Research respondents claim they maintain a close relationship with extended family members, including aunts, cousins, and so on. They also communicate with the children's teachers, friends, and neighbors since all these people help to fill the gap in care back home.

The following quote by Tina illustrates that the narration of frequency of communication is part of "Intensive Mothering" as an indicator of good mothering:

> I am interested in everything. I just want to know what they are doing now. When my boy went to France as a volunteer, I called him many times a day. He always told me everyone was surprised that I called him so many times. He'd say that no other parent called on the phone except me. I am interested in everything - when is his exam, how his lessons went.

Having the high frequency of communication and the diversity of discussion topics as a standard displays "Transnational Hyper Maternalism." According to Tungohan, transnational mothers narrate their superiority over non-transnational mothers, expressed by even more engagement in their family members' lives than normally other women do (Tungohan, 2013,

p. 39-57). As Tungohan claims, "Transnational Hyper Maternalism" is an ideology that some transnational mothers carry regardless of their marital status (Tungohan, 2013, p. 39-57). "Transnational Hyper Maternalistic Mothers" do not challenge gender norms, and they do not replace their role of caregiving with breadwinning. On the contrary, "Transnational Hyper Maternalistic Mothers" extend their gender role, and besides caregiving, they become breadwinners. So do my respondents.

2.5 Narrating Regrets

> A woman should not go far away to take care of someone else. I have no problem with women working, but I have my children abandoned now (Manana).
>
> A mother must be with her children. A father too, but… A mother should not leave the family, and I do not know why I think so. A father cannot take care of the children as well as a mother can. A mother's heart is completely different (Ana).

As the quotes illustrate, my respondents do not try to normalize their way of doing mothering. They speak about justifications but, in the end, finish interviews with regrets. During the interviews, they blamed themselves for every negative development in their families. For instance, Manana blamed herself for her son's breakup with his wife. She explained that if she were home, she would give the right advice to her son and save his relationship.

The narration of the feeling that my respondents abandoned children, hence failed at mothering, is specific to the Georgian context. On the contrary, in the case of Juozeliūnienė and Budginaitė's research, most of the Lithuanian interviewees mentioned that online care is one of the ways of doing mothering (Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). Lithuanian transnational mothers explain that they are still close with their children and fulfill duties that mothers should satisfy. They maintain closeness by visits back home and online communications

(Juozeliūnienė & Budginaitė, 2018). My Georgian respondents, Ana and Manana narrated doing the same activities, but they think relationships in physical space do not have an alternative. Some respondents believe that their absence creates a gap in the family that cannot be fulfilled by anybody, no matter how other caregivers try or how much they do from a distance. The gap includes a lack of intimacy that cannot be replaced by digital intimacy, not being able to represent the family at events or celebrations, and not identifying problems and reacting to them quickly, resulting from the lack of trust toward other family members.

The emphasis on the physical absence of a mother in the family and its negative sides is one of the signs of "Intensive Mothering" (Ennis, 2014, p. 2). According to Ennis, mothers who experience "Intensive Mothering" often have created imaginary high standards of mothering, and they practice self-policing and self-evaluating. If there is a difference between the mothers and standards, mothers feel guilty and display regrets (Ennis, 2014, p. 2).

"Narrating Regrets" is the opposite pattern of "Narrating Security." "Narrating Regrets" describes physical distance as the failure in "Doing Mothering," while "Narrating Security" describes success in "Doing Mothering" regardless of physical distance. Both patterns have one similarity, and they affirm existing norms such as "Intensive Mothering" despite the different displays of family-like relationships.

2.5.1. Mental Health

Most of my respondents narrated the guilt and regrets because, according to them, nobody could replace them in terms of caring for the family member's mental health. For instance, Nato explained that her daughter got allergic skin itching out of nervousness when she left the country. According to my respondent, she is guilty because, on the one hand, she was not able to identify her daughter's mental and physical issues due to the distance. On the other hand,

she decided to migrate and be physically distant from her relatives, which resulted in her daughter's terrible psychological and physical health.

To better understand the patterns of "Narrating Regrets", I consulted the relevant literature on how the migration of women affects the mental health of their family members. As Cebotary, Ph.D. in Civic, ethnic, hybrid, and atomized identities in Central and Eastern Europe at the University of Luxemburg explains, the results of different sources are contradictory (Cebotary, Victor, et al., 2018). In my research, too, respondents described opposite scenarios. By "Narrating Security," my interviewees explained that their migration did not negatively affect their children's mental health. By "Narrating Regrets," my respondents emphasized the negative effect of their migration on their children's mental health. I believe that the disagreement is that the relation between children's mental health and mother's migration is not straightforward, and other variables should be considered. For example, Cebotary found that children in transnational families do well mentally if their parents are in a stable relationship (Cebotary, Victor, et al., 2018). As Cebotary further develops the point, if the parents have complicated relationships, the children's mental health gets worse. Also, the gender of children is one of the factors we should consider (Cebotary, Victor, et al., 2018). According to Cebotary, Georgian girls' mental health in transnational families is more affected than boys, but the study does not explain why (Cebotary, Victor, et al., 2018). I argue that based on this data, it is impossible to posit what is the real relationship between mothers' migration and children's mental health. Hence to what degree are the patterns of narratives strategical.

2.5.2 Education

One of the signs of "Intensive Mothering" in practice is the status safeguarding which is well described in Melissa A. Milkie's and Catharine H. Warner's work in "Mother's Work to Secure Children's Place is Social Hierarchy" (Ennis, 2014). According to the authors, from a capitalist perspective, "Intensive Mothers" should strengthen themselves as rational individual to earn as much capital as possible, but they exhibit different logic (Ennis, 2014). As authors explain, "Intensive Mothers" invest in their children instead of themselves to prepare them for the capitalist market (Ennis, 2014). One of the mediums that "Intensive Mothers" use to safeguard the status of their children is taking care of their children's education (Ennis, 2014). This is one more characteristic that my respondents exhibited during the interviews, and they narrated their children's education as the central goal of their migration.

Their children's education was the central part of the regrets expressed by my respondents. For example, Marina explained that the goal of her migration was to earn money to get a better education and a future for her children, but the opposite happened. As she explains:

> I am still not happy because my son left the university. It's a big pain for me even today. My daughter graduated, but they could have done much more. I will do everything. I left for my children's education, and for me, the greatest happiness would be that my children would go forward every day. For their education, I would go up the stairs to the sky and do everything I could, even the impossible…

Marina believes she would discipline their children better in terms of education if there were closer to them, identify the first signs of changes in their plans, and not let them abandon their studies.

To understand to what degree this narration is strategical, I consulted the relevant literature. Several studies aim to examine the influence of mother's migration on children's education, but the results are contradictory. According to Cebotari, most studies claim that the migration

of mothers has a negative influence on children's development and education (Cebotari, Victor, et al., 2016). Still, in their research focused on Georgia, Cebotary discovered no significant differences between children in transnational families and children in non-migrant families (Cebotari, Victor, et al., 2016). Also, as Cebotari claims, remittances make no positive difference in children's education. Even though the family can provide tutors and better educational materials, students' grades in transnational families do not improve (Cebotari, Victor, et al., 2016).

The controversy among findings might come from incomplete observations because it focuses only on two variables as the physical distance between parents and children's education. The conclusion requires further research with more variables. The disagreement about the effect of a mother's migration on children's education might be explained by using different patterns of "Family Display." For example, as in the case of mental health, while using the pattern of narrating the security of family members, my respondents often evaluated that their children are doing well in terms of education. While using the pattern of "Narrating regrets", other respondents explained that their children fail at education without them.

2.5.3. Intimacy

As Ennis explains, "Intensive Mothering" requires mothers to have physical proximity to their children (Ennis, 2014, p.2). As it is described in Ennis' book, mother-child intimacy is created by starting the relationship as one body and maintained by co-sleeping, singing lullabies, etc. (Ennis, 2014). Mothers who cannot do these activities fail at having intimacy and emotional connection with their children and fail at motherhood. Hence, it is not surprising that my respondents as "Intensive Mothers" struggle with narrating physical distance.

As the academic literature describes, transnational mothers from different geographical areas often express regrets regarding migration and posit that their role in the family is irreplaceable, especially regarding childcare and intimacy. For example, Nicaraguan transnational mothers explain mother is "an emotion that comes from inside," and nobody can replace her because mother-child intimacy has a biological basis (DePalma, Renée, et al., 2021, Para. 33). Similarly, according to my research participants who narrate regrets, full intimacy is impossible in the absence of physical proximity. Nobody can fully replace mothers, especially when it comes to the activities usually and traditionally done by mothers. This sentiment has also been found in the pattern of "Narrating Security." For instance, Nino explained that her grownup son called her once and asked her to sing a lullaby for him. According to her, a Lullaby is something a mother and a child were bounding through before. It symbolizes mother-child emotional and physical proximity. Some intimacy-related activities, such as the singing of lullabies, are not only gendered but also the mothered. Technically other family members can sing it, but according to Nino, they will never replace the intimacy, shared memories, and bonding that those activities bring in mother-child relationships. Also, as Nino explains, "Digital Intimacy" cannot replace physical Intimacy.

2.5.4. Celebrations

Celebrations are one of the moments when people "Family Display." According to Finch, families are observed and evaluated no matter who wants to get evaluated and who does not (Finch, 2007). As Finch explains, abnormal families must improvise and present their families normally because abnormality is not accepted (Finch, 2007). They should deliver the core message of "Family Display"- "these are my family relationships, and they work" (Finch, 2007, p.70). As Finch further develops the point, "Family Display" is not easy. One might fail at

display and face consequences such as the community's rejection (Finch, 2007). Hence, it is not surprising that my respondents emphasized that celebrations reinforce pain and regrets.

One of the hardest for the family is to deal with social events where usually women should be represented. For example, Georgians celebrate school graduate ceremonies, where children and mothers participate. At the end of the event, they go to the restaurant together and party. My interviewee Nato remembers that she could not attend her children's graduation ceremonies due to the physical distance. Her daughter was extremely sad. She cried because everybody had a mother at the ceremony and not her. She brought her father to the ceremony, but "it was not the same." The public and different entities are also not ready to consider non-traditional families. It is assumed in many situations by the public that all children should have mothers. For example, my interviewee Elene remembers that her son had to dance with the mother at a school event as required by the school. These events are planned without understanding that not everyone's mother can participate. Her son refused to dance with another family member because he thought his mother was irreplaceable. Other experiences of celebrations are also complex. Celebrations are the moments when family members are together and free, and everyone is happy. They touch and hug each other. It is impossible to experience the same joy and intimacy from a distance. Therefore, like Nato, the respondents claim that they and their family members cry significantly during the holidays. Crying is often accompanied by the feeling of guilt and expressing regrets. She remembered: "Those moments were very hard for my family members, especially celebrations and holidays. When the holidays were coming, all three were in tears. I was especially crying in those days."

"Narrating Regrets" is one more pattern my respondents used to tell their stories. This pattern is different from others because it does not justify the narrator's decisions. On the contrary, it acknowledges that women made mistakes and failed at "Intensive Mothering" because digital

intimacy cannot replace physical intimacy. According to the "Narrating Regrets" pattern, women should be with their family members and do care work at home. They must be domestic. Also, in addition to expressing regrets, they often use another pattern- having no other choice; they claim they made a mistake in the past, but now they cannot change anything. They have too many responsibilities, the businesses to finish. Otherwise, they would return home.

By using the "Narrating Regrets" pattern, my respondents do not display family-like relationships. They compare themselves to the imaginary ideal family and display their failure at being ideal. Instead of family relationships, they display the ideal family values. Trough the display of family values, they try to be socially acceptable.

Chapter 3- The Explanation for Using the specific Patterns of Narrating Care Work

All the patterns that my respondents used to narrate the housework back home reinforce existing gender norms. This chapter will discuss explanations and motives for using these specific narrative patterns.

3.1 The Support System as a Gender's Safeguard

As Finch explains, modern economic and political development causes changes in family structures (Finch, 2007). For example, less and less families do not practice heteronormativity. Some family members live far away from their family members due to their study or work requirements, and so on. According to Finch, new types of families are the products of modernity (Finch 2007). As Finch further develops the point, to have access to social

acceptance, a new type of family needs to prove that it is different but still family (Finch, 2007). I argue that having social acceptance is extremely crucial for transnational families in Georgia because Georgian transnational families often rely on care-related support from their friends, neighbors, and relatives. As Tronto explains, there are power relations between caregiver and caretaker. The caregiver is the society, in this case. The care-receiver- transnational family is obligated to accept the conditions of caregiving that the caregiver sets (Tronto, 1998). Hence, society, which is the support system for transnational families, dictates the values transnational families need to display.

To explain the relationships between families and the communities, first, I will illustrate how society is involved in the family affairs of transnational families in Georgia. Georgians have a close relationship with relatives and neighbors. One of my respondents- Tina, referred that the people from the same village are close ones to her, and they play a significant role in her life. She remembered there was a case when her child misbehaved. She would be nervous, but her neighbors took care of everything and communicated the problem with her in time.

Neighbors play a significant role in my respodents' transnational families in terms of discipline. Neighbors respond whenever they think the help is needed and inform the mother of an issue. Hence, there are three pillars of discipline in transnational families: mother from a distance, caregivers at home, and neighbors. To understand the reasons for not challenging the existing gender norms, I compared the Georgian context to the Filipino case because, as Tungohan's research claims, Filipino transnational mothers do the opposite and try to normalize their migration decisions and way of doing mothering (Tungohan, 2003). As Peng and Wong explain, in Filipino cases, usually the fathers are acknowledged as primarily responsible persons for children's discipline. Still, when the mothers migrate, mothers extend their gender role by disciplining their children because they cannot trust their husbands from a distance

(Peng & Wong, 2013). The involvement of non-relatives in care-related family issues is rare (Peng & Wong, 2013). Since there is a clear difference between Georgian and Filipino cases regarding how much community is involved in transnational families' care work, I decided to focus on relations between the community and transnational families.

My respondents' specificity of neighboring relationships does not include only benefits, as I mentioned before. Benefits come with responsibilities which include living according to shared values and norms, including gender. Neighbors often police families to make sure that gender norms are reserved. For example, Tina who got married in the village, explained:

> I was not very handy because I had everything prepared when growing up. When I went to the village, I did not know anything, and I had to milk caws alone… I couldn't do rural work. Fortunately, my husband did everything himself. He milked the cow himself because he felt sorry for me. Whenever he took out the bucket full of milk, he used to hang it on the door, so neighbors would think I milked the cow. We have a very close settlement and new brides are always observed from all sides. At first, they used to tell him it would not be useful to have a wife who grew up in a city. They thought that my husband was an orphan and it would be difficult if we had no helper.

This case illustrates that the distribution of care responsibilities is a matter of public discussion. The family neighbors allow themselves to observe how the housework is distributed in their neighbors' family and evaluate how much the woman is engaged in care work, hence how good family members are doing gender in their families. In this case, the woman and man agree about housework distribution in a nontraditional way. Still, they must both pretend that they follow the traditional path to display family values accepted socially.

Finch explains the invisible displays are as important as visible ones (Finch, 2007). This quote is an opportunity to observe what my respondents display as a family and what they do not display. As a result of observing invisible displays, this case shows that family members need to organize their lives in certain wat to gain recognition and should not display abnormalities.

They connect their existence to the widely accepted family picture, which exists in social relationships, popular culture, and so on. It dictates what appropriate behavior, idea, and desire are and what is not. The family members are the ones who take inspiration from the accepted image of the family, interpret it and act accordingly. The community members safeguard gender in the family by evaluating and maintaining the gendered aspect of care work. If the community members are not satisfied with the display of care, they talk to a man and ask him to make decisions and discipline the woman. All of this occurs as a form of care for an orphan man. The issue regarding care is assumed to be feminine, and hence Georgian men are considered someone who does not have enough expertise in this field and requires help from females. Experienced women in care work discuss a man's condition and give him advice, but the decision-making is in his hands because decision-making is perceived as a male duty.

As Gogberashvili explains, even though Georgian women get policed by the community, they accept the rules and collaborate (Gogberashvili, 2020). For example, on the one side, Georgian women are still valued for reproduction. On the other side, after giving birth to a child, they feel that they have fulfilled their duty to society (Gogberashvili, 2020). Hence, the requirements of society are accepted, internalized, and practiced by Georgian women. As a result of allowing their communities to safeguard their gender regarding care, my respondents and their families get social acceptance and support.

This subchapter argues that since my respondents often rely on relatives and neighbors regarding care work and disciplining children, they should consider the commonly shared values and beliefs if they want to have a support system back home. At least they should pretend that they agree with gender norms. Their gendered way of living is policed by society. Society has mechanisms to investigate the cases of abnormalities which include observation and talking behind. The community also has means for punishing abnormal behaviors, including negative

verbal evaluation and rejection. The rejection is not affordable for transnational mothers because they need to get care-related support from their community members in their families back home. The acceptance from society and the sense of belonging are essential not only while migrating but also after return because my respondents plan to go back to Georgia and live in the same societies. Hence, I argue that my respondents display family for the audience, composed of friends, relatives, and neighbors.

3.2 The Unquestioned Existence of Gender in Everyday Life

According to West and Zimmerman, gender is something that individuals do according to social situations (West & Zimmerman, 1987). As West and Zimmerman explain, by engaging in activities, individuals express gender to the audience, knowing their performance of gender will be evaluated (West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to the authors, gender is not static but constantly enacted (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Based on their findings, I argue that family is one of the structures where "doing gender" occurs. By rejecting housework, Georgian men are doing gender in their families. As Natalier explains, the distribution of housework is gendered in terms of the amount and quality of housework done by men and women (Natalier, 2003). According to Natalier, the gendered distribution of housework is extremely important for heterosexual married couples (Natalier, 2003). As Natalier explains, doing housework is part of a wife's job in patriarchal societies (Natalier, 2003). The couples who engage in heterosexual cohabiting relationships tend to distribute housework unequally, but women in cohabiting relationships do less housework than wives in marital relationships (Natalier, 2003). Since my respondents come from heteronormative societies, these findings are true for their context. In the families of my respondents' masculinity is defined by a lack of effort in the

household. If a man does housework, he chooses to do so. Men are not required to sacrifice their free time or work time for housework. Women are.

When my respondents talked about the distribution of housework, they often mentioned choices regarding men and never regarding women. Men were especially free to choose if they wanted to engage in house affairs, even though, as Singleton and Maher explain, housework is not about choice and it has to be done (Singleton & Maher, 2004). One of my respondents-Nana, claimed:

> Unfortunately, my husband did not have a desire to do anything for his children. Not even financially. Of course, no help was given. I still say that he probably does not have the means. However, then I also think I did not have the means either. However, I still did something.

This quote illustrates that the state does not have any role in distributing care work in Georgia. It does not provide any care-related services for mothers and children and does not force men to take responsibility. When men choose not to engage in family affairs, women must carry all the burden alone. Tamuna has a slightly different story. In her transnational family, the primary childcare taker is the respondent's mother. She knows what the child needs and is responsible for her education and health, but her father is also involved in childcare even though the mother does not require him. He looks after the child and disciplines her. The distribution of tasks regarding childcare follows the pattern that Parreñas identified. According to Parreñas, even if men and women share child-related responsibilities, childcare is still gendered. Women do gender by caring for a child; men do gender by disciplining them. (Parreñas, 2005).

Singleton and Maher did interviews with Australian couples and found that in the Australian context, the men are not required to do housework. They favor female family members by choosing to do housework (Singleton & Maher, 2004). Men's involvement in care work deserves special attention and appreciation (Singleton and Maher, 2004). According to the

study, women are happier and prouder when their husbands get involved in housework (Singleton and Maher, 2004). Singletons and Mahler's female research participants who share housework with men narrate their story as something different from others and more satisfactory (Singleton and Maher, 2004). A similar dynamic is noticeable in Georgian transnational families. Men get a special appreciation for doing housework. For instance, in the interview with Marina, she smiled when the respondent started talking about her husband and son taking care of each other and the house. She did not smile when talking about her daughter doing housework. Mari also expressed a specific positive attitude towards men doing care work that was not represented when she was talking about females. She says about her son:

> He takes care of his grandmother, and he bathes her. You will get crazy if you know what he does. He knew how to cook, and now he knows everything. Now my granddaughter is with him (temporarily), and she cooks. Otherwise, he cooks himself.

Even though the man in this family is the last one engaged in housework and whenever another female is available, he is released from care work, he gets the apretiation and not his female family members, who do housework whenever they can.

One of the respondents- Nino, illustrates how sharing housework with men becomes something women take pride. She remembers that in her family, every person was responsible for their food, cleaning, washing clothes, and so on. No one could tell her to do housework on the ground of her gender. She emphasizes the positive uniqueness of her case. She thinks that men's involvement in housework is specific to her family. From her perspective, the difference from other Georgian families might be explained by living in France for an extended period. Another factor might be her husband's profession, who was a sailor. He used to do everything for himself when he was on the ship. So, it was not a trouble for him to do the same when he returned home.

My respondents narrate that they cannot explain why they took on so many responsibilities alone. Only one respondent tried to define the reasons for being the only person engaged in care work in the family. Marina said:

> I was always working. I did not trust my husband with my children's education, so I always checked my children's homework when I went home in the evening. Often, they had to wait for me until 11 p.m. I was returning home late. I was involved so my children would not go to school unprepared the next day.

Apparently, besides gender roles, there are some other issues regarding men doing housework in Georgia, such are lack of practice and mistrust of men in terms of housework. It is more practical to assign care responsibilities to females because family members were doing gender previously, and they have gendered skills and experiences. Hence high-quality care is not expected from men. For instance, one of the respondents- Marina, is surprised that men can do housework. According to the respondent, the most challenging part of housework for her son and husband is ironing and big meals that require time. In general, they are doing well.

My interviewee Nato explains that she did not have any females to rely on since her mother lived with her brother's family. Her husband was the only option. Even though he was experienced and willing to do housework, he did not become a primary responsible person. The respondent goes:

> My husband became a primary caregiver in the family, but when my mother saw my children were left without a mother, she could not sleep. She left my father with my sister-in-law and stayed with my children. After that, I hoped that my mother was at home and could do everything for my children.

As the quote illustrates, even though the man was willing to become the primary caretaker, due to the mistrust toward him from the female family member of the extended family, he did not get the chance to experience care work.

According to my respondents, sometimes mistrust towards men is groundless. When they are left alone without female supervision, they often learn how to do new tasks. For instance, Nino claims that her only exclusive responsibility before migration was foreign affairs, including everything related to banks, posts, and taxes. She was stressed out because she did not know how her family members would manage not to get fines and pay everything in time. Surprisingly for her, her husband managed to replace her well. She concluded that women sometimes do not share their burden with men because they are not sure if everything can be done as perfectly as they can do, but, in the end, men can learn and be as good as women at housework.

The explanations of my respondents for gendered distribution of care work are similar to what Singleton and Mahler discovered in their research of Australian couples. According to Singleton and Maher, unequal distribution of housework in Australian couples is justified by several factors, including lack of housework skills and lower standards in men and women's natural dedication and investment in house and care work (Singleton & Maher, 2004). One of my respondents also discussed that women are naturally attracted to housework in their families. Nato said that her daughter would like to engage in every care-related task without request. On the contrary, her son did not have any natural attachment to housework. He grew up, got married, and started to live with his grandparents. Grandparents were doing everything for him, and he did not have to learn anything.

As the examples illustrate, gender is internalized and normalized in different aspects of care work. It is invisible, hence not being questioned. The result of doing gender is assigned to the nature by my respondents. Doing gendered care work for years creates the state where undoing gender is unpractical. Hence, the changes in gender roles at home in transnational families become less likely.

The men engaged in housework do not undo gender; they do gender because they engage in housework by choice. In some cases, for example, in Mari's family, men engage in housework temporarily and stop doing it whenever a female person can care for the house and family. Anna Gogberashvili explains that men and women share the care work similarly in working Georgian women's families (Gogberashvili, 2020, p. 31). As the author posits, this kind of distribution of housework has a long history in Georgia in live-in working women's families (Gogberashvili, 2020, p. 31). Although women have been working during Soviet times as well, the gendered distribution of housework has not been questioned.

3.3 Lack of Interaction with Other People

While describing "Transnational Hyper Maternalism," Tungohan explains that Filipino transnational mothers in Canada gather from the groups and engage in civil society activities (Tungohan, 2013). Tungohan's research participants claim that they attend and give speeches at conferences exposing the conditions of female migrant workers and meet Ngo and state representatives. They are not satisfied with LCP (live-in-caregiving Program) and ask for changes (Tungohan, 2013). According to Tungohan, Filipino transnational mothers organize events such as Mother-Of-The-Day-Contest to present their stories. They also have counseling services for live-in migrants who feel lonely and participate in performances (Tungohan, 2013).

I argue that the existence of these kinds of groups is crucial while challenging the "state of things" because individuals often learn from community members about new values, views, patterns of change, etc. Most importantly, they get emotional support and carriage. My respondents, in their narrations, explained the opposite, that they try to avoid communication

most of the time. According to my respondents, sometimes they do not have the energy or time to meet new people. One of the respondents- Nato, explained:

> I was not born for happiness. I think so. I might be a fool… I do not give a reason to my life. I did that to myself. I do not want to go outside. I am always home. Going outside stressed me out. If I had a chance to work on holidays and get a double wage, I would stay at work. I preferred to send double money to my children than go out. I would be like a robot anyways. I killed something in myself. I do not do anything for my happiness.

This quote shows that for the author, in this condition, communication with other people is not a necessity but rather a privilege. She sees the role of communication as having fun, which is a waste of time. The approach to having a community is entirely different, and it is not seen as a support group, where people exchange ideas or help each other with problem-solving.

Since the meetings are understood as fun, the interaction with other people is narrated as less priority than paid work in the host country and unpaid care work back home. Hence, whenever my respondents have free time, they try to work and earn more money or call back home.

Several Interviewees, for example, Tamuna and Elene mentioned that the only activity besides work is going out with other Georgians, which happens extremely rarely due to the pandemic. Those gatherings are cultural and primarily include remembering old times and discussing current events in Georgia.

According to my respondents, in general, Georgian migrant women do not interact with locals and rarely communicate with other Georgians. Hence, they do not have a support system in the host country or community where they can express themselves intellectually and learn new values and visions. Not having a community means that rethinking gender norms does not occur on a group level, as Tungohan explains based on Filipino case (Tungohan, 2013). Hence, significant changes on a group level are not expected.

Conclusion

This study will conclude the chapter by summarizing the key research findings of the research aims and questions and the value and contribution. It will also present the study's limitations and opportunities for further research.

This research aimed to identify the characteristics and explanation of the patterns of narrations that my respondents use to narrate care work back home. The study had the following objectives: First, Collect information and describe what my respondents narrate about housework distribution in their families back home. Second, identify the patterns and classify the patterns of narration. Third, explain the reasons and motives of my respondents' patterns of narration to describe how care-related responsibilities are distributed in their transnational families. By meeting the research objectives, this study answered the following research questions: How do my respondents, as Georgian migrant women, narrate care work in their transnational families?

First objective

The meeting of the first objective of the research, such as collecting information and describing what my respondents narrate about housework, showed that the "Family Display" of care and housework is gendered in Georgian families. My respondents have the chance to challenge the system and gender roles by dealing with two anomalies. First, being abroad and physically distant from the family does not fit a traditional female role from a Georgian perspective. The second anomaly occurs when my respondents get the highest-paid jobs in their families and become primary breadwinners. These two changes allow women to get rid of the burden of house and care work and become decision-makers in the family. Still, my respondents display double and constant care work besides breadwinning. Tungohan well describes this

phenomenon with the term "Transnational Hyper Maternalism" (Tungohan, 2013). By referring to double and constant care work, my respondents narrate what Sharon Hay calls "Intensive Mothering." Narrating "Intensive Mothering" is the display of maintaining the gender role they had before migration in the family and blaming themselves for not being able to do housework from a distance as perfectly as they were doing it before migration. My respondents emphasized their failure at "Intensive Mothering" since they narrate that physical intimacy cannot be replaced by "Digital Intimacy".

My respondent "Family Display" transmitting the care work to other women to emphasize family security regarding care. The trust toward females is narrated because of their experience, previous bounding with the care-receivers, and kinship or neighborhood. This pattern is noticeable in Gogberashvili's research on working Georgian women's lives. Gogberashvili claims that live-in working Georgian women also tend to transmit care work with other female relatives (Gogberashvili, 2020). By synthesizing Gogberashvili's and my findings, I argue that the mechanism of females replacing each other has existed longer than feminization of migration in Georgia. The practice of this mechanism became more visible in transnational families since the working women need to be replaced constantly.

Second Objective

To meet the second objective of this research, I classified obtained data and identified the patterns for narrating care work. My respondents used the following patterns separately or in combination to tell their stories: First, "Narrating Lack of Opportunities". This pattern often implies stories about other people, countrywide poverty, and instability. Second, "Narrating Self-exploitation" which includes remarks on extremely hard-working conditions, lack of self-love, and spending free time with their family members online and third, "Narrating Security". This pattern emphasizes the family members' financial, emotional, and physical security,

ensuring by and despite the woman's migration. Fourth, "Narrating Transnational Hyper Maternalism." This pattern emphasizes the extension of the female gender role, which includes care not only work but also breadwinning. Fifth, "Narrating Regrets". This pattern implies comments on failing at "Intensive Mothering." Several patterns such as: "Narrating Lack of Opportunities", "Narrating Security", and "Narrating Transnational Hyper Maternalism" are found in different literature on different geographical areas. "Narrating Regrets" and "Narrating Self-Exploitation" is specific to the Georgian context. The first three patterns emphasize family-like relationships, while others- patterns specific to the Georgian context- emphasize the failure at displaying family-like relationships.

Finch explains that people, especially marginalized ones, tend to "Family Display" family-like relationships to get proof that they have a "normal" family (Finch 2007). I argue that my respondents displayed family values instead of family-like relationships. By displaying family values, they connect the communities back home.

Third Objective

This research met its third objective by explaining why those two anomalies, such as the physical absence of the woman and her new role as a primary provider, do not challenge the system and why my respondents do "Family Display" through their narratives in this specific ways. I suggest that: First, as Tronto explains, there is a power relationship between caregiver and care-receiver (Tronto, 1998). The author talks about care relationships between individuals. I argued that the theory could be extended to relationships between individuals and communities. The communities of my respondents back home are their support systems since community members are involved in the family's care work and support the family when it is needed. To get support from the community, my respondents need to display socially acknowledged family values and visions, including gendered care at home. Second, gender is

embodied in everyday life. It is policed and protected by the community and third, as we saw in Tungohan's research, communities of caretakers from the same country play a significant role in Filipino transnational mothers' lives in terms of rethinking existing norms and circumstances (Tungohan, 2013). On the contrary, my respondents do not have spaces where they can rethink their relationships and ask for changes. The combination of gendered daily routine and having only a support system with gendered values is the condition where undoing gender does not occur.

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

This research was conducted in limited circumstances: First, the study had no financial support. Hence, it was impossible to do face-to-face interviewees with the research participants in different countries. At the same time, while doing interviews I experienced technical difficulties. The most crucial issue was that some interviewees did not have access to the high-speed internet and did not know how to use the platform Zoom. Also, my research participants are live-in care workers and do care work constantly. Some of my participants had to do care work and talk to me at the same time. For this reason, we experienced some interruptions by their host family members. The research was also limited in time since this study is my MA research project. I had a short time for interviews and could not interview the family members of my respondents back home. It would help me understand a more comprehensive picture of the narratives of housework distribution in female migrant families in Georgia.

I believe that the findings of this research help the reader summarize the preexisted fragmented knowledge around Georgian female care workers abroad. This research presents the results in the global context.

Despite the limitations, this research is valuable because I organized existing knowledge and created new knowledge by collecting all the relevant research, uniting, adding data obtained from my respondents, and classifying and explaining the phenomena of narrating housework in transnational families by Georgian female migrants. The results of this study allow researchers to observe similar patterns in different geographical areas and explain them.

The finding that my respondents "family display" family values instead of family-like relationships can be useful for understanding non-traditional Georgian families. For instance, the families of LGBTW+ community members. This research can be applied in practice as well. Since Georgian women do not have support groups and experience a lack of socialization, non-governmental organizations and ministries working for Georgian emigrants can help the process by organizing events and creating opportunities for Georgian women to meet each other. Also, the pieces of training on self-love, self-empowerment, and managing financial resources are needed.

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Appendices

Appendix 1- The list and Profiles of Research Participants

1. Nana is from Shida Kartli, from the urban area. She is 38 years old. Nana migrated nine years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Turkey. She has higher education in the medical sphere. She worked as a promo girl and nurse in Georgia. Nana is a mother of two children. She has a daughter and a son. She divorced the father of her children and remarried. Her parents are the primary caretaker of children in Georgia.
2. Tina is from Racha, from a rural area. She is 48 years old. Tina migrated four years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree, and she worked as a nurse in Georgia. Tina is the mother of two children: a daughter and a son. She is widowed. Her children are adults, and they take care of themselves.
3. Marina from Adjara, from the urban area. She is 58 years old. Marina migrated 11 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She has a graduate degree in the science of commodities. Marina worked as a cashier in Georgia. She is the mother of two children: a daughter and a son. She is married to the father of her children. Her daughter took her responsibilities when she migrated but then she got married. Now her father and son take care of themselves.
4. Ia from Samegrelo, from the urban area. 46 years old. She migrated 12 years ago. Now she works as a paid caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree. She was a housewife before emigration. She has one child, 13 years old daughter. She is married to the father of her child. Her mother-in-law is the child's primary caretaker back home, but her sister-in-law, brother, and husband also share some responsibilities.
5. Lali is from Shida Kartli, from the urban area. She is 43 years old. She migrated 15 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree.

She had a family business back home. She has two sons and one daughter. She is divorced. Her parents take care of her children back home.

6. Ana from Imereti, from the urban area. She is 51 years old. Ana migrated 15 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Portugal. She graduated from Kutaisi Technical University in Georgia and studied technical subjects but never worked with the degree. She was involved in the family business in Georgia. She has two sons. She is married to the father of his children. Her sister-in-law and the daughter of her sister-in-law support her family members back home.
7. Manana from Samtskhe-Javakheti, from the urban area. She is 51 years old. Manana migrated 11 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree. Manana was engaged in farming and agronomy in Georgia. She has three children: two daughters and a son. She is widowed, and her daughters took responsibility for care work at home.
8. Nino from Adjara, urban area. She is 52 years old. Nino migrated to France with her family 22 years ago. Five years ago, she migrated from France to the USA alone. Now she works in the USA as a caretaker. She has a master's degree and worked as an economist at the University. She has three sons and three grandchildren. All of them are boys. She is married to the father of her children. Everyone takes care of themselves in her family.
9. Eteri from Imereti, from the urban area. She is 53 years old. Eteri migrated 17 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Greece. She has a graduate degree in food technology. She was involved in a family business in Georgia. She is married to the father of her child, and her mother-in-law takes her responsibilities.
10. Eka is from Guia, a rural area. She is 46 years old. She migrated 18 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Greece. She does not have a graduate degree. She was a

housewife before migration. She has one daughter. Natia is widowed. She has a big family. Other women, such as her sister, daughter, and niece, share care responsibilities. They also had paid caseworker at home. From time to time, her brother and father are without a caretaker, and they have to take care of themselves.

11. Mari, Ekas's mother from Guria, a rural area. She is 64 years old. She migrated 17 years ago. She works as a caretaker in Greece. She does not have a graduate degree. She was a housewife before migration. She has three children: two daughters and one son. She is married to the father of her children. She has a big family. Other women, such as her daughter and granddaughters, share care responsibilities. She had a paid caretaker at home. From time to time, her husband and son are alone and need to take care of themselves.
12. Tamuna from Imereti, urban area. She is 27 years old. Tamuna migrated four years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree and was a housewife in Georgia. She has one daughter. She is divorced, and her mother takes care of her child.
13. Elene from Imereti, urban area. 28 years old. Elene migrated six years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Italy. She does not have a graduate degree, and she worked as a waitress back home. She has two sons. Lela is divorced, and the paid caretaker takes care of her children back home.
14. Nato from Guria, rural area. She is 69 years old. Nato migrated 19 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Greece. She does not have a graduate degree. She was a housewife before emigration. She has one son and one daughter. She is widowed. Her children take care of themselves, but her daughter is the primary caretaker.
15. Natia from Samtskhe-Javakheti, urban area. She is 46 years old. Natia migrated 18 years ago. Now she works as a caretaker in Greece. She does not have a graduate

degree, and she was a housewife before migration. Natia has one daughter. Natia is widowed, and her sister-in-law is the primary caretaker in her family.

Appendix 2- The list of Questions

1. How did you decide to migrate? What motivated you?
2. How did you prepare for the departure?
3. How did you find the host family?
4. What did your life look like before emigration? How did you feel about your life?
5. Who took your responsibilities? How did you negotiate transmitting the duties?
6. How do caretakers manage to fulfill their duties back home?
7. What does your life look like now? How do you feel about your life?
8. How do you communicate with your close ones?
9. How does your migration affect your family?
10. How does your migration affect the intimacy between you and your family members?
11. How does Covid 19 affect your relationships with the family?
12. How do you imagine your future?
13. Please, share the contact information of two people who will be willing to participate in this research.