Migration and Families in Europe: National and Local Perspectives at a Time of Euroscepticism

7-8 February 2017

Day 2 - Substantive

SPRC
At Middlesex University

Middlesex University London

Restrictions on migration of family members and implications for family life

Eleonore Kofman

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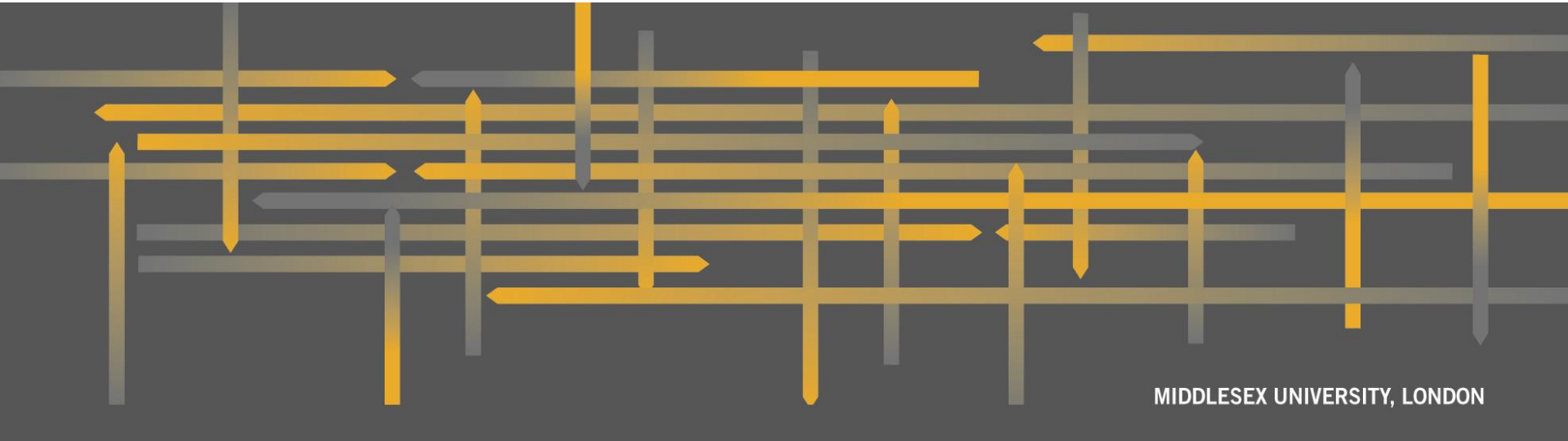
University of Manchester, 7-8 February 2017



- Movement of family members needs to be placed in context of global mobility beyond the traditional analysis based on migrants (1st and 2nd generation) (re)uniting with other migrants, often from their countries of origin. Who is (re)uniting with whom by legal status, citizenship, channels of entry, gender, age, class, is very complex.
- European citizens move within and beyond the EU for a variety of reasons (tourism, study, work), may meet someone and create intimate relationships. Similarly non-EU come for these reasons to EU countries. Others move in order to reunite or form new familial relationships (marriage, to care for someone, to be looked after).

- Office of Childrens' Commissioner study (2015) of impact of minimum income requirement on families with children captured the diverse array of situations and the fact that it is not only migrants who cross borders and live transnationally in their familial arrangements and relationships.
- Sponsors - About 70% born in the UK and 70% were white British
- Spouses – US, Morocco, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, China, Egypt, India in descending order and not largely due to individuals marrying someone from their country of origin)

- The presentation seeks to show the connections and impact of Increasingly restrictive conditions on family lives of different categories of citizens, migrants and refugees (income, accommodation, language and knowledge tests, attachment) imposed on those families attempting to live together in Europe, and especially in countries with the most rigid conditions, such as the UK and Denmark, more difficult.
- Varies according to which family member is moving- a spouse, child or parent.
- Family movements are a significant aspect of mobility and migration and highly gendered.

Main reason for entry –OECD 2011

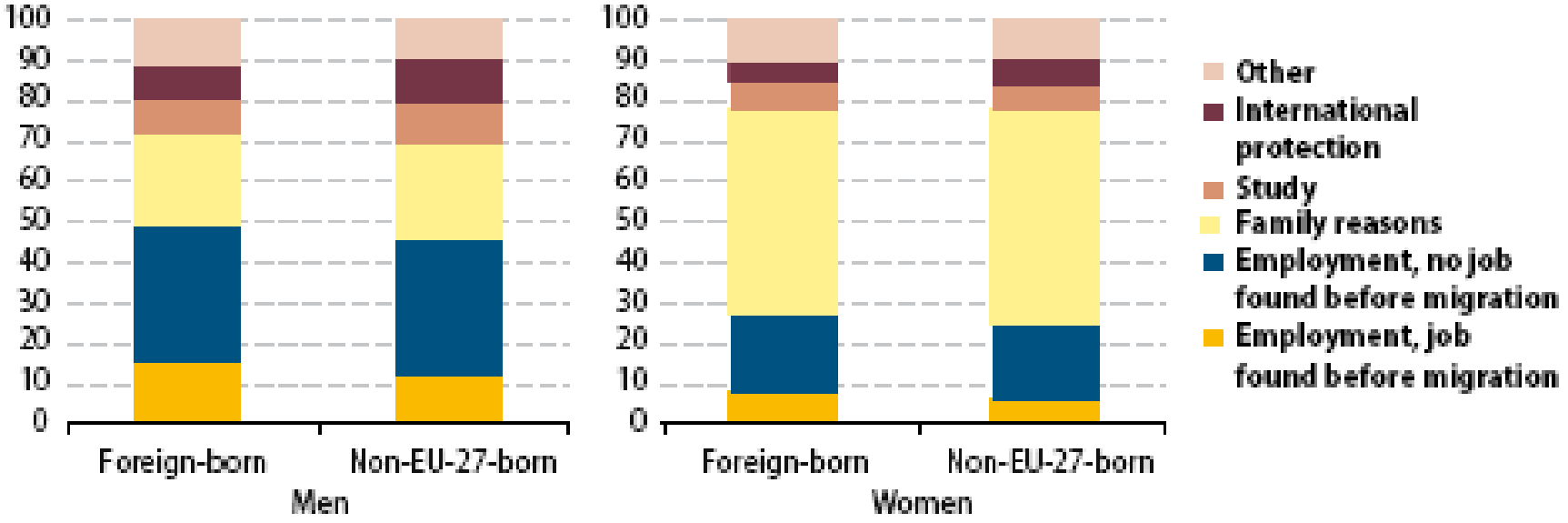
	Acc Fam	Family	Free M	Human	Other	Work
EU	3	23	42	4	4	24
France	-	40	34	5	10	11
Germany	-	19	68	4	1	9
Italy	1	27	35	2	2	33
Spain	-	16	43	-	2	39
Sweden	3	34	38	18	-	7
UK	13	11	21	4	11	39

Reasons for EU Mobility

Reason	EC 2005	Pioneur 2004	Eurostat 2008
Economic & prof	40%	25%	19% before migration 23% after migration
Social & family	40%	30%	37%
Cultural & educational	Not asked	7% studies	8% education
Other	20% quality of life	24% quality of life	14% not specified

Reasons for migration

Figure 1.8: Foreign-born population aged 25–54 that entered the receiving country aged 15 and over by main reason for migration and gender, EU-27, 2008 (')
(%)



(') This information is based on data from BE, DE, IE, EL, ES, FR, IT, CY, LT, LU, NL, AT, PT, SE and UK.

Source: Eurostat, LFS 2008 a d hoc module (online data code: lfso_08cobr)

- Some have exercised their free movement rights to live together as a family and avoid family separation by moving to another EU country. Small scale study (20 couples) of those using Surinder Singh route, as is know in the UK.
- "*We are starting our life twice: the use of the Surinder Singh route from the UK"* (Agoston and Kofman 2016)
- Following Brexit in the UK, not only will British citizens and UK permanent residents lose the right to free movement to overcome familial separation but EU citizens well have to follow British immigration regulations in relation to their future family formation.
- *ESRC proposal Brexit families: Mapping the legal and social implications for families in the UK of curtailing free movement rights*

Who is family?

- The family, as defined by state immigration regulations for non-EU citizens and specified in the EU Family Reunification Directive 2003/86/EC regulating the right to family reunification by non-EU citizens, but not signed by Denmark, Ireland or the UK, is the nuclear family. Further limited to directly dependent ie. minor unmarried children and dependent elderly parents over 65 years, although the latter group is discretionary and limited to those who are in need of care or financial support. Other members of the family such as siblings or adult children are not included in the scope of the family for immigration purposes.

- Those obtaining international protection (refugees and subsidiary protection) are also affected by the increasingly restrictive conditions once the initial short period after being granted their status has expired.
- Sharp increase in asylum seekers from 431,000 in 2013, 627,000 in 2015 to 1.321,510 in 2015 also putting pressure on access to family reunification.
- *ESRC/DfID EVI-MED. Constructing an evidence base of contemporary Mediterranean migration* (Blitz, Kofman, D'Angelo, Montagna, Baldwin-Edwards)

Restrictive regulations in Europe

- Income requirement/ high level of economic resources to be provided by individual and not family as a whole. Most effective in reducing numbers and changing composition, does away with need to raise age.
- Minimum income goes back to 1990s –Denmark 1992, Netherlands, Austria- but now implemented in larger number of countries (Belgium 2011, Norway 2010; Sweden 2010; UK 2012) or raised in Austria from equivalent of social assistance to minimum pension.
- Restriction on who can contribute to resources – Norway and UK only income of sponsor if spouse is abroad. No third party support ie. family cannot contribute as a loan.

Why restrictions

- Family migrants, two thirds female, originally seen as dependent, divorced from the economic and associated with social realm.
- Often started with forced marriage
- Problematic integration, especially in labour market, and unproductive migrants
- Importing of non modern practices
- Reliance on welfare
- Policies promote liberal notions of autonomy and self responsibility

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Spouses

- It sought in particular to reduce the number of spouses, and thereby the number of accompanying children, through the minimum income requirement of £18,600 earned income per annum (at the time about 140% above the minimum wage for a 40 hour week0, and a radical change to the conditions applicable to elderly dependent children.
- Minimum income also applied in the Netherlands and in Norway.

Socio-economic impact of regulations on spouses

- Increasingly socio-economic criteria – labour market participation, language competence, financial resources and independence from welfare are applied to the right to live with family members together.
- Uneven and unequal impact of measures imposed on sponsors and spouses. Harder to fulfil by those with weak or unstable position in labour market – women (part-time work, gender pay gap, caring responsibilities), certain ethnic minorities, less skilled and young (high youth unemployment, students).
- Class and socio-economic status have come to play an increasingly significant role in stratifying the right to family migration in national legislation

Impact on Children

- Britcits , an organisation campaigning against the rules, found in its survey of those affected by the rules that in about a quarter of cases, children, usually British citizens, were affected by the separation of their parents. These cases arose where non-EU citizens had come to the UK as tourists, students or workers and married a British citizen but had not acquired ILR or where the British citizen had gone abroad in similar circumstances and had wanted to return but found themselves unable to fulfil the income requirements. Some had returned and been separated from their families whilst they earned enough for 6 months to bring them in.

Restrictions on Elderly Parents

- In terms of the elderly, they constitute the other group whose rights to migrate have been recently severely curtailed, in a number of Northern European countries. Ordinary dependency is not sufficient. Here the argument of the burden on the welfare state prevails. In the UK the Coalition government argued that ‘in view of the significant NHS and social care costs to which these cases can give rise’, the expectations to settlement would be ended.

Previous situation of elderly in UK

- In the previous rules relatives over 65 had to be financially dependent on the sponsor but they did not need to have high levels of care. Those under 65 years could also apply where there was no one in the country who could support them. Adult dependent relatives could include aunts and uncles who are now excluded. Yet data since 2005 demonstrates that the total number of parents and grandparents who have settled here in any one year has been below 1,790 people5. 50% of visas were granted to adult dependent relatives from Asia and hence creating a two tier citizenship (also in Finland).
-

Current regulation elderly parents

- one must show that as a result of ‘age, illness or disability, require long-term personnel care to perform everyday tasks’ and are ‘unable even with the practical and financial help of a sponsor to obtain a required level of care in the country where they are living. If one can afford to pay carers in the country of origin then one cannot bring over one’s parents. The emotional side of care and sense of reciprocity are totally disregarded. Anyone who is reasonably healthy need not apply. From November 2012 to September 2013 only 34 visas issues under ADR. All the relatively healthy can do is to visit for up to 6 months and be advised not to do that every year in case one arouses suspicion.

Use of free movement rights

- Use of free movement (regional and European) to overcome restrictions both for long-term and short-term relocations with intention of return (Surinder Singh).
- Requires planning, economic resources and cultural capital. Social costs (Rytter 2012; Strik et al. 2013).
- Do not know how many are using EU free movement rights in different countries. Exception of Denmark and several studies (Rytter 2012).. Kofman, Wray and Agoston small study of British(20 interviews) contemplating or exercising mobility rights both to enable to live with spouses and/or elderly parents.

Free movement

- an EU citizen who has gone to another Member State to work there and returns to his home country has the right to be accompanied by his spouse and children whatever their nationality under the same conditions as laid down by the current Directive 2004/38 [governing free movement and residence rights]- derived right;
- Decision was incorporated into UK law by regulation 9 of the Immigration (European Economic Area) Regulations 2006.

Family members and free movement

- Spouses and Civil Partners;
- Partners in a ‘durable relationship’ (individuals must generally have lived with the European national for at least two years in order to qualify under this provision);
- Children under the age of 21 (including step children and adoptive children);
- In certain circumstances it may also be possible for the following to accompany their European family member to the UK – Parents and grandparents of the European national or their family member; dependent children over the age of 21 years

•In order to remain in the UK as a Family Member of a European national, the European national must be exercising a ‘Treaty Right’.

- Employment;
- The process of seeking employment;
- Self-employment;
- Self sufficiency;
- Study

Right to family reunification and refugees

- **Directive 2003/86/EC** regulates the right to family reunification, specifying the conditions for family reunification as well as the rights of the family members concerned. On this basis, non-EU nationals legally residing in the EU can bring their spouse, under-age children and the children of their spouse to the Member State in which they are residing. Member States may also authorise reunification with an unmarried partner, adult dependent children, or dependent older relatives.
- Refugees (ch V articles 9-12) do not need to comply with onerous conditionsif they submit applications within 3 months of obtaining status.

Refugees and application of family reunification

- Member States may however limit the application of these more favourable rules in the following cases: if family relationships do not predate the refugee's entry to their host country, when the application for family reunification is not submitted within a period of three months after the granting of refugee status, where family reunification is possible in a third country with which the sponsor and/or family member has "special links", and for beneficiaries of subsidiary protection
- Other ways for family reunification in Europe: Dublin III and relocation

Family reunification in Europe

- In terms of those wishing to reunify with their family, the distinction between refugee status, subsidiary protection and humanitarian is crucial. The first two are defined by EU law, the third varies nationally. Classification into the different categories and the rate of rejection vary enormously between countries.

- Numbers in country do not necessarily reflect no. asylum seekers. Many in Greece and Italy seeking to move northward but border closures in Europe and EU-Turkey deal 20 March 2016 changed things and increasing numbers applying in these countries (12,000 Greece, 27,000 Italy)
- Over 60,000 stranded population in Greece, many of whom are trying through various means to reach other EU countries
- The media image in 2015 may have been of young men on the move but the reality of the stranded population in Greece is that of a much more balanced familial composition with large numbers of children as well as a substantial number of single parents, largely women.

Restrictions on Family Reunification

- A new law on temporary restrictions of the possibility to obtain residence permits in Sweden entered into force on 20 July 2016; it also limits possibilities for persons enjoying international protection to be reunited with their families. While recognised refugees' right to family reunification is unchanged, persons enjoying subsidiary protection who applied for asylum after 24 November 2015 only have the right to be reunited with their family in exceptional cases.
- Germany adopted similar regulations in early 2016.

Relocation

- Another way of enabling the reunification of refugee families and transferring unaccompanied minors to countries where they can be resettled is through relocation which the EC originally intended for the transfer of 160,000 people from Greece and Italy from September 2015 to September 2017. As of 26 October 2016), 25 out of the 31 participating countries (neither Denmark nor UK are participating) have only promised 16, 610 places and only 4932 and 1391 have left from Greece and Italy respectively ie. a total of 6323 persons, of whom very few are unaccompanied minors. The latter group largely comprise young males near the age of transition to adulthood.

Dublin III

- In the context of family reunification, the **Dublin Regulation** established a **specific regime** to handle Dublin transfer requests for **family reasons**. Articles 8–11 deal with family considerations, according to which the connecting factors based on family relationships prevail over other criteria for determining which Member State is responsible for examining an application for international protection.
- This has been the procedure which has allowed cousins and brothers and sisters in Calais to join existing family members in the UK.

- We see this quite clearly for EU migrants where individuals may come and go as they like without the need for visas and as long as they are not a burden on welfare may settle.
- Impositon on migrants is the opposite of what has happened in contemporary family life eg. closer intergenerational ties even if out of necessity (eg.adult children living at home)

Children and grandparents

- Reaching adulthood seems to break familial ties. Ideas of dependency and continuing familial ties demanded of migrants are very different to non migrants. Flows of caring resources are unilateral from child to aging parent.
- Our relationship with one another changes throughout the life course. As children we are reliant on parents and others who may fulfill similar roles; as older parents, the relationship may not become one way. Parents may obtain support from children but they may also provide care and a sense of cultural identity for grandchildren. Given the exorbitant cost of child care, their presence may make the difference to the well being of the family by enabling both parents to work.

Care Giving and Receiving

- Changing policies towards migrants and refugees and the narrow definition of who constitutes family and is therefore able to rejoin them, that there are substantial issues to be considered for care giving and care receiving as a result of the growing number of transnational families, especially those who are forcibly separated, and for unaccompanied minors.
- Care giving and receiving have been disrupted and pulled apart. The groups most affected are children, single parents and the elderly.

Care giving and receiving

- Amongst children, the most vulnerable are unaccompanied minors. Some may have family members in an EU country but for the majority, they will rely on local authority, NGOs and foster parents to provide them with care. The mechanisms for enabling the mobility of unaccompanied minors are protracted.
- Single parents having to care for children either without the support of their partner or their own parents.
- Elderly people having to fend for themselves without emotional support.
- A lot has been written about the mobility of technology and the ability to live apart. It certainly gives some immediacy but it does not replace direct contact.

Necropolitics and its impact on migrants' families: the case of Central Asian labour migrants in Russia

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8 February 2016

Outline

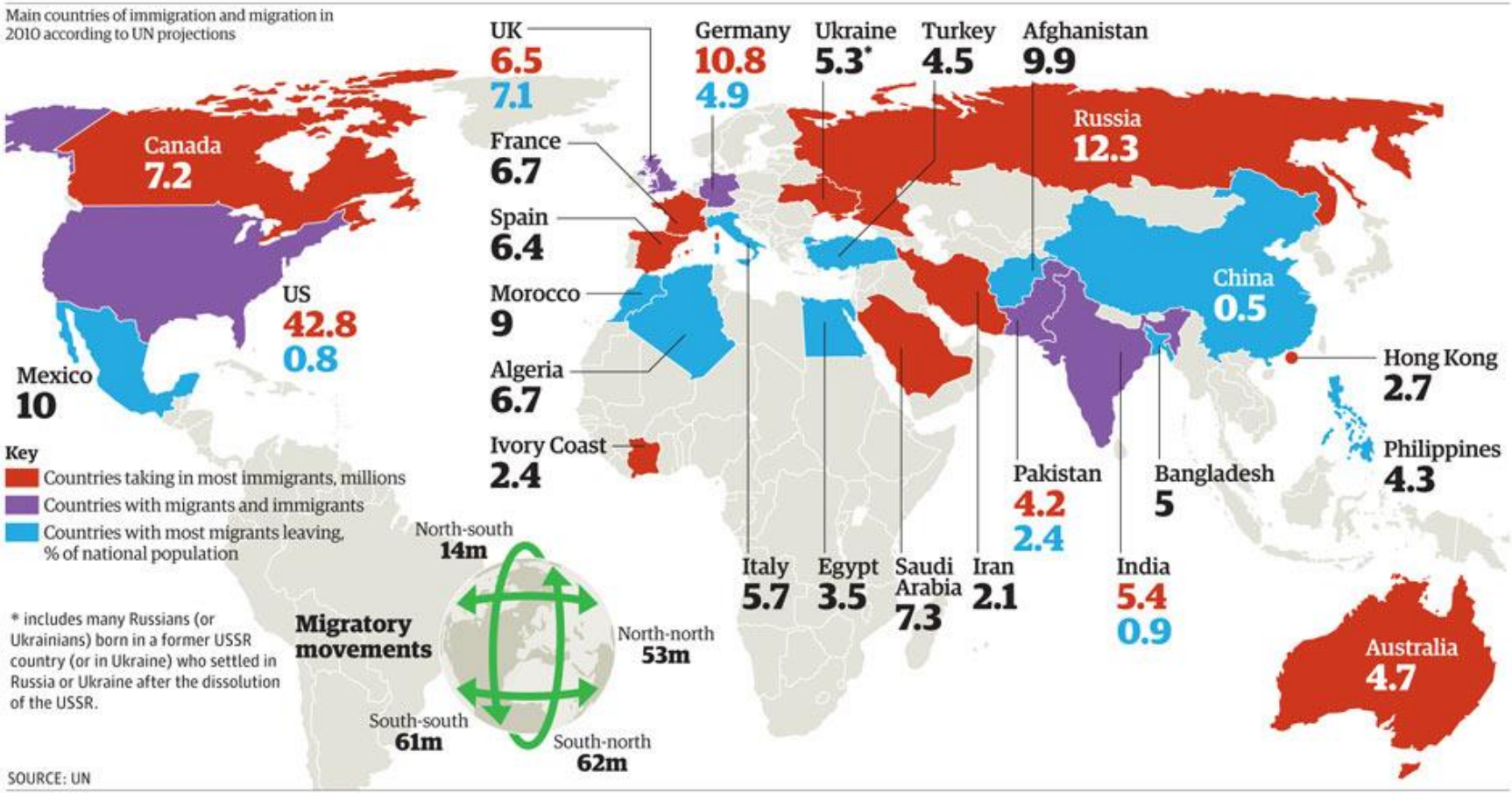
- Background to research
- Why does migration policy in post-Soviet space matter for the EU?
- Biopolitical construction
- Necropolitics and irregular migrant
- The Cultural Imagination of Disgust
- Everyday experiences – the struggle to be 'legal'
- Migrants as criminals
- Diseased migrants
- Walking As a Migrant: The Everyday Experiences of Disgust
- Lack of social advocacy

Round J., Kuznetsova I. (2016) Necropolitics and the Migrant as a Political Subject of Disgust: The Precarious Everyday of Russia's Labour Migrants In *Critical Sociology*

Background

- Ukraine's hidden tragedy: understanding the outcomes of population displacement from the country's war torn regions (AHRC, PI, 2016-2018)
- Asylum-seekers from eastern Ukraine in Russia: identities, policy and discourse in a context of forced migration from the Ukraine conflict (British Academy, 2016-2017)
- Project on everyday lives of migrants from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in Moscow and Kazan – based on about 300 interviews with migrants, NGO, public officials in Russia and in Central Asia, discourse-analysis (2013-2015, Open Society Foundation)
- Project on social integration of migrants in Tatarstan, Russia - survey, interviews (2012-2013, Russian Foundation for Humanities)
- Examine how migration policy is experienced in practice, with a particular emphasis on health care, work and accommodation

Migrations between southern countries are as important as south to north migrations




MOST COMMON COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION
United Nations, 2015
(Note: The results remain unchanged even when asylum applicants between Jan. 2015 and June 2016 are taken into account)
Poland
Finland
Estonia
Ukraine
Russia
Germany
United Kingdom
India
Turkey
Italy
Poland
Portugal
Ukraine
Russia
Czechia
Algeria
Germany
Romania
Moldova
Bosnia
Croatia
Spain
Angola
Morocco
Romania
Albania
Greece
Syria
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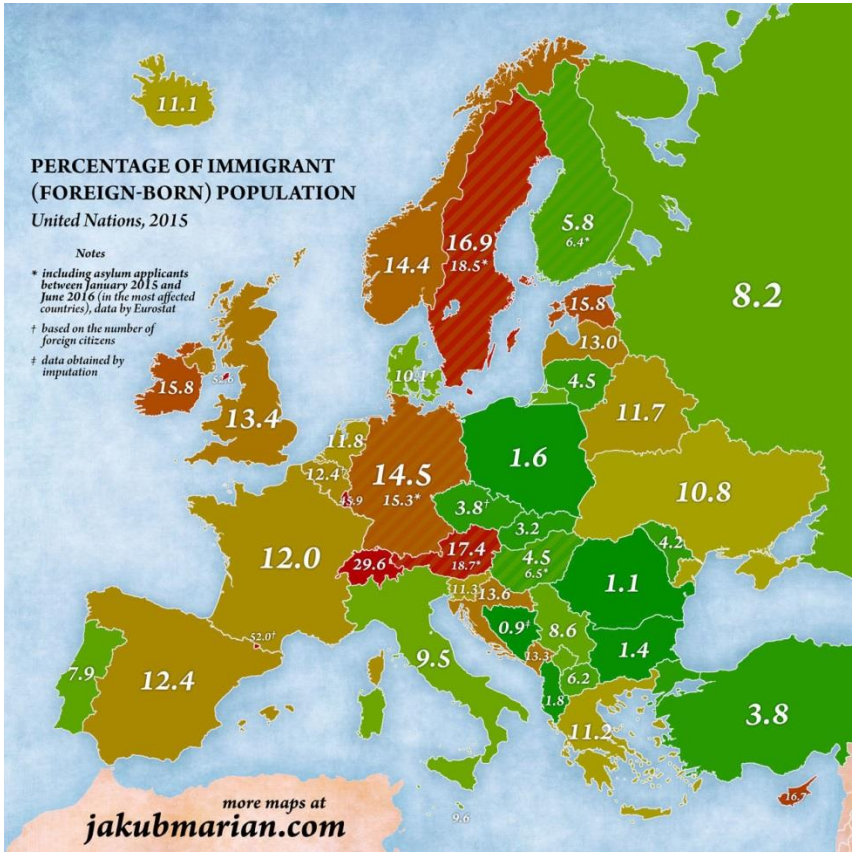
PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT (FOREIGN-BORN) POPULATION
United Nations, 2015
Notes
* including asylum applicants between January 2015 and June 2016 (in the most affected countries), data by Eurostat
† based on the number of foreign citizens
‡ data obtained by imputation
11.1
14.4
16.9
18.5*
5.8
6.4*
8.2
15.8
13.0
4.5
15.8
13.4
11.7
11.8
12.4†
14.5
15.3*
1.6
3.8†
10.8
3.2
12.0
29.6
17.4
18.7*
4.5
6.5*
4.2
1.1
11.3‡
13.6
0.9†
8.6
7.9
12.4
52.0†
9.5
13.3
1.4
6.2
1.8
3.8
11.2
16.7
9.6
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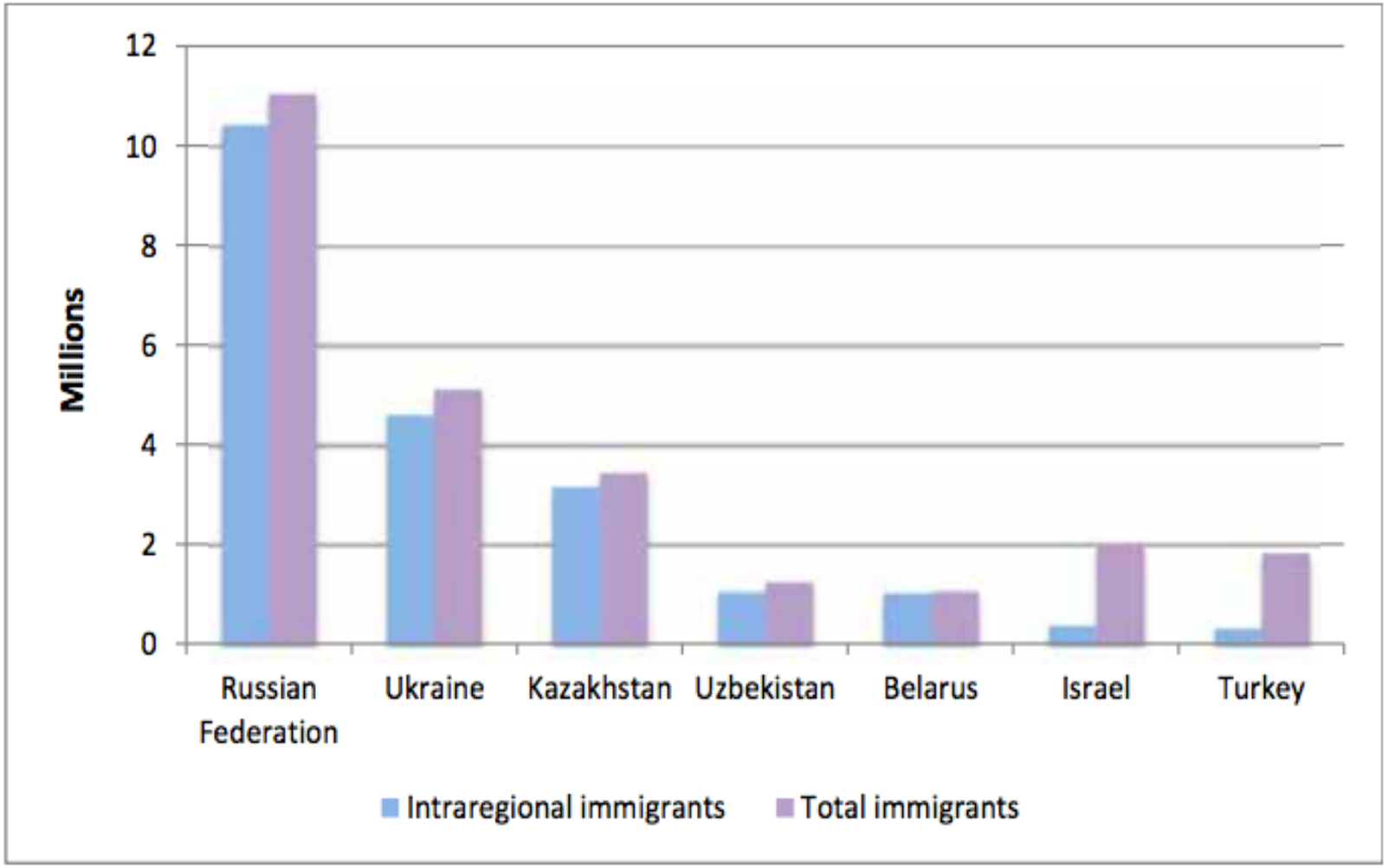
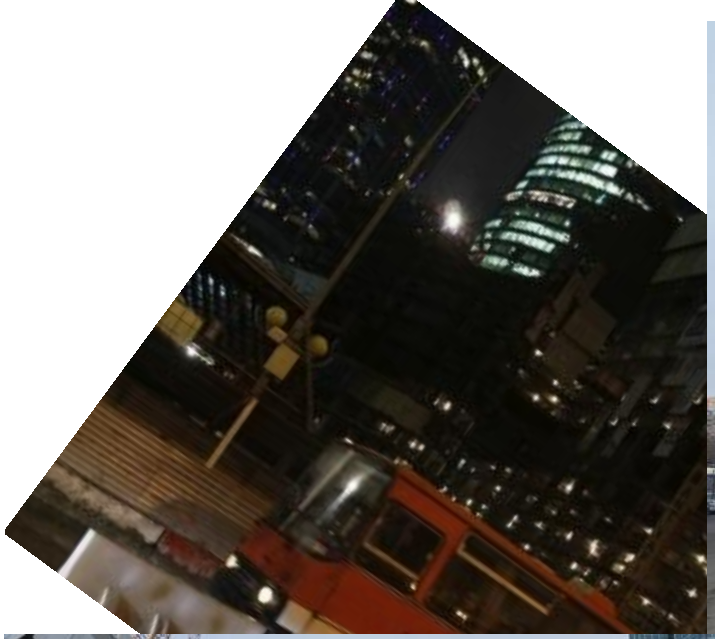
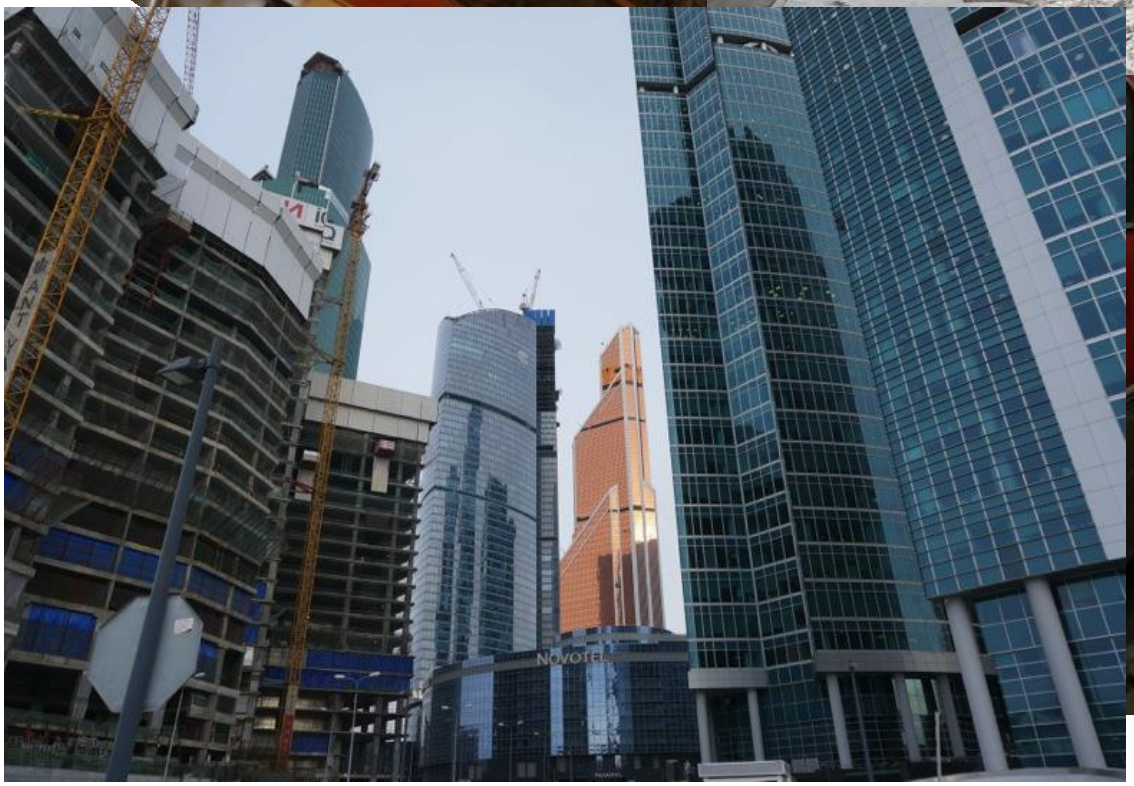
Top destination countries in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe and Central Asia for intraregional immigrants and total immigrants, 2013

Source: UN DESA, 2013






NOVOTEL

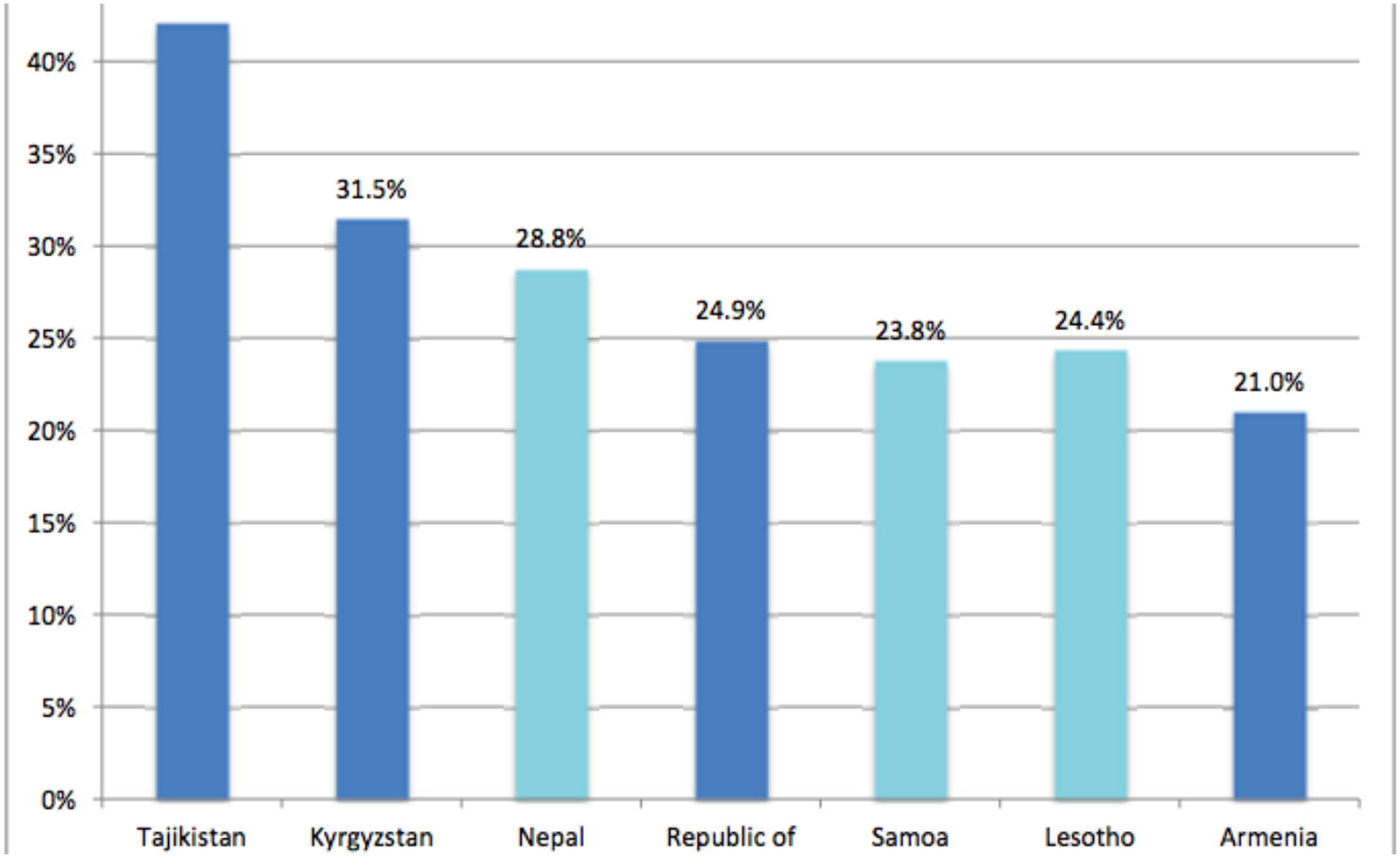
Why the migration flow?

GDP per capita – Russia $14302, Tajikistan $953, Kyrgyzstan $1158, Uzbekistan $1717

47% of Tajikistan's GDP is remittances

'In Moscow we can earn enough to live and support our parents and children back in Tajikistan. If we did the same jobs in Dushanbe we would only be able to feed ourselves. We cannot work in our professions here and we have to work all the time but it is only choice we have' – Tajik woman, earning $530 per month for 70 hour week, their rent for a room is $500 per month

Top seven remittance receivers in the world, inflow as a share of GDP, 2013 (Source: World bank 2013)




MARKS&
SPENCER
НОВЫЙ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНЫЙ
АГАЗИН
ЧЕЛЬСИ

Death of 5 month old Umaraly Nazarov in SPb 2015

Urgent need to move beyond biopolitical

- In 2015 it is clear that in many countries the state, and its attendant media actively constructing them as 'the enemy at the gates' bringing crime, disease, and having the power to destroy traditional cultures (Esses, 2015)
- This positions migrants as objects of disgust, upon which the socio-political/economic desires of the powerful can be inscribed.
- Positioning of irregular migrants as objects of *disgust:* from placing the blame for the impacts of austerity on 'the other' (Carastathis, 2015), to the nefarious actions of employers who seek to exploit every possible advantage in order to maximise profits (Lewis et al., 2014)
- the idea that irregular migrants (and often formal migrants) are disposable, given their seemingly endless supply, and, as they operate outside of legal frameworks, that they can be abused with near impunity (Buckley, 2014)
- 'We need a strong body of historical and ethnographic research to think in comparative and interconnected ways about how colonialism, socialism, and their aftermaths constructed "race" and "enemy," employing racial technologies and expertise to differentiate spaces and populations through their contrasting propensities to life and death' (Chari@Verdery 2009)

Necropolitics as ‘let them die’

- The pressing need to theorise the death of migrants (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014)
- Drawing upon Mbeme (2003), *necropolitics* is not just about death but about those the state deems appropriate to ‘let die’
- Sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is *disposable* and who is not. (Mbeme, 27)

- ‘the slave condition results from a triple loss: loss of a *home, loss of rights over his or her body, and loss of political status*. This triple loss is identical with absolute domination, natal alienation, and social death (expulsion from humanity altogether)’. (Mbeme, 21)

- Spatialities of death in queer necropolitics : in Washington DC between 2000-11 only 20 percent of murders of trans feminine people of color were solved, well below the normal 80 percent clearance rates, and that the majority of incidents of violence reported against this group were unsolved and/or not taken seriously (cf. Edelman, 2014; Goessett, 2014; Haritaworn, 2014; Lamble, 2015)

The Cultural Imagination of Disgust

ideas of ‘chaos and crisis’ are often put forward by the state as justification for the continuing securitisation of migration policy, and that ‘they are tied intimately to geographical assertions of sovereign power’ Mountz and Hiemstra (2014: 383)

‘if in the middle and second part of the 1990s Chechens were portrayed as a main enemy, in the beginning of the 2000s after announcing the new war as ‘antiterrorist operations’, the mass-media started the active cultivation of a negative image of migrants’ Shnirelman (2007: 117) .

Do migrants bring crime, interethnic tensions and extremism?

'We are a multi-ethnic society, but we are **one** people. This makes our country complex and **multidimensional**, providing colossal opportunities for development in many areas. However, if a multi-ethnic society is struck by the bacilli of nationalism, it loses its strength and stability. And we must understand the types of far-reaching effects that can come as a result of condoning attempts to incite ethnic strife and hatred toward people with **different cultures** and different beliefs' (Putin **2012**)

'We still have quite a few problems here that have to do with **illegal**, uncontrolled migration. We know that **this breeds crime, interethnic tensions and extremism**. We need greater control over compliance with regulations covering migrants' stay in Russia, and we have to take practical measures to promote their social and cultural adaptation and protect their labour and other rights' (Putin, RIA Novosty, 2014)

"Moscow is a Russian city and it should remain that way. It is not Chinese, Tajik or Uzbek," (Sobyanin)

“People who speak Russian badly and who have a different culture are better off living in their own country.” (Sobyanin)

Everyday problems: The struggle to be ‘legal’

- Even those with formal work permits struggle to be fully ‘legal’
- No chance for a spouse who does not work to come to Russia
- In 2015 Federal Migration Service revealed 61% of those who came to work from abroad to Russia as ‘illegal’
- 1.6 million migrants were banned from entering Russia over the last 4 years (4 % of population of Tajikistan were banned from Russia – loss for economy)
- March 2015 – 42 cases **per hour** regarding deportation in Moscow Municipal Court
- Companies do not want to register employees as payroll tax is 30.2%
- Sub contracting further blurs the issue
- Registration is a bureaucratic nightmare
- Many migrants are ‘legally’ entitled to be in the country

Psychological pressures

'I have not seen my children for 9 months [a three year old and 14 months] and my husband for 6. I don't know where he is, somewhere in Moscow region. He cannot come into Moscow as it is too dangerous as he does not have the correct paperwork. I cannot go and see him as I work 7 to 7 with an hours commute and on my day off I underwork [cash in hand work] to earn extra money to send home' (Tajik woman, formally employed but with fake work permit)


МЕГАФОН


96.4 FM
РАДИО ТАКСИ FM

Konstantin Salomatin,
eurasianet

The ‘mythical’ criminal migrant ‘half the crimes in the capital…’

Alexei Navalny; ‘From there, they commit raids on the nearby districts; they aren’t going to die of starvation if they don’t find work. One can grab a purse in the metro, one can take somebody’s money away in the elevator with a knife’

Sergei Sobyanin; ‘The city currently has about 300,000 illegal migrants. If we take away crimes committed by visitors, Moscow will become the most law-abiding city in the world’

Police spokesman: ‘in the first half of 2013 immigrants made up 40% of crimes compared to the same period last year’

In reality: in 2012 foreigners accounted for just **3.8** percent of all convictions in Russia, with about one fourth of all their crimes consisting of the **forging of work and residency permits.**

Migrant as diseased

‘

Мигрантов с ВИЧ не пустят в Россию

Комментарии 38 | Нравится 78 | В 11 | Твитнуть 22 | +1 1

Депутаты Мосгордумы хотят создать стоп-лист инфицированных иностранцев

Фото: Глеб Щелкунов

Мосгордума разрабатывает законопроект, который позволит создать стоп-лист мигрантов,

The main route of transmission – sexual. We need to inform women that they should not enter into an intimate relationship with migrants’ (Steblenkova, chief of Health Care Committee of Moscow city council)

- Gennady Onishchenko: Illegal immigrants are carriers of tuberculosis and AIDS. "Labour migration remains largely illegal and, therefore, remains without proper medical supervision. Here, not only tuberculosis, but HIV / AIDS,"
- 'Who will treat the guests? 14% of migrants are not healthy – RG
- Headline – **'In Kostroma migrants discovered with HIV , tuberculosis and syphilis'** – the article, In Kostroma region in 2013 dangerous diseases have been identified in thirty foreign nationals.
- The article then goes on to say this is out of 2500 migrants screened – so 0.012 percent. Of them 12 were simply deported 'to let die'

Only emergency care for migrants

Medical aid to foreign citizens temporarily residing or permanently residing in the Russian Federation turns any medical organizations regardless of their organizational-legal form. Rights enshrines a provision under which medical care in emergency form by sudden acute disease, condition, exacerbation of chronic diseases that threaten the patient's life, it turns out to foreign citizens free medical organizations. *(Rules of care to foreign citizens in the Russian Federation* approved by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on March 6, 2013 № 186)

Medical care in other cases is provided for a fee or via policies of health insurance that can be obtained either by employer or worker.

The term ‘emergency’ is extremely ambiguous and varies from state to state (Cuadra 2011)

Informality in Health Care

'We called to Ambulance, I was taken to the hospital, I was there for 18 days because I had an insurance policy. I brought pills by myself and also gave them money to get a proper care. My friends and relatives have money as well'

(Man from Tajikistan, age – 27.7 years in Russia, works in a worehouse)

‘Medical tourism’ or human rights

‘My baby was premature. They allowed me to stay in hospital for two days and then they made me leave. I went to visit her everyday but one day she was gone. I thought she had died and no one would tell me what had happened. I was hysterical and I was told she had been put up for adoption and I could not see her. They said I had signed the forms but of course I had not… It took sixes months until they admitted they had lied and for me to get my daughter back’

Death

‘People who work in a construction and have an accident they address us immediately. Often those who perish here, we collect money and send a body to the motherland’

‘There is also smart people sit. All figured out already. Responsibility is zero. They have no responsibility there. Unless an accident and have insurance just in an accident is not specified. There, you should read the contract. If it was abroad, it would be all smashed to smithereens’ (entrepreneur, one of the informal leader of Tajik community)

‘There are minimum 2-3 consignment № 200 [dead body] go to our Motherland per week’ (waiter, 22 years old)

Everyday racism

Problems to rent an accommodation: ‘its very difficult because, firstly, they are afraid of migrants, because if a person from the different state and moreover Asian they have a different mentality and owners of flat charge more. But then you have to accept it even if conditions there are terrible’

‘This is not right to check documents of every ‘migrant just because he is ‘black’, and how they can do it if you have a registration and work permission?!’ (Sabina 33 years old, from Kyrgyzstan)

‘My husband is Russian citizen [from Kyrgyzstan] and works in Sakhalin, and I am here with children. He did not want to take us there, becuase he afraids that his kids will be called there 'churka' [humiluatig nick name for Asian and Caucasian people], and children mental well-beeing will be suffered’ (Almira from Kyrguzstan)

Racialization of children and schooling

- *'well, from Central Asia they all say they are 'outstanding,' but they struggle to be even below average here'* (respondent about words from director of one school in Kazan)
- *'My husband is a Russian citizen and works in Sakhalin, and I am here with children. He did not want to take us there; because of he afraid that his kids will be called 'churka' [a humiliating nickname for Asian and Caucasian people] which will impact on our children's mental well-being*' (women, lives in Kyrgyzstan)

- Decree by the Russian Ministry of Education (2015) - children of migrants who do not have documents proving their registration at a place of residence are not allowed to attend school
- In Moscow there were only 30,000 schoolchildren from migrant families in 2012 (Alexandrov et al. 2012)

- With regards to health, the migrant experiences the triple loss described by Mbeme:
- away from their home,
- have no rights over their body as it is inscribed with disease,
- and they have no political rights as they are denied health care.
- Health becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as their long working hours, poor living conditions, general stress, and lack of health care all combine to wear down the migrant.
- State and employers respectively primarily concerned with migrants political value as ‘the other’ and their potential to be worked to exhaustion.

Fragmenting families: governing family life through the UK asylum dispersal system

Jonathan Darling
School of Environment, Education and Development
University of Manchester

‘…one day it [the ceiling] collapsed, it was impossible to stay there and they told me that now urgently we’re going to move you and I said school is near here, where are you going to move me? You can’t choose where you are to move, we decide, okay, and they moved me to the other end of Glasgow…my children had to travel 15 miles a day in the bus, it was terrible, I was calling, have you repaired, have you repaired, have you repaired? No, no, no, no. After five months they repaired and I was very happy, because they told me, don’t take everything, your stuff, leave your stuff because you will be returned, this is temporary...’ (Anna, asylum seeker, Glasgow)

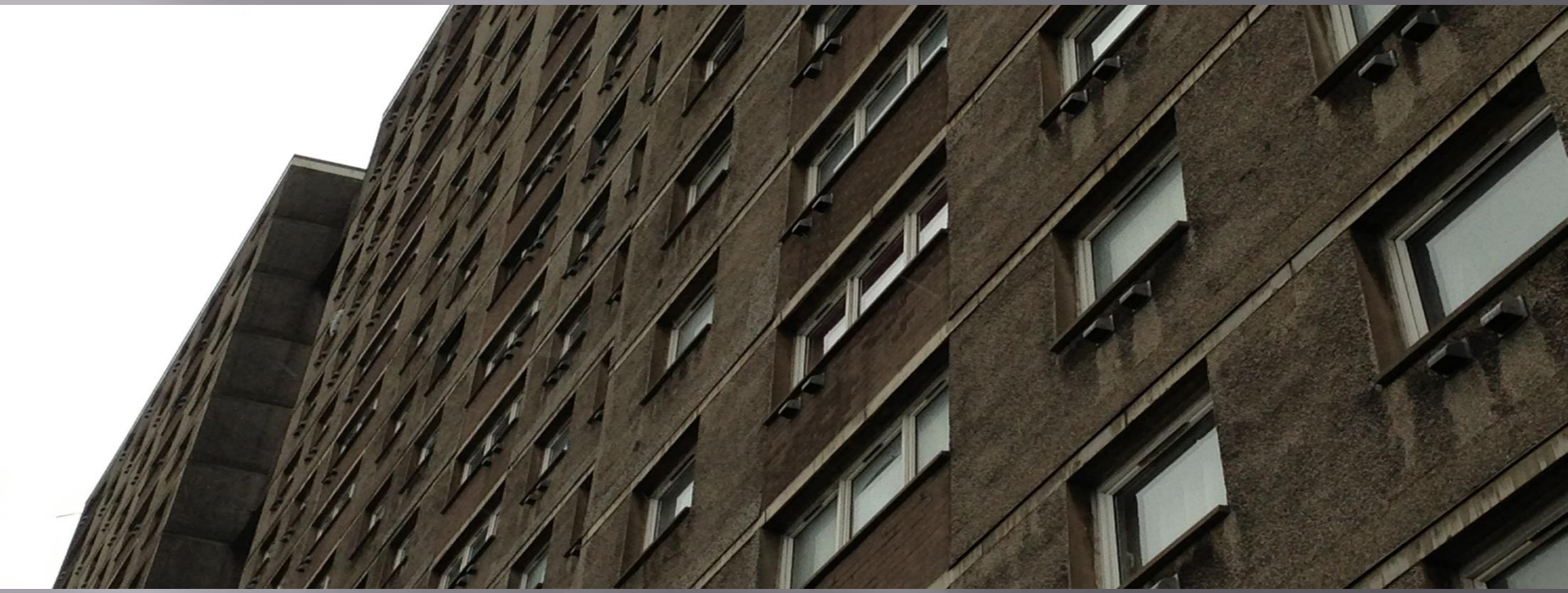
‘…but six months I need some stuff, I took taxi for this to take, because I have a big family and then one day when I went to take sometimes I went there to take some of my stuff what I left, I open the door and what I see, someone lives there and I lost my stuff, it’s all gone’ (Anna, asylum seeker, Glasgow)

‘I always ask to return me, and finally that lady, they moved. So I said, I will move with myself, can I? And they said, okay, okay, they sent me a letter, that this day you are moving and prepare, pack everything, and we will arrange transport. I packed everything, was ready and waiting and but no one come and I told my children to return from school at that address, old address. It was terrible day for me, I was ready, now three o’clock is coming and my children outside, I can’t contact them. So I decided to go myself, I went there and I saw there were cleaners and I said I’m moving today, what’s the problem? Because they don’t answer my phone, the cleaner called [the housing provider] and they say that you are not moving today. I’m ready for moving and he said, get out of the property, I said, I asked my children to come here I must pick up my children, but he said, no, get out and I was outside waiting for my children because he did not give me right to wait in the accommodation. This is how they treat people’ (Anna, asylum seeker, Glasgow).

- **Producing urban asylum**
  - austerity urbanism, neoliberal marketisation, post-democratic cities
- **Shifting realities**
  - COMPASS
  - The instabilities of housing and support under COMPASS
- **Fragmentation, stress, family**
  - The selective exclusion of the family
  - The politics of endurance

- **How do different cities 'do' dispersal and how do they position themselves in relation to asylum?**
- Focus on Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow and Sunderland
- Conducted 106 interviews to date:
  - local authorities, third sector organisations, national and local charities, Home Office partnerships, councillors, journalists, housing providers, asylum seekers and refugees
- Alongside:
  - media archive analysis, observation of partnership meetings, participant observation of demonstrations and social movements, observation of spaces of asylum care

- **COMPASS transition:**
  - from mixed consortiums of provision to private providers and subcontractors
  - G4S (the North East, Yorkshire and Humber and the Midlands and East of England)
  - Serco (Scotland and Northern Ireland and the North West)
  - Clearel (London and the South East and Wales and the South West)



The ‘politics of discomfort’ (Darling 2011) that shapes asylum accommodation and support services

A positon of temporary and conditional accommodation

The logic of the ‘not too welcome’ subject

Produces experiences of isolation and disruption (Robinson 2003; Bloch and Schuster 2005; Hynes 2011)

‘…dual logic of cutback and crackdown’ (Tonkiss 2013:315)

'…in terms of Compass transition you definitely lost council officers who were trained up in asylum issues. It's undeniable really….'(Laura, asylum support organisation, midlands, 2014)

‘I think when the local authorities were in contract, they obviously had a vested interest in it and the money from the contract would then go back into support services in that area…’ (Farah, policy coordinator, Birmingham, 2014)

‘G4S will have the contract and then they'll subcontract to someone, who then may subcontract to someone else. So for the service users and for the agencies trying to help and resolve things, it's impossible…’ (Warren, RCO Birmingham, 2014)

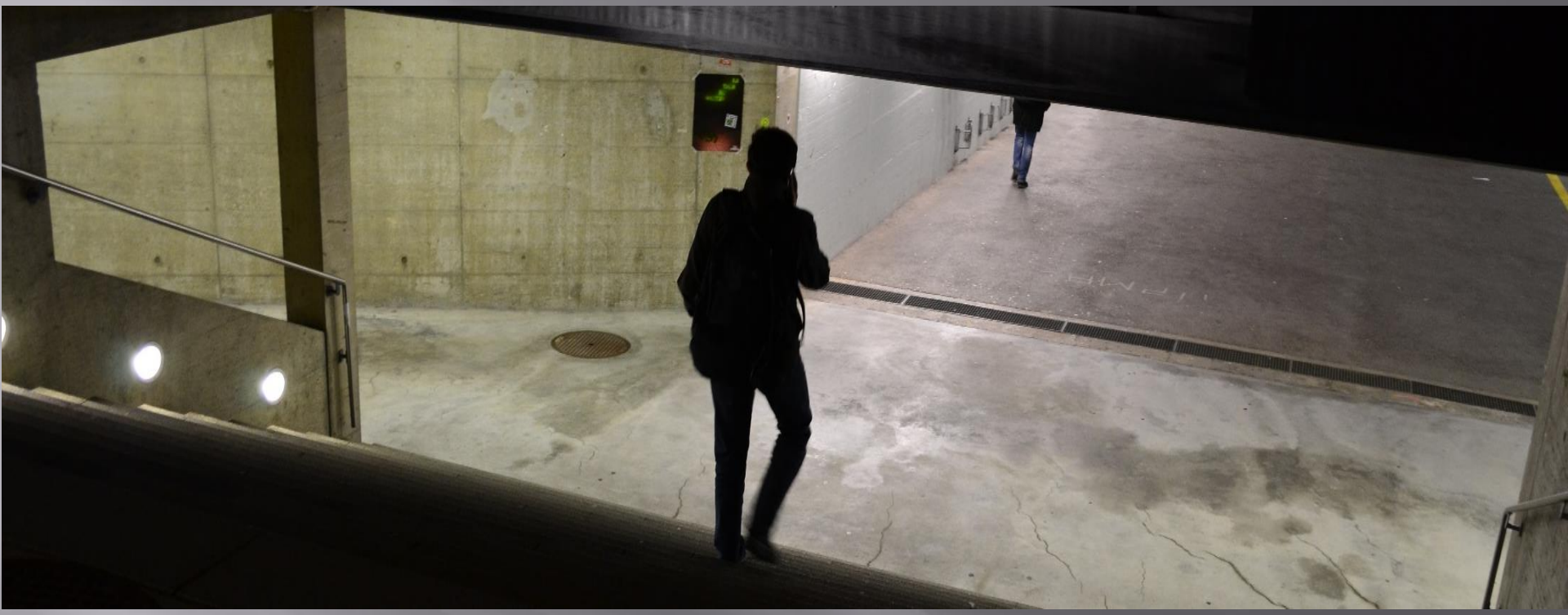
Geography of new dispersal accommodation often distinct from geography of past provision and support

Context of local authority support varies considerably – shaping public debate, funding opportunities and awareness of issues

Civil society responses increasingly mainstreamed, but increasingly precarious

'…in our experience, even the things that they are duty bound to provide, like adaptations for people who are disabled. Or proper provision for families and children. Or proper interpreting, and things like washing machines and so on, they are not doing. And we know that people don't feel strong enough, to complain. So, you know, it makes their day-to-day living even more distressing and difficult' (Sarah, third sector, North East)

‘In these situations, to be the same, to be durative, may be as emancipatory as to be transitive’ (Povinelli 2011:130)



‘…you need to push, push, I’m really so tired, now how can I keep my nervous system calm, I don’t know, that’s why I really regret my children seeing me like this. My health is everything, because I need to look after my children and, I started to drink medicines and my children also suffered for this, from looking at their mum every time like this…so it was very stressful, I don’t have words how to say how stressful it is’ (Anna, asylum seeker, Glasgow)

“Not this”

Thanks

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Children, sociality and migrant networks: using visual data to map embedding in place

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Introduction

- family migration strategies may be shaped by the needs of children (Ackers and Stalford 2004; Ryan et al, 2009; Lopez Rodriguez, 2010, White, 2011; Sime and Fox, 2015).
- Age of children and access to schooling may be a key factor in parents decisions about migration and whether or not to return to the country of origin (Ryan and Sales, 2013; Moskal, 2014).
- Children may impact upon migrant parents' opportunities for network formation in the destination society (Ryan, 2007; Ryan et al, 2009; Ryan, 2016).

Aims

- Drawing on visual data from network maps, this paper goes further and aims to examine:
- 1. how children can impact on family *embedding in place* (Ryan and Mulholland, 2015)
- 2. how migrant mothers may utilise child-based sociality to expand network reach (Ryan, 2007)
- 2. how networking opportunities are shaped not only by personal circumstances but also by wider opportunity structures (Ryan, 2011; 2016)

Literature

- A growing body of work on the experiences of migrant children from Eastern Europe (Devine, 2009; D'Angelo and Ryan, 2011; White, 2011; Sime and Fox, 2014; Moskal, 2014).
- Having had little or no say in their parents' migration plans, these children arrive in a new country and have to navigate school and access new friendships groups through a new language (Sime and Fox, 2014; Moskal, 2014).
- Sime and Fox (2014) found children often discover new places and amenities, through school mates, which they then introduce to their parents.
- Thus, migrant children are not passive recipients of their parents' social capital but may be actively involved in generating new social capital in the destination society (Devine, 2009).

The study

- In 2014, ten years since accession, I interviewed 20 Polish migrants in London about their how their migration plans and experienced had evolved and changed over time (Ryan, 2015)
- Unlike families in studies by Moskal and Sime and Fox, the participants in my study either migrated alone as young, single and childless and later became parents in London or arrived with very young, pre-school children.
- Thus, age of arrival is very important not just to children but also to their parents.
- Location in the family life cycle and schooling cycle impacts on how and when one begins to experience child-based sociality.

Embedding in place

- In my work I use the concept of *embedding* (Ryan and Mulholland, 2015)
- Building on the notion of embeddedness, I understand embedding as a multi-layered **process**
- Rather than a static, achieved state, it involves dynamic processes; continually negotiated and re-negotiated over time.
- Thus, it may be more accurately described in the continuous tense - 'embedding'.
- Involving different degrees of attachment and depths of trust and reciprocity **across various sectors.**
- I suggest that the concept is useful in understanding the ways in which migrants negotiate their attachments in **different places** over time.
- Rather than a dichotomy of transience versus settlement, I argue that embedding captures the **nuances, dynamism and multi-dimensionality** of migrants' experiences.

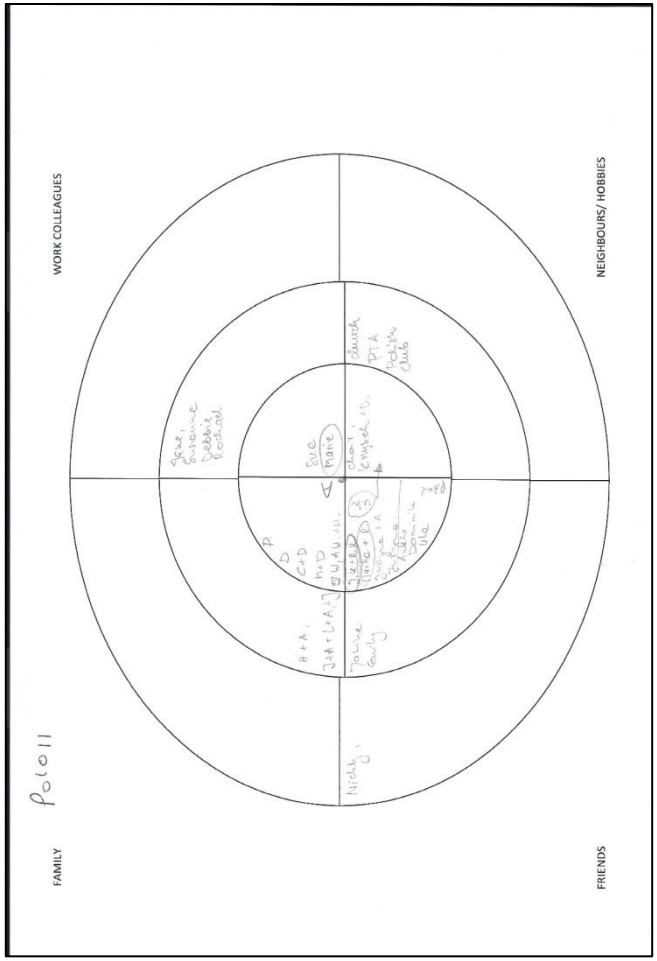
Wiktoria

- Wiktoria arrived with her young son to join her husband who was already working in London. She had hoped that the family would be reunited in Poland but he was adamant that economic opportunities were better in London.
- So she had to compromise: ‘it was me who had to change it, change my plans really’. She wanted to keep the family together: ‘I wouldn’t imagine us as a family living you know, in two different countries… it was the aim for us to be together as a family’.
- Initially she became a ‘stay-at-home’, full time mother, and felt quite isolated: ‘my husband was working long hours, so it’s basically left alone with my son just a bit exhausting at some point’.
- She particularly missed the proximate, hands-on support of her parents in Poland.

Wiktoria

- Once her son started nursery at the age of 3 and a half, her social life changed markedly.
- Son's schooling not only provided a new network of local mothers, but also a pathway back into employment: 'They were looking for parent volunteers to join the team in my son's school. So I thought that could be an idea for me. Cos I had quite a lot of time on my hand, yeah, I joined as a volunteer and I kind of got into it…and they were looking for a meal supervisor. I applied and I got the job there.
- Wiktoria then decided to do a qualification and at the time of interview had completed her training and was starting a new job as a teaching assistant.
- Schools may become a site of socialisation not just for children but also for migrant parents who otherwise may have quite restricted network reach and limited opportunities to engage with the wider society (D'Angelo and Ryan, 2011).

Wiktoria sociogram



Developing network reach

- Ewa arrived as a young, single migrant and later married and had two children in London
- ‘I think it’s very different way of settling in a country if you do have or you don’t have children. I think it’s impossible to really settle without starting a family. Because if you have children you have to participate in everything what’s happening in society. You have to go to the same hospitals, the same playgroups, midwifes, start the same schools, parent evenings, and you really get more and more understanding of what’s happening’.
- Thus embedding in place is both reflected and reinforced by child-related activities in the destination society

Obstacles

- But, as argued elsewhere (Ryan, 2011; 2016), we cannot simply infer social capital into social networks.
- we need to be precise about nature and extent of resources circulating through particular social ties (Ryan, 2016).
- Although Martyna expanded her network through school, she was aware of some enduring obstacles to sharing valuable resources. Approaching the time of transition from primary to secondary school, Martyna found that English, middle class parents were reluctant to share 'insider' knowledge about admission to high attaining but over-subscribed secondary schools.
- Thus knowing people socially and meeting them regularly does not imply that resources are easily shared.

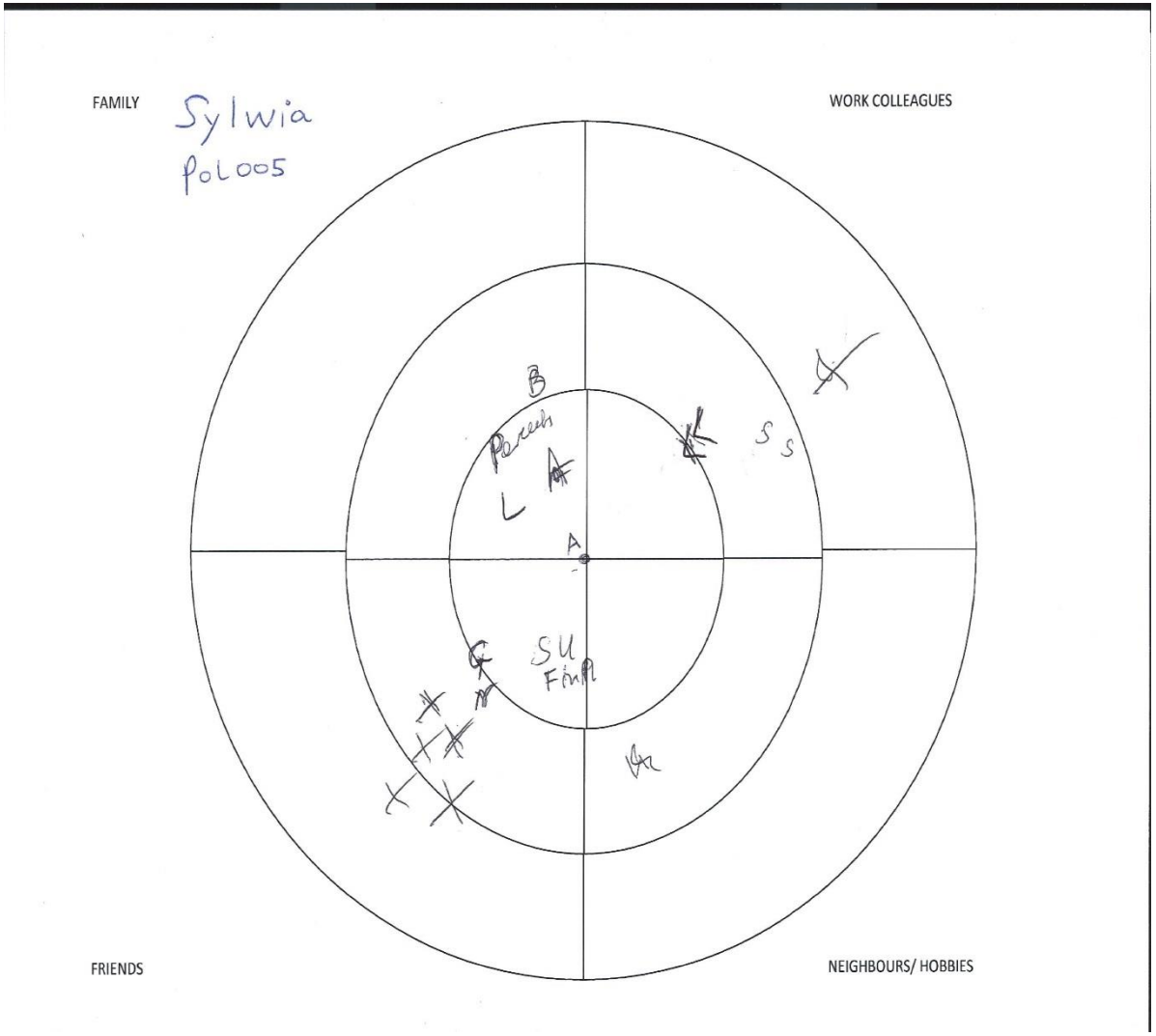
Obstacles and opportunities

- accessing local English networks can be challenging:
- “it’s true, I much easier will connect with mums who are non-English. In those places somehow we click, we see across the room that we are not fully belonging here and we start talking and we are in touch. I have massive groups of mums I met through antenatal classes and childcare centres and some different groups and most of them who I’m really, really in touch with and we visit each other and we play together with our children, they are non-English” (Ewa).
- Most of the mothers that Ewa had befriended were ‘Slovakia, Romanian, Brazilian, you name it. Australian’.
- So embedding in place may not necessarily embedding into English society

An absence of local embedding

- Sylwia had no local neighbourhood networks. Despite having a professional job in the National Health Service (NHS), she lived on a housing estate in a socially deprived area of North London. She felt unsettled in her local area and did not enjoy living there. This points to the diverse, dynamic and differentiated aspects of embedding
- A highly educated professional, she felt that she did not have much in common with her neighbours.
- Sylwia worried about her children socialising in the area. She would ideally like to move to the suburbs of London but could not afford to do so.
- Sime and Fox, 2014 note, migrants who can only afford to live in rundown areas may feel unsafe and discourage children from socialising locally

Sylwia sociogram



Conclusion

- Looking after young children at home may initially limit mothers' networking opportunities
- But this changes through the life course – highlighting the importance of time
- Child based sociality carries opportunities to build new networks in new places
- However, networking through children is not guaranteed.
- Devine (2009) reminds us of the role of social structures in mediating access to different forms of capital. Mobilising capital is framed by wider socio-spatial contexts.
- As also observed elsewhere (Lopez Rodriguez, 2010; Ryan, 2011), migrants who reside in poor, socially deprived neighbourhoods and work in low paid jobs, may have limited networking possibilities.

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'IT'S GOOD ENOUGH THAT OUR CHILDREN ARE ACCEPTED': intersections of class, gender, ethnicity and 'undesirable migrant' status in Roma mothers' views of their children's education post-migration

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Roma in Europe

Largest ethnic minority- 10-12 million in Europe

Subgrups in CEE- distinct histories, language & lifestyle

- Bulgaria- Yerli, Kurbeti, KalderasiCzech Republic- Romungro, Bohemian Roma
- Hungary- Romungro, Boyasi, Lovari
- Slovakia- Romungro
- Romania- Kalderashi, Ursari, Lovari, Romungro, Vlax

- UK- Romanikal, Welsh Kale (90,000) + new arrivals, mainly Eastern European (200,000)

Issues in the education of Roma in Europe

Early years education

- Only about 20% to 50% enrolled, depending on country
- Bulgaria, Romania- ¾ of all population attend, but only 20% of Roma
- Around 80% enter school with no early years preparation
- Enrolment is expensive and selective, children may not have proof of vaccination or birth certificates

Primary school

- Limited access, depending on country policies
  - Austria, France, Hungary, Spain- about 50% attend
  - Romania, Slovakia- about 30%
- High dropout rates before secondary
- Perceived discrimination through the curriculum, teachers' attitudes

Discrimination of Roma in education

Segregation in nurseries/schools

- Often separate classes or sat at back of class
- Intra-class segregation- different curricular standards in same class

Higher rates of children in Special Needs schools

- About 60% of all children in SEN schools in Slovakia
- 1 in 5 of all Roma children in Poland are in SEN schools

Very low achievement

- Only about 10%-20% completing secondary
- Low achievement overall in exams or not sitting
- Very high illiteracy in the adult population- as high as 90%

Research questions

- What are Roma migrant families' perceived needs and experiences in relation to education post-migration?
- What are Roma children and parents' expectations and cultural attitudes to formal education?
- What are the perceived barriers in Roma migrant children's education and how can these be tackled?

Theoretical insights

- 'An intersectional approach emphasises the importance of attending to the multiple social structures and processes that intertwine to produce specific social positions and identities…we need to simultaneously attend to process of ethnicity, gender, class and so on in order to grasp the complexities of the social world and the multifaceted nature of social identities and advantage/disadvantage' (Anthias, 2012: 106)

- Anthias (2012) talks about intersectionality as a process- emphasising the importance of translocality, mobility, time, place and space for understanding intersecting identities and inequalities.

- Difficulties – danger of taking categories as given, limitless number of interconnecting categories, confusion between identities and structures

Researching children's networks – network theory (Riviera et al., 2010)

Three types of perspectives:

- Assortative perspectives- emphasise shared attributes between individuals (e.g. ethnicity, class)
- Relational perspectives- focus on relationships within the networks, issues of trust, information exchanges
- Proximity perspectives – reflect on networks as developing in time and space

Methodology

- Data analysis on 389 Roma pupils (2012-2013)
- Interviews with 8 service providers
- Conversations with 22 parents (20 women)

18 Slovak Roma 4 Romanian Roma 2 Czech Roma

- Conversations with 10 children

7 Slovak Roma

3 Romanian Roma

Govanhill

- South-east of Glasgow
- Estimates of about 5,000 Roma migrants arrived since 2004
- Very deprived- 5 of its 12 zones are in the bottom 15% of national datazones
- 52 ethnicities among 15,000 residents
- 40% children- in workless households
- High rates of violent crime, domestic and drug abuse

Migration of Roma families to Govanhill

- Slovakia – Mihalovske, SE, Kosice region

Pavloche Nad Uhom- small village, 20 miles from city,

4,000 people, 60% Roma

- Romania- Bihor, Arad, Timis counties

Mainly small rural areas about 10-20 miles outside cities

Reasons for migrating

- Mainly work, but also children's future

Mother 1: You know, there are no jobs, back home, that's where the problem is. Here you can find a job, and you can work. My husband does work, he earns money and the kids can have everything, they can have food… but what job could we get [in Slovakia]? And if you don't have a job…

Mother 2: We are better off here.

Researcher: So it's better here, even after the economic crisis? Have you noticed that? Are there less jobs or…

Mother 1: Here? Here there is always work. Whether you work in a carwash, or a hotel. My husband works, and he's been working for the past five years in a hotel. (Focus Group, Slovak mothers)

Better opportunities for children as motivation to migrate

- Access to better education
- Seem to feel more fairly treated
- Racism as a 'push' factor

You know, for us it's good enough that children are accepted as they are, not put into special schools like it happens back home, just because you are Gypsy. I was concerned they will do this to my child and I was at the school everyday, checking, not trusting them, but now I'm more relaxed. (Greta, Slovak Roma mother)

Family life in Govanhill

- Gendered patterns of work
- Most families had someone in work, yet in extreme poverty
- Isolation of women- very limited contact with non-Roma groups

Well, the women don't have access to English, they are not working and are kept socially isolated in their homes. I've got certain mums coming in here and if they are not back home promptly, the phone will go 'where is my wife?'. They are like tagged and kept very much on a very short leash. (Mary, Early years practitioner)

Yes, of course I need to ask my husband, he's the boss (laughs). That's normal in our culture. (Bella, Romanian mother)

Re-creating the village

- Limited geography
- Insecure to access services elsewhere
- Familiarity and local networks
- The 'street' as a meeting place

Researcher: What about facilities children can access in the area, anything available or what you'd like to see?

Fahima: There aren't that many things for young children.

Bella: The library is the only thing. I go to get some books for the kids. I like it.

Researcher: Do you feel safe in the area, have you had any problems?

(All nod, that they feel safe.)

Researcher: What about the city centre, do you go at all?

Ramona: We don't have time, with the children.

Bella: (nods, in agreement). (Focus Group, Romanian mothers)

Education of Roma children

- Experiences and views of the education system
  - Very positive overall
  - Perceive teachers and other staff supportive
  - Often start of with worries of segregation

- Parents' aspirations for their children - many felt they raised their aspirations post-migration

- Children's achievement and experiences

‘We like it here’

We like it here. They show an interest in my child, although we’ve not been here long, they accepted her straight away, they show an interest in getting her ready for school. (Irina, Romanian mother)

Researcher: What do you think of school here?

Helena: I like it very much, much better than in Slovakia. The teachers teach differently, you have more choice.

Researcher: Is there anything that was better in Slovakia?

Helena: No.

Researcher: What about maths [her favourite subject], is it easier here or was it easier in Slovakia?

Helena: It’s easier here. And everyone is just nicer.

(Helena, Secondary school)

Racialisation of Roma

I don't think I would move anywhere and I don't think I'd move back to Slovakia because my daughter is now attending a good school and she wants to get some qualifications and it's a good place here for children. In Slovakia, it's difficult to get qualifications, because they are choosing people because of the colour of their skin, but not here , here they don't make any difference. (Greta, Slovak Roma)

Well, who would want us [Roma], they say they don't have places, and then you have a place a mile away, where all the children are white, they are not going to want our children there, so I'm not going there, to be spat on (Zozia, Slovak Roma)

Roma children in Govanhill

	Primary Total	Secondary Total
Roma Roll	242	147
School Roll (Census 12)	813	3193
Roma as % of Total Roll	29.8	4.6

Free Meals (in receipt of)	Primary %	Secondary %
No	84.3	71.4
Yes	15.7	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Invisiblising Roma as linguistic minority?

- Total Roma children reported by Glasgow City Council: 389

- Romani speakers recorded in Scottish Government's Pupil Census: 54

Absence of Roma as a linguistic minority in official Census reproducing desire to make them 'invisible' from previous Communist regimes across Central & Eastern Europe? Or ambivalent attitudes on bilingualism? Or Roma families weary of self-identifying?

Attendance & achievement

- Lower attendance

than general population

	%
Primary	81.5
Secondary	57.9

- Very low achievement

S4	S4 %
English	37.5
Maths	41.7
English & Maths	37.5
5+ SCQF Level 3 or Better	37.5
5+ SCQF Level 4 or Better	0.0
5+ SCQF Level 5 or Better	0.0

Low educational aspirations and linguistic segregation

- Low aspirations (?)

One or two parents have said, 'I want my child to have better opportunities than I had', they fully appreciated and understood the benefits of an education. But unfortunately, the majority don't even dream of their children doing well.

(Early Years practitioner)

- Linguistic segregation leading to further marginalisation

Flight of not just 'White', but also of 'other minorities'- some schools now at 90% Roma population

Mothers' aspirations

- For their children

I'd like my daughter to do well, but you know what things are like for us [Roma], you can't do much. So I'd like her to have a chance here, see how she gets on, then depending what she wants to do. (Irina, Romanian mother)

- For themselves

For myself, I'd like to go to university, I finished high school in Romania, so maybe…but I need better English first. (Irina)

Mothers recognised the value of education for social mobility, but aware of the limited capital they could draw upon & perceived hopelessness due to previous experiences of exclusion

Discussion

- Social position of Roma shaped by the intersecting effects of multiple inequalities across time and space- ethnic, gender, linguistic, socio-economic, 'undesirable migrant'

- Roma face multiple, intersecting discriminations before and after migration- in education, housing, healthcare, employment- 'travelling marginalisation'

- Given the systematic structural oppression of Roma across Europe, a different approach is needed to tackle their ongoing struggles

Implications for research

- We need new ways of approaching intersections of marginalisation- Anthias (2011) suggests: 'refusing the existence of categories, emphasising identities, emphasising structures of power'

- By disassembling these multiplicities, an intersectional approach moves the analysis beyond individual categorisations which may be taken as causal and allows the exploration of less immediately evident intersections- methodological implications

- Shifting the focus from ethnicity in research as primary marker to adopting diversity (Berg & Sigona, 2013) and conviviality (Gilroy, 2006) as analytical tools- but how to do this when Roma continue to be perceived as a threat?

- Higher risk of marginalisation and precarious situation for Roma post-Brexit- how can we research ongoing struggles in unprecedented times taking into account trans-national dynamics and relations?

Publications

- Full report available online:

https://www.academia.edu/9403165/Roma_families_engagement_with_education_and_other_services_in_Glasgow

- Research paper due in print

Sime, D.; Fassetta, G.; McClung, M. (2017) *'It's good enough that our children are accepted': Roma mothers' views of children's education post-migration, British Journal of Sociology of Education.*

New project

Here to Stay? Identity, belonging and citizenship among Eastern European settled migrant children and young people in the UK

Daniela Sime, Naomi Tyrrell, Marta Moskal

www.migrantyouth.org @MigrantYouth

Housing experiences of migrant children in the UK

Sue Lukes

February 2017

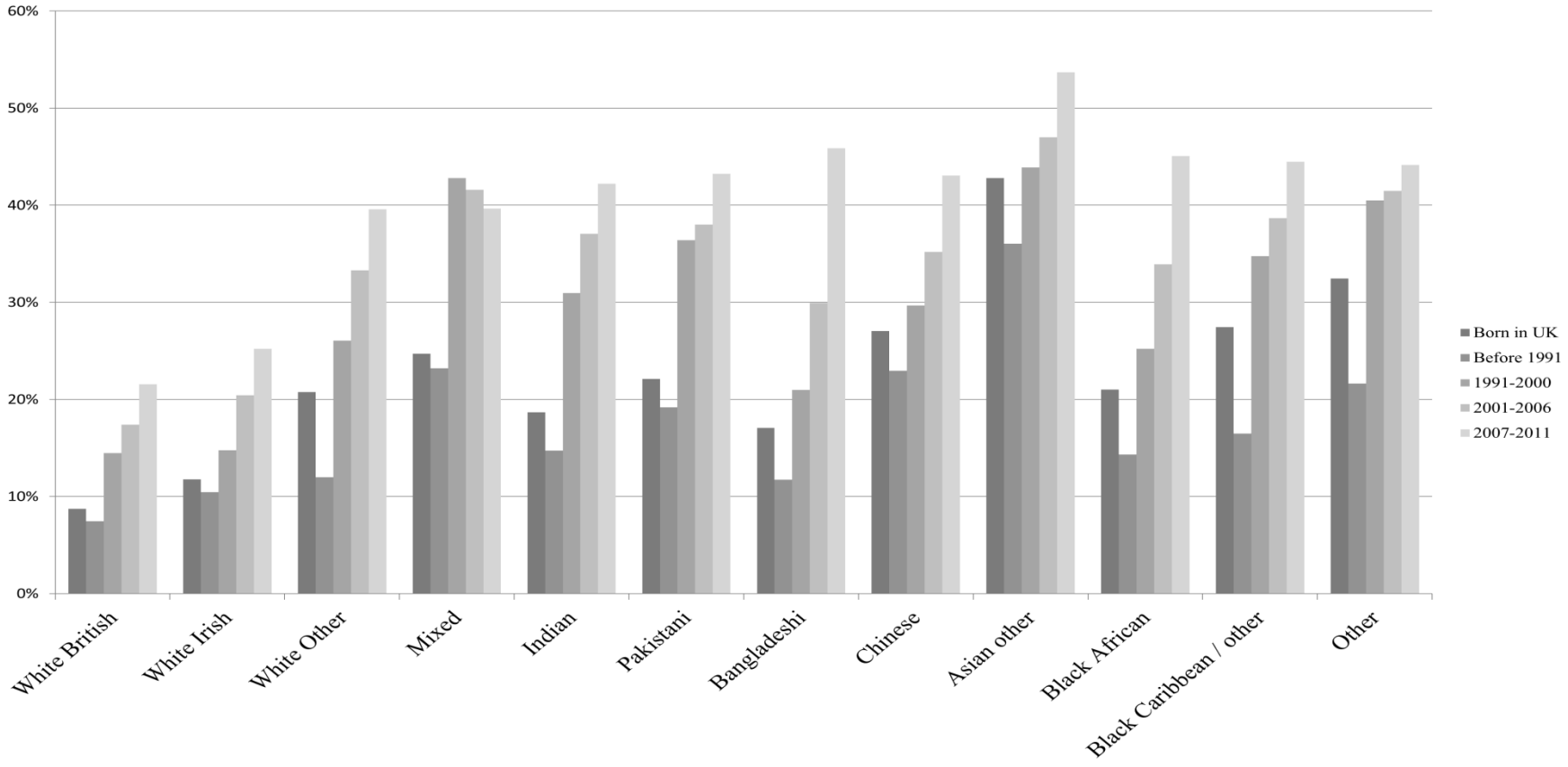
What?

- Why me?
- What do we know and from where?
- Who are these migrant children and how are they described?
- What roles do children play in migrant housing?
- Why are their experiences different?
- Where does “best interests” fit in all this?

Why me?

- Simon Industrial Fellow attached to CODE
  - Developing work on housing, migration, discrimination and disadvantage
- Specialist in housing and migration since 1983, now freelance
  - Teaches housing and migration law for housing providers
  - Policy and practice work with UK and EU cities, governments, agencies, funders, NGOs etc
  - www.housing-rights.info
  - www.migrationwork.org
  - www.strategicelegalfund.org.uk
- Bordering Practices in the UK Welfare System
  - Vollmer, B., Güntner, S., Lukes, S., & Wilding, J., (2016) *Bordering Practices in the UK Welfare System*, Critical Social Policy, Vol 36 Issue 3 DOI: 10.1177/0261018315622609
- Slippery Discrimination
  - **Slippery discrimination: a review of the drivers of migrant and minority housing disadvantage** Sue Lukes, Nigel de Noronha and Nissa Finney forthcoming in Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

What do we know and from where?: statistics from 2011 census (Slippery discrimination)



What do we know and from where? Slippery discrimination

- “Recent migrants from nearly all ethnic groups are more likely to experience housing deprivation than migrants who arrived some years ago, or those who were born in the UK”
- Those who came to Britain between 2007 and 2011 were 27% more likely than those born in UK
- those who weren’t UK citizens 14% more likely to experience housing deprivation than UK citizens
- Housing deprivation was positively associated with
  - those in rented tenures compared to ownership,
  - **couples with dependent and non-dependent children** compared to single people,
  - households where the reference person was younger
  - Households where the reference person was from a lower occupational social class than professional or managerial,
  - The unemployed
  - those who lived in semi-detached or terraced houses or flats. Those living in flats or apartments were ten times more likely to experience housing deprivation.

What do we know and from where? Statistics

- Homelessness statistics?
  - P1E data 3rd q 2016
  - 2,670 accepted, 2,420 ineligible (similar acceptance rate to all homeless, total 29,400)
  - BUT ineligibility (mostly) only applies to non UK citizens
  - Result of non-acceptance? Continuing homelessness/insecurity

What do we know and from where?: research

- Tends to look at specific communities or types of migrants e.g.
  - McGhee, D, Heath, S and Trevena, P. 2013. Post-accession Polish migrants – their experiences of living in 'low-demand' social housing areas in Glasgow. Environment and Planning A, 45:2, 329-343.
  - McKay, S and Winkelmann, A. 2005. Migrant workers in the East of England: Project report. Accessed via www.migrantworkers.co.uk/index.asp on 30th October 2015.
  - Netto, G. 2011a. Identity Negotiation, Pathways to Housing and "Place": The Experience of Refugees in Glasgow. Housing Studies, 28:2, 123-143.
  - Netto, G. 2011b. Strangers in the City: Addressing Challenges to the Protection, Housing and Settlement of Refugees. International Journal of Housing Policy, 11:3, 285-303.
- Anything specifically on children?

What do we know and from where?: research

- Me too!
  - No Voice, Little Choice, The Somali housing emergency in north and east London (with Mohammed Aden Hassan and Hannah Lewis, published by Karin Housing Association)
    - Less than a third of those interviewed had a home big enough for them and their family (compared, for example, with Tower Hamlets, the most overcrowded borough in England, reporting 13% of families as overcrowded). Many faced quite devastating levels of overcrowding, with six children in a two bedroom flat, nine people in three rooms, seven people and one bedroom. One family of eight including a disabled woman share a two bedroom house, with five beds in one room. The overcrowding is caused by:
      - Larger families combined with a failure to recognise this as a need and provide for it in the relevant areas;
      - Difficulties faced by households (often headed by women, facing very high levels of illness or disability) in accessing advice and support that might get them the housing they need;
      - Families accommodating relatives or friends who have no housing access themselves because of low priority, rules on local connection or eligibility;
      - Family reunions, leading to people crowding into existing accommodation.

What do we know and from where?: research

- Welfare chauvinism: work by Jo Wilding on separated refugee children summarised in Bordering article
  - Current provision of services for unaccompanied minors reveals a second practice of bordering which works not by formally denying rights but rather by de facto exclusion from services. Despite identical entitlements in law, numerous examples (such as attempts to circumvent section 20 of the Children Act, involvement of social services in enforcing immigration control, or plain service cuts) show that discrimination at local authority level and lack of knowledge of entitlements at individual (professional) and institutional levels combine to deprive migrant children of their rights. Bordering in this case tends to work informally because of residual public sympathy for them as children. However, with less social solidarity for them than for national looked-after children, public authorities can systematically develop policies towards this vulnerable group which are in effect chauvinistic.

What do we know and from where?: research

- Slippery discrimination
  - Within all sectors of housing we draw the overarching conclusion that discriminatory processes are systemic, and slippery in that they can be difficult to precisely evidence and challenge, particularly as they have become embedded and normalised over a long period. Furthermore, tackling housing disadvantage and discrimination is hampered by the fragmented housing sector and anti-migrant polity. However, this fragmentation and current tendencies towards greater devolution also offer opportunities, because in spite of the evident difficulties and prevailing climate, good practice has been developed

What do we know and from where?: accounts and stories

- 'Rats and insects' found in asylum housing BBC 31 January 2017
- Social services housing for migrants

"Some families we interviewed for the report were being placed in accommodation with no working toilet – one mother and her children were forced to use plastic bags to defecate. Other accommodation had no heating. Other families – overwhelmingly women and young children – were placed in accommodation with vulnerable and extremely disturbed adults."

What do we know and from where?: accounts and stories

- Tend to be bad experiences
- Tend to focus on specific circumstances/provision
- Rare for children's voices to be heard
- But children's presence often necessary for housing to be described as "disgrace" etc

Who are these migrant children and how are they described?

- Different ways to categorise
  - Place in family (or not e.g. separated)
  - Age
    - And relation to degree of agency
  - Migration status
  - “Community”, “race”, “belief”

Who are these migrant children and how are they described?

- Thoughts on categorisations
  - In families, discourse of instrumentalised children (anchor babies)
  - Alone: “not children” if they survive well
  - Transition at 18: often brutal
  - Mixed status families, children’s rights often ignored
  - Recent publicity about long term EU migrants with possibly no rights throws rights of other (often long term or born in UK) migrant children into relief
- Different categories or types of migrant children (in families and alone, older and younger, different types of migration status) may experience this differently

What roles do children play in migrant housing?

- Housing
  - "priority need" conferred by children
  - But only the right ones: eligibility
  - Overcrowding
  - Lack of larger housing
- Welfare benefits
  - Benefit cap and penalisation of families with 2+ children

What roles do children play in migrant housing?

- Social services: complicated relationships!
  - As protector of children?
  - As landlord for families excluded by immigration status
  - Threats to remove children
  - Focus on cost avoidance/reduction

What roles do children play in migrant housing?

- Citizenship and migration status
  - Citizen children and Zambrano rights to reside
  - Article 8 and “long residence”
  - Absent children and family migration rules
- Absence and presence in “right to rent”

Even though children are largely excluded from the operation of the Act by virtue of the fact that landlords are not required to check their status, it is still possible for a child to be disqualified from renting by virtue of their immigration status. In most instances, this does not matter, as landlords do not need to check their right to rent. However, under the evictions provisions the Home Secretary may serve notices in respect of children who are disqualified occupying a premises, as well as adults. If all occupiers in a property are disqualified, and the landlord is notified with respect to all of them, they may be evicted without a court order

(article in Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Law, Vol 31, No 1, 2017, with Chai Patel and charlotte Peel)

Why are their experiences different?

- Disadvantage?
  - Time of arrival (late in the queue?)
  - Lack of knowledge
  - Family type? Culture?
- Discrimination?
  - The data
  - Legally sanctioned: eligibility and “right to rent”
  - Has migration status/xenophobia replaced race in some areas?

Migrant children's experience of housing

- Is there time for stories?
  - Experiences of loss and change
  - Child's role during migration
  - State failure/discrimination
  - Children and agency

Where does “best interests” fit in all this?

- Article 3(1) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989
- 'In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.'
- UK reservation on immigration and nationality lifted in 2008

Where does “best interests” fit in all this?

- *ZH (Tanzania) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2011] UKSC 4
  - Lady Hale held that best interests 'must be considered first' before going on the consider what other factors, cumulatively, might act as countervailing considerations, for example the need to maintain firm and fair immigration control.

Where does “best interests” fit in all this?

- UN guidance
  - views of the child
  - safe environment
  - family and close relationships
  - development and identity needs
- Voice!

University of Salford MANCHESTER

On being a ‘good grandmother’: retired British women in Spain

Dr Anya Ahmed, Senior Lecturer, Social Policy

8th February 2017

Who are featured?

- Sample of women (17)
- Some moved alone/others with partners
- Some wanted to stay in Spain
- Some wanted to return to the UK
- Some lived betwixt and between both countries

Structural contexts enabling migration

- Freedom of EU movement (upper structural context)
- Increased affluence/early retirement/housing markets in the UK and Spain (more proximate structural contexts)
- Baby boomers (demographic context)
- **Shifting expectations of grandmothering (cultural context)**

Focus of presentation

- Women as (individualistic?) agents exercising mobility
- Reconciling ‘not being there’ with being a ‘good’ grandmother
- Women reject ‘traditional’ grandmother role?
- How positive grandmother identities are constructed and performed through narrative
- ‘Cynthia’

Why this topic is important

- Women's decision to migrate in retirement represents a departure from the care-giving and kinship-keeping roles traditionally associated with grand/motherhood
- Most studies of intergenerational relationships focused on the mobility of younger generations

Managing intimacy from a distance

“There’s quite a large number of people who go back to the UK, they don’t settle. The main problem, number one, is the family; two the husband drives them nuts” (Cynthia)

Managing intimacy from a distance

- Missing children/grandchildren = the biggest obstacle to achieving ‘the good life’ in Spain
- Some women can’t overcome this – missing family (especially grandchildren) is presented as reason for return

For those women who choose to stay in Spain…

- This decision presents a ‘moral dilemma’- how to maintain and re-negotiate a positive grandmother identity?
- Will draw on theories of grandparenting ‘styles’ to unravel this

‘Types’ of grandparenting

- Formal; **fun seekers; distant figures;** surrogate parents; reservoirs of family wisdom (Neugarten and Weinstein,1964)
- Detached; passive; **influential;** supportive; and authoritative (Cherlin and Furstenberg,1985)
- Later revised to: **remote**, companionate and **involved** (Cherlin and Furstenberg,1992)

How women perform positive grandmother identities

- Emphasise their role as **'fun seekers',** and minimise that they are **'distant figures'** (Neugarten and Weinstein,1964)
- Emphasise their '**influential'** role with grandchildren (Cherlin and Furstenberg,1985)
- Construct narratives which reconcile being '**remote'** with remaining **'involved'** (Cherlin and Furstenberg,1992)
- Emphasise **'love'** and **'attachment' and benefits of being away**(Banks, 2009)

Using narrative analysis to understand grandmother identity

- Thematic analysis – the ‘what’

- Structural analysis – the ‘how’: narrative footing/slippage (Gubrium and Holstein, 1998); linguistic devices employed (Czarianawska, 1998)

Using narrative analysis (cont)

- Presentation of ‘moral’ self (Goffman, 1969) or ‘positive’ identity
- Clues to how they experience structural/cultural contexts and illuminate those contexts
- Women narratively manage the paradoxes associated with **intimacy and distance** - being ‘distant’ doesn’t preclude intimacy

Cynthia

"Well how do I? How do I? I know everybody says you miss your children and you do, and you miss your grandchildren"

- False start – narrative footing –time to think about how she is 'heard'
- Normative talk acknowledges the meta-narrative of how a 'good grandmother' would feel
- A loving grandmother who is attached to her grand/children, but then…
- How to reconcile the paradox (not being there)

Cynthia (cont)

“Once, when they're children, it's lovely when they're very small, but as they get older they've got their own friends. You've got to let them go their own way”

Cynthia (cont)

- Presents herself as pragmatic rather than emotional in the decision to move to Spain
- She casts herself as liberating her grandchildren—as well as herself—from obligation and duty and in this sense she can be both a wise and generous grandmother
- Highlights how intergenerational relationships change over the life course (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1985)

Cynthia (cont)

*“With your grandchildren, you can't live their lives, so although it is a **wrench** and you've got to keep in touch with them … you're not that far away and when they get to a certain age, as much as they love you, and they still love you no matter what age”*

Cynthia (cont)

- Non-interference principle - ‘you can't live their lives’ - a normative expectation of ‘good grandparenting’
- Emphasises that love and attachment characterise grandchildren's feeling towards grandparents
- ‘wrench’ … suggests visceral response to separation

Cynthia (cont)

- Negotiates the tension between intimacy and distance (Bengston et al., 2002) by minimising the significance of geographical distance
- Geographical distance is not synonymous with emotional distance or lack of intimacy
- Focuses on the opportunities and de-emphasises the barriers to contact with her grandchildren

Cynthia (cont)

“They've got to do their own thing and so, and I didn't want it to become a chore for them to come and visit grandma, whereas now it's exciting to come and to visit ... They've got to live their own lives”

Cynthia (cont)

- Re-emphasises the need for her family to live their own lives - reinforces the norm of non-interference
- Focuses on the benefits of being away (Banks, 2009) - ‘exciting’ for grandchildren to visit
- ‘Fun-seeker’ grandparenting style performed here
- Grandmother relationship does not seem to be characterised by duty or obligation
- Takes the non-interference principle to an extreme, focuses on how her move to Spain has granted her grandchildren freedom

Being a good grandmother

- Reconciling individualism with familism was a challenge
- Women emphasised reciprocal love and attachment rather than exchange and influence/duty
- Although geographically remote, they do not present themselves as ‘distant figures’
- They are able to construct new forms of exchange and influence in order to present positive grandmother identities

Being a good grandmother (cont)

- Through their narratives women reconcile the paradox of *not* being there with being a good grandmother
- They construct and reflect new forms of grandparenting
- Individualism reflects the non-interference expectation and the loosening of tradition and obligation (Thang et al., 2011)

Questions and discussion

- Thanks for listening

Ageing in place: The experiences of older ethnic minority people in the UK

James Nazroo

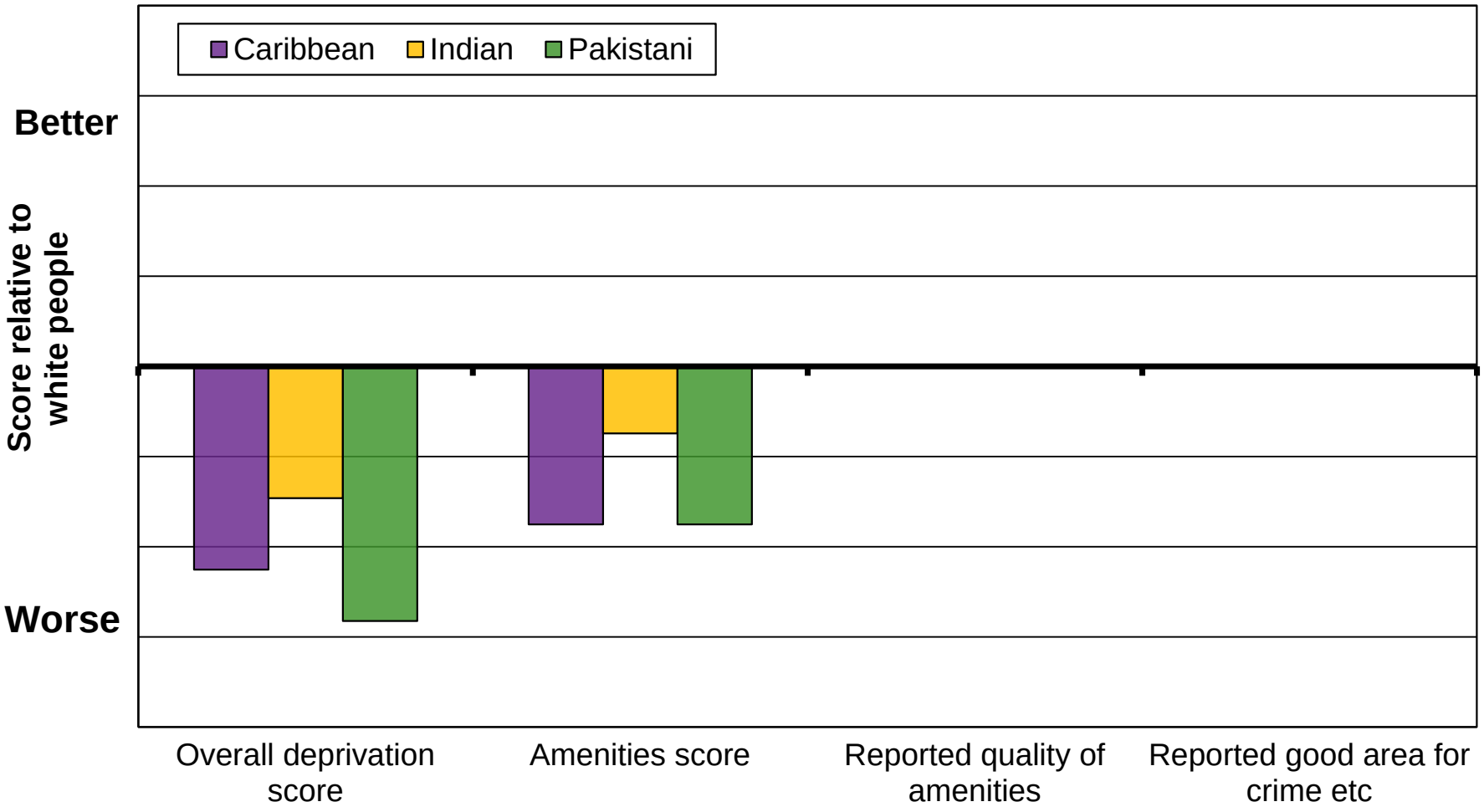
ESRC Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity
and
Manchester Institute for Collaborative Research on Ageing

james.nazroo@manchester.ac.uk

Ethnicity, race and growing older in the UK: Context

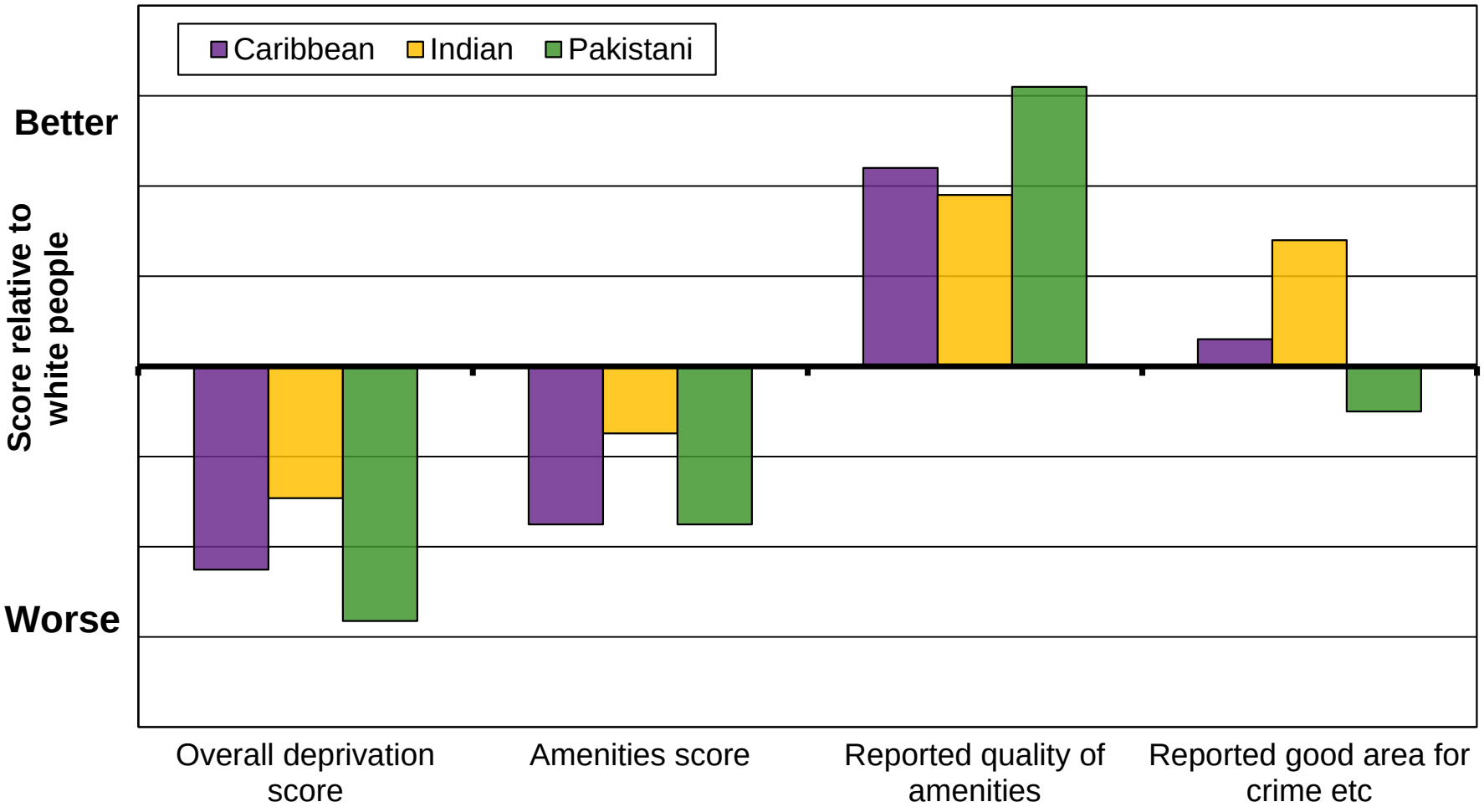
- Migration in a post-war, but also post-colonial, context – shaping who migrated, when and why, and post-migration reception.
- Post-migration circumstances in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.
- Establishing and building communities, the importance of neighbourhood and belonging – segregation, integration and community cohesion.
- Cross-national connections and return migration.
- Changing significance of ethnic identities and how they structure social relations – prejudice, racism and discrimination, and their material consequences.
- Generation and period: contexts and change.

Measured and perceived quality of local area
(those aged 45 and older)



(Bajekal *et* al. 2004)

Measured and perceived quality of local area
(those aged 45 and older)



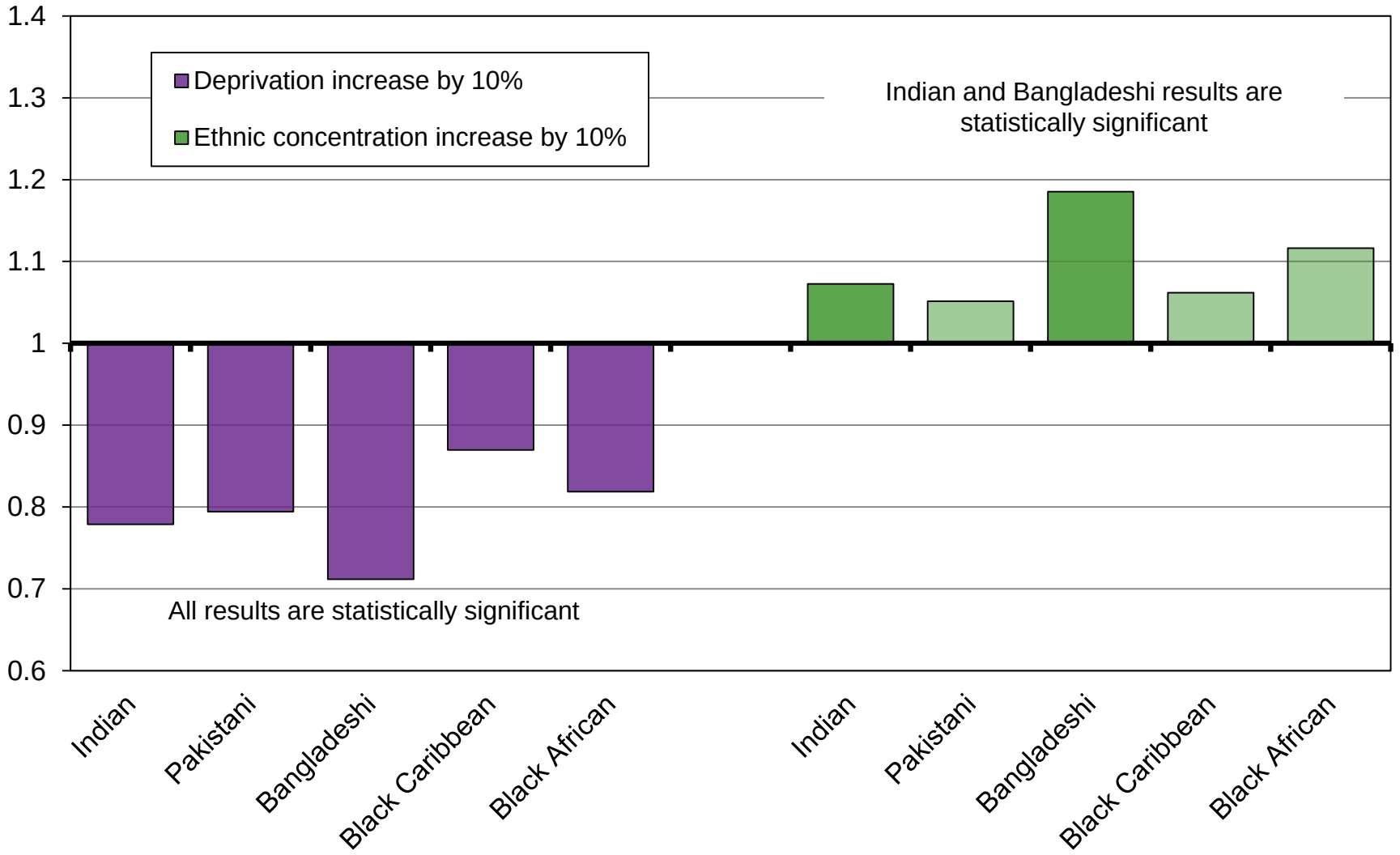
(Bajekal *et* al. 2004)

Benefits of ethnic concentration: What people say

- Helps generate longstanding local social connections, because of the stability of the population in the local area and because of knowing other local residents with similar ethnic backgrounds.
- Stronger and more legitimised membership of the neighbourhood, characterised by the social and material fabric of the neighbourhood.
- Increased security – lower exposure to racial harassment and discrimination.
- Local community centres make an important contribution to the positive character of the area.
- Having a place of worship within easy reach enables people to maintain connections with their community and also provides friendship networks that last over long periods of time.
- Such areas provide opportunities for volunteering and other forms of civic engagement.

(Bécares and Nazroo 2013)

Impact of deprivation and ethnic concentration on social cohesion



(Bécares *et al*. 2011)

Experiences of area deprivation and concentration

There are a lot of our people around here. No one fights, everyone is nice and friendly … everyone is nice to me. They always say hello to me ... Yes it is all right. It is safe. There are many of our people here so it feels safe.

(Indian man in his late 60s/early 70s)

Oh yeah, we had a stabbing. And they had a shooting. Yeah. Drug related thing ... Otherwise it's not too bad … I didn't know about the stabbing until I saw it on the telly and it was two houses from me. And the shooting thing ... I saw [my friend] in the yard and I asked him what happened. And then he told me that somebody shot somebody... I thought 'Oh' … you sort of feel scared really in'it, to see something like that happen so close to home, you know.

(Caribbean women in her mid 60s)

(Bécares and Nazroo 2013)

Pakistani man, 70s, the importance of community

I: So you go to the Mosque at three in the morning?

R: 3.30am ... I go and open the doors, I get there first … At every prayer … [the Mosque] is very close down there (inaudible) it is about five minutes. I open the doors for all five prayers.

[Later in the interview]

R: We bought [the Mosque] as a factory, there were small rooms we knocked them down and made a big hall. These others have been newly built, the land was bought and they were made but the Sufi Abdullah one (inaudible), there is one on Belgrave Road, Jammia Masjid, the one that was built first. There are many Mosques, there are many facilities the children go to read there.

I: You have started Madrasas (schools for religious education)?

R: Yes Madrasas. We have Allah's blessing every thing is very nice.

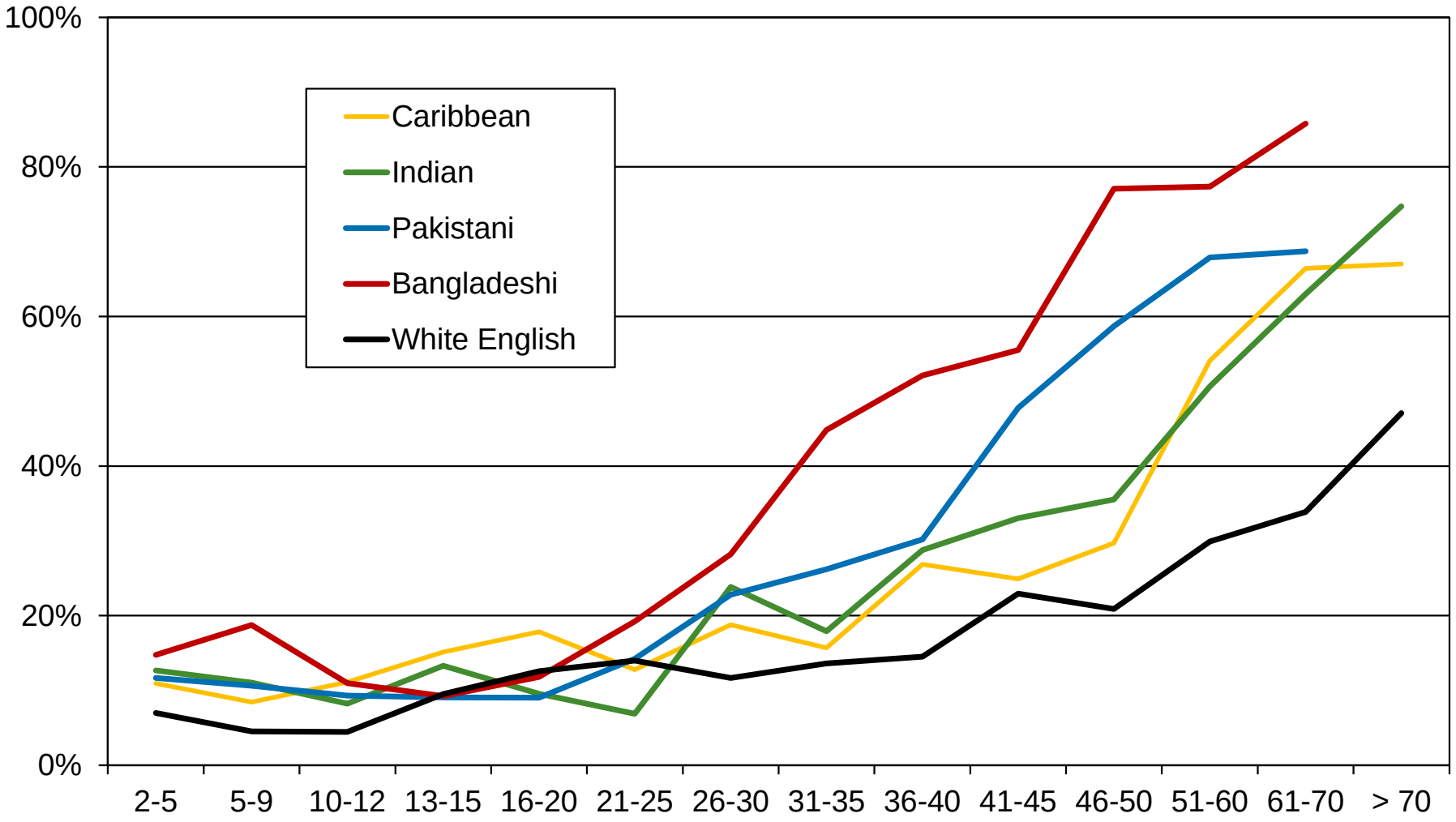
(Grewal *et al*, 2004)

Pakistan man, mid 60s, the pressure of community

I know so many people in Birmingham and there is no week without having to attend 2 or 3 weddings because they call me and if you don't go then there is no respect and they think he didn't come because of the money but they don't know your financial position, the government doesn't give you money for the weddings.

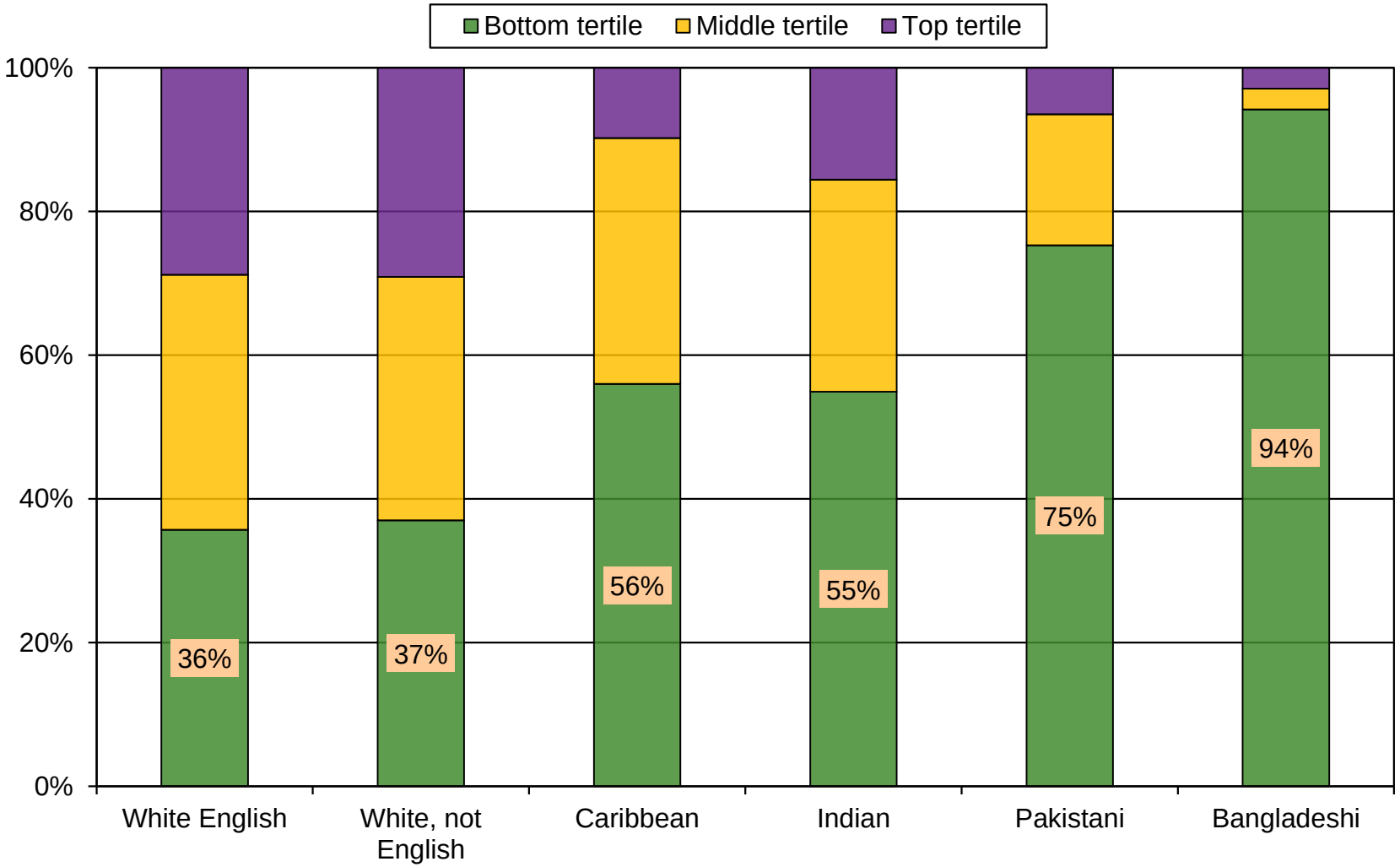
(Grewal *et al*, 2004)

Reported fair or bad health by ethnicity and age



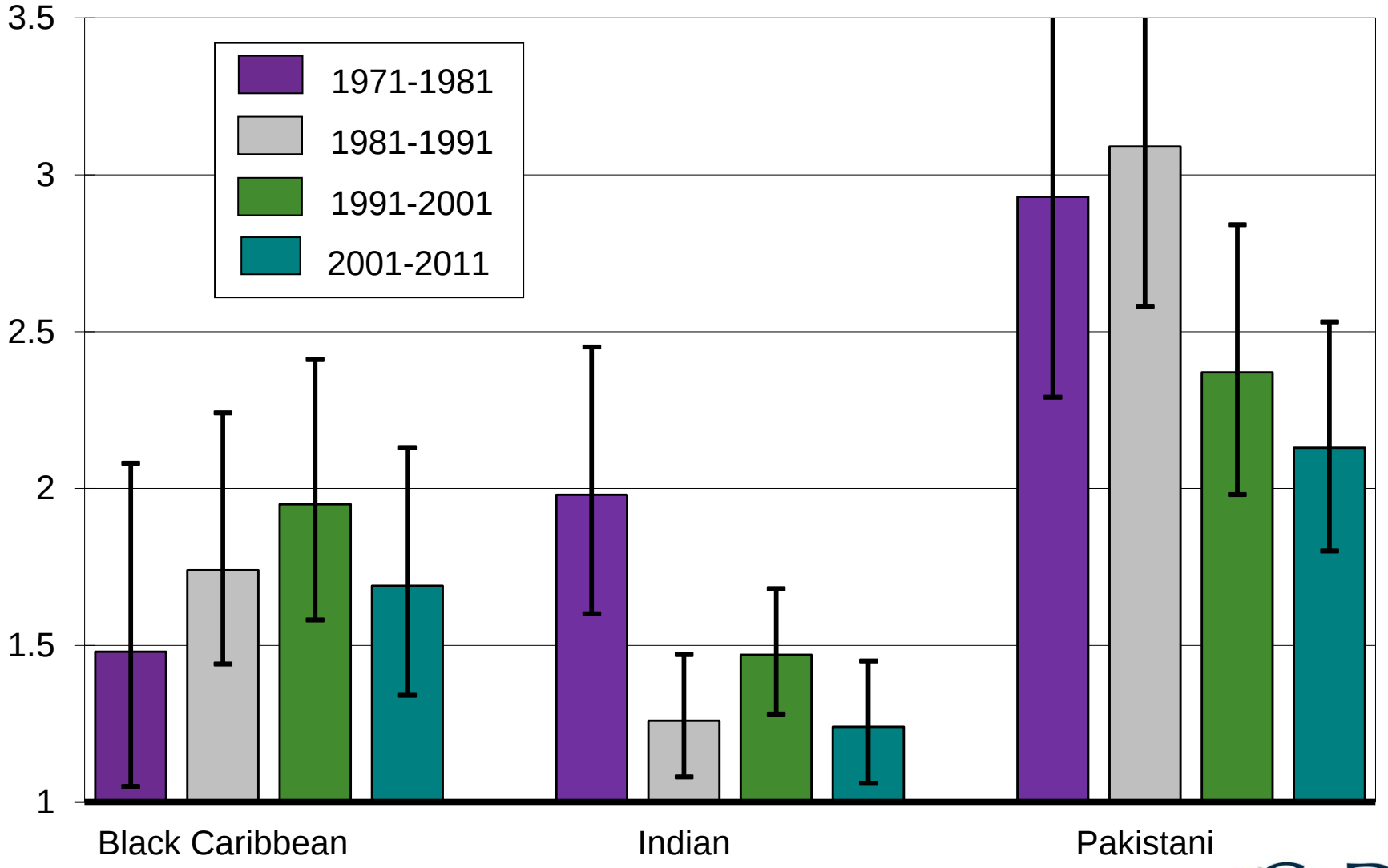
(Nazroo 2004)

Equivalised income (aged 50 and older)



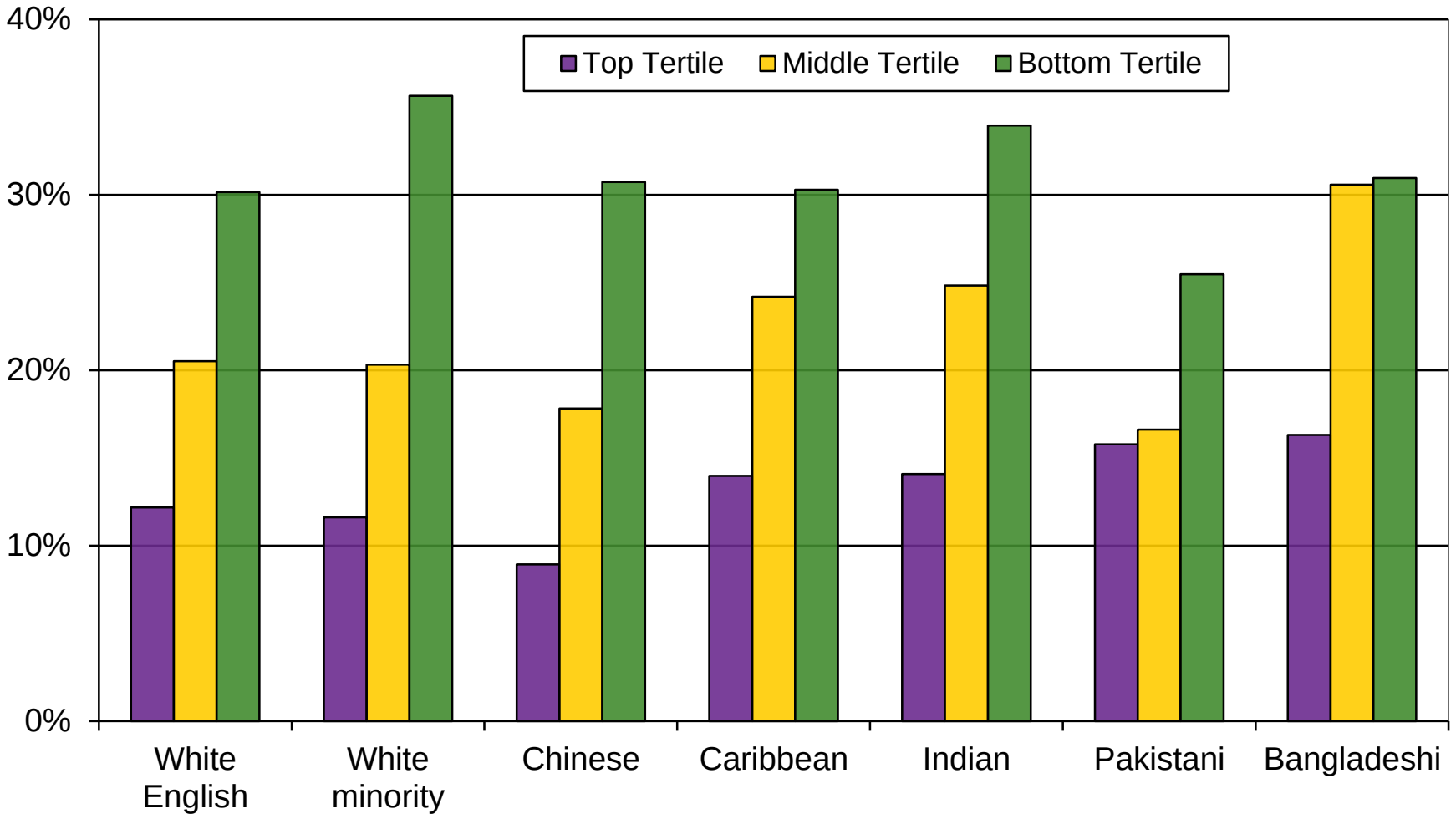
(Nazroo 2006)

Odds of moving into unemployed compared with white British (men 1971-2011 Census)



(Karlsen *et al*. unpublished)

Income, ethnicity and reported fair or bad health



(Nazroo 2003)

Experiences of racism and discrimination

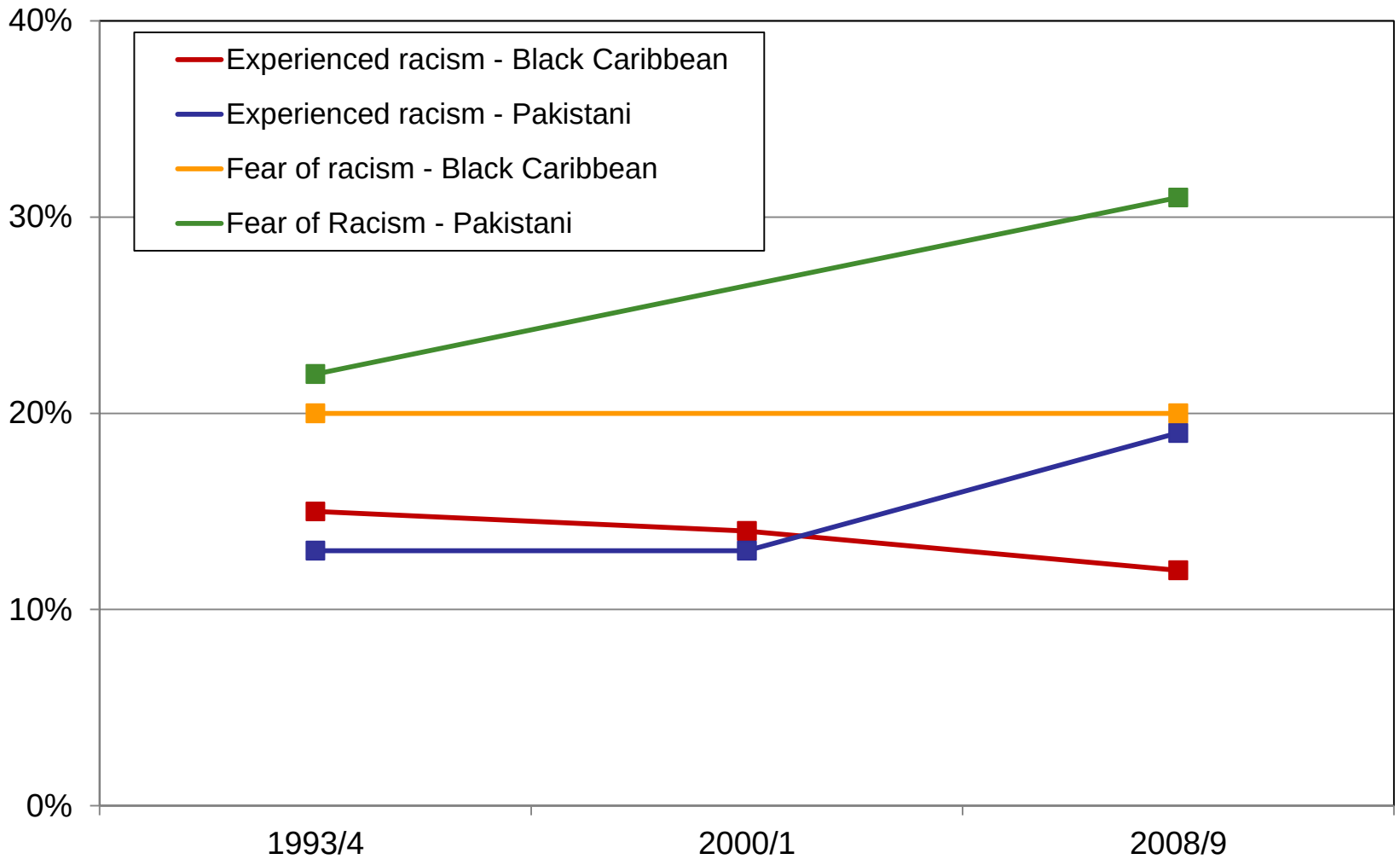
- One in eight ethnic minority people report experiencing racial harassment over the last year.
- Repeated racial harassment is a common experience.
- 25% of ethnic minority people say they are fearful of racial harassment.

- 20% of ethnic minority people report being refused a job for racial reasons, and almost three-quarters of them say it has happened more than once.
- 20% of ethnic minority people believe that most employers would refuse somebody a job for racial reasons, only 12% thought no employers would do this.

- White people freely report their own prejudice:
  - One in four say they are prejudiced against Asian people;
  - One in five say they are prejudiced against Caribbean people.

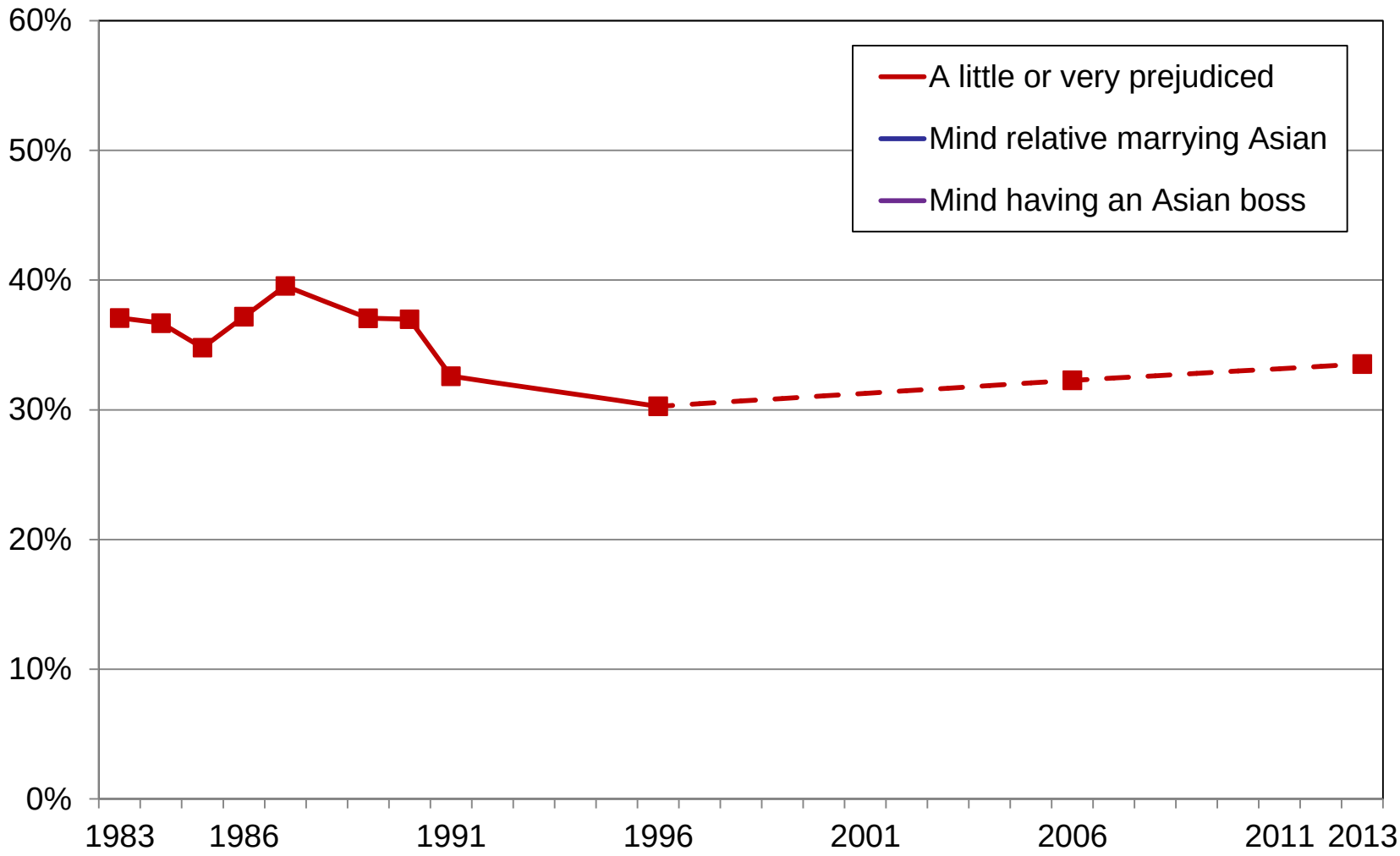
Modood *et al*. (1997)

Changes in levels of racism



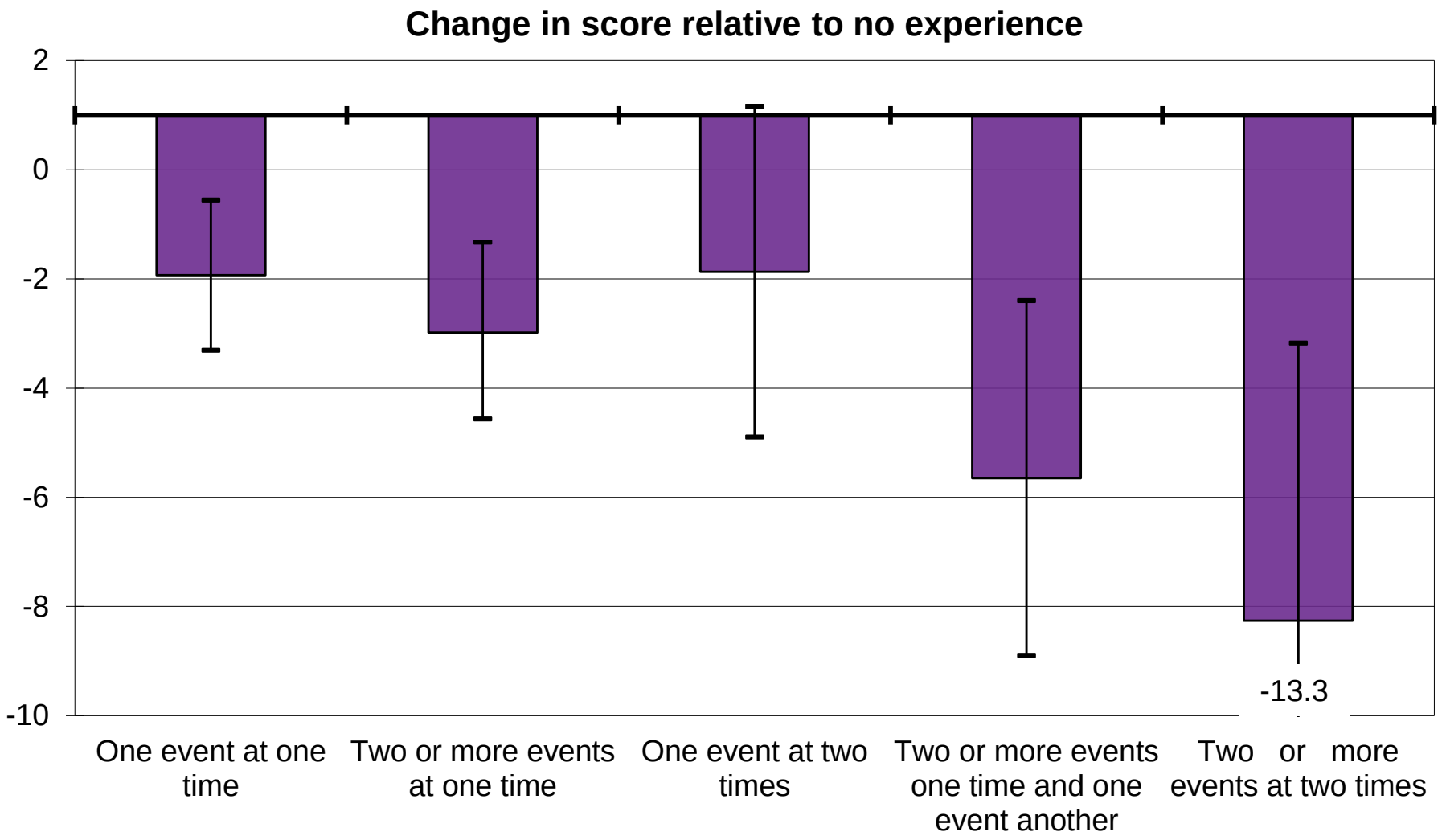
Karlsen and Nazroo, (2014)

Changes in levels of racial prejudice



(Storm *et al*, 2016)

Experiences of racism and decline in mental health



(Wallace *et al*, 2016)

Conclusions

- Marked ethnic inequalities in later life across a number of dimensions: health, income, economic activity, etc.
- Evidence of accumulation of disadvantage across the life course: inequalities grow as people get older, reflecting the persistence of inequality over time and across the life course.
- Evidence of intergenerational continuities of disadvantage: UK born and more recent generations face similar levels of inequality, even if there is some evidence of educational and class mobility.
- Importance of place and belonging, being a member of and shaping communities.
- Importance of meaningful social roles to provide valued identities.
- But, at a micro level, issues of identity, belonging, lack of connection, isolation, or loneliness, are not the issues driving ethnic inequalities.
- The persisting climate of prejudice and racism, alongside poverty and area deprivation are key.

MANCHESTER 1824
The University of Manchester

JRF Joseph Rowntree Foundation

CoDE Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity

DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY: EVIDENCE FROM THE 2011 CENSUS

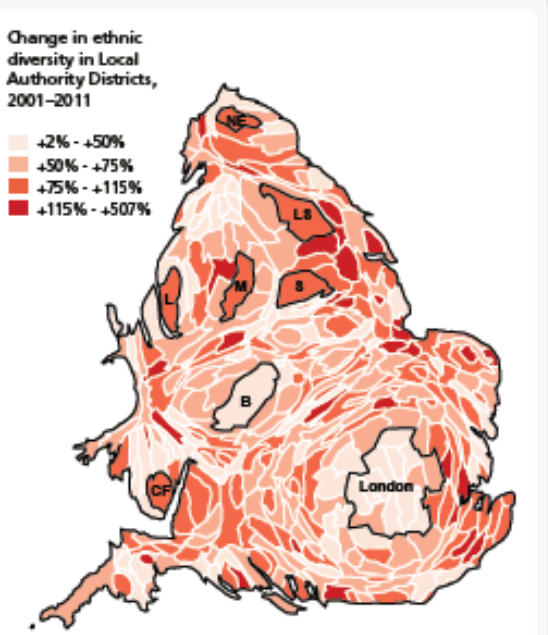
ESRC Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE)

www.ethnicity.ac.uk

Visit our website for analysis of the latest data on ethnic inequalities in the UK

Topics covered include

- Ethnic diversity
- Neighbourhood segregation
- National identity
- Education
- Employment
- Health
- Housing
- Deprivation
- Language
- Ethnic population growth
- Changes in ethnic identities
- Counting immigrant populations



Cartogram of Local Authorities, with Inner London and other principal cities marked:
Manchester (M), Liverpool (L), Sheffield (S), Newcastle upon Tyne (NE), Birmingham (B), Leeds (LS), and Cardiff (CF)
Sources: the 2011 Censuses (Crown Copyright). Map base: Bethan Thomas.

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The University of Manchester

TRANSNATIONAL LIVES AND OLDER MIGRANTS: PERSPECTIVES FROM COMMUNITY STUDIES

Chris Phillipson

MICRA Social of Social Sciences

The University of Manchester

Areas covered

- Background to community studies
- Contribution of community studies to sociology
- Importance of studying communities for migration research
- Research on minority ethnic ageing
- Older people & migration
- Community studies & transnational migration
- Intergenerational care; life course changes; & the social construction of place
- Community studies, migration & older people

What is community?

‘ “Community” figures in many aspects of our everyday lives. Much of what we do is engaged in through the **interlocking social networks of neighbourhood, kinship and friendship**, networks which together make up ‘community life’ as it is conventionally understood’.

(Crow & Allan, 1994)

Why study communities?

'…the study of community…can reveal a good deal about the way in which people's everyday lives are fashioned; and it **does allow connections to be made between the individual's lifestyle and the more immediate social and economic contexts** in which they develop'.

(Crow & Allan, 1994)

What does the study of community contribute to sociology?

- Testing ground for theories of **social change** – impact of globalization/deindustrialisation on everyday life (Pahl, 1984; Harris, 1987)

- Challenge to '**over-determined**' views of social change (Cornwell, 1984)

- Brings out importance of **new social groups** entering and re-shaping communities (Rex & Moore, 1967; Anwar; 1985; Cohen, 1987; Eade, 1989)

Development of community studies

- **1950s -1960s** – expansion of communities studies (influence of Chicago School). Institute of Community Studies. Descriptive; structural-functionalism main theoretical perspective
- **1970s** – limited work; criticisms of failure to address macro-social and economic forces transforming communities
- **1980s-early 2000s**– expansion of work driven by recession; impact of transnational migration (Crow, 2002; Delanty, 2010)

Importance of migration and ethnicity

- Issues about race and gender longstanding themes in community studies (Phillipson & Thompson, 2008).
- Early attempts to conceptualise immigrant neighbourhoods (Little, 1949; Banton,1950)
- Influence of Chicago School e.g. Rex & Moore (1967) 'differentiated residential zones'
- Key finding: '..**racially & socially discriminatory housing allocations**' (Rex & Moore, 1967; Henderson, J Karn, V. 1987; Sarre et al., 1989)

Importance of studying communities for migration research

- Important to study migration at a neighbourhood level allows researchers to study the interplay between local and global social change (Allan & Phillipson, 2008).

- **Studies of single streets**:

  Atlee, 2007: Cowley Rd.;

  Lichtenstein, 2007: Brick Lane);

  Zukin, S. et al. 2016 Impact of globalization & gentrification on streets in 6 cities.

Studies of Minority Ethnic Ageing – protracted gestation?

- Minority ethnic ageing took some time to emerge as a theme within mainstream studies of race & ethnicity
- Reflected **marginality** of ageing within sociology reinforced by initial focus in public policy in European countries emphasising '**temporary**' status of some migrant groups.
- Some work in 1970s/1980s – focus on **'unmet' need for health & social services** (Blakemore & Boneham, 1994)

Older people & migration

- First generation migrants growing old in their 'second homeland' (Gardner, 2002; Burholt, 2004) (Important theme of 'loneliness' & isolation in some of this work)
- Older migrants moving 'back and forth' between families living across continents (Bauer & Thompson, 2006)
- Retention of kinship/ 'kin-keeping' despite being spread across multiple borders (Baldasser et al., 2007; Bauer & Thompson, 2006)
- Older people left behind coping with the loss of younger generations (Vullentari & King, 2008)
- 'Return migrants' moving back to their 'first homeland' (Barrett & Mosca, 2013)

Community studies & transnational migration

- **The Family & Community Life of Older People**: Social networks and social support in three urban areas (2001)
- **Growing Older in Socially Deprived Areas**: Social Exclusion in Later Life (2002)
- **Women in Transition**: A study of the experiences of Bangladeshi women living in Tower Hamlets (2003)
- **Experiences of place among older migrants** living in inner-city neighbourhoods in Belgium & England (2011)

Areas for discussion

- **MIGRATION & INTERGENERATIONAL CARE**
- **MIGRATION & THE LIFE COURSE**
- **MIGRATION & THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE**

Family and Community Life of Older People

- 627 older people in **Bethnal Green, Woodford & Wolverhampton**
- 195 people surveyed in Bethnal Green
- **23 from Sylhet: 16 men arrived in UK in 1950s/early-1960s**
- Detailed study of household structure; additional focus group with carers and work with various community groups in Bethnal Green

- Interplay between migration & family histories
- Impact of **poor health, very poor housing & low incomes**
- Impact of **racism** in the 1970s/1980s
- Proactive role in the community (supporting development of mosques)
- **Pressures on women as carers (abuse/violence in the home)**

INTERGENERATIONAL CARE

‘ I want to say that within a whole family whenever someone falls ill it is up to us to care for that person, but when we fall ill there will be no one to care for us. But also he is only bad-tempered with me not to any other member of his family. Why is this so?’

Bengali carer, Bethnal green

Research questions on migration

- What are the gains and losses for those who migrate?
- How do migrants build and sustain transnational communities?
- What is the distinctive role of female migrants?
- What are the ties maintained with older relatives?

Women & migration

- **‘Does international migration provide women with an opportunity for liberating themselves from subordinate gender roles in their countries of origin, or are traditional gender roles perpetuated in the host societies’.**

DeLaet, 1999, ‘The invisibility of women in scholarship on international migration’

Women in Transition

- Study of 100 women who came to TH from Sylhet in the **1970s/1980s**; aged 35-55
- Focus on intergenerational support
- Two-thirds of the women had 5 or more children but now caring also for older husband (typically 60s/70s) and other relatives in some cases
- Caring undertaken in context of major issues with the women's own health exacerbated by poor quality housing (Phillipson et al., 2003; Ahmed, 2013; 2016)
- Experience of racism within the community
- Importance of ties with mothers in Sylhet

Experiences of care

“We can’t do anything together he is very ill. He has had 5 heart attacks. He has diabetes, high blood pressure…and psychiatric problems. Some days he is very ill…others not so bad. I am just kept busy by him. Give him this, give him that…that takes up my whole day…They were going to give us a nurse to look after him at home but he doesn’t want that…He wants me to do everything’. (Salma, six children)

Migration & the life course

- A majority of the women would enter their 50s/60s as widows – still caring for young children
- Experiencing ageing in the context of the '**turbulence of migration**'
- Challenge to traditional life course theorising: migration, marriage, childbirth, ill-health, widowhood compressed into short space of time.
- Different construction about what it means to grow old given the absence of a sense of **biographical continuity.**

Perceptions of the life course

- ‘What hopes can I have? I have no hopes. I just hope that Allah gives me a quick death” (Shura, age 48)
- ‘What hopes can I have – I am going to die soon anyway’ (Monwara, age 39)
- ‘Women’s lives are over when they reach 35 or 40. What more of a life do I have?

  (Sabina, aged 50)
- My days are going now –they are not coming any more are they? My days are getting shorter not longer’ (Nazma, aged 41).

MIGRATION & THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE

- Studies of social inclusion/exclusion and place
  Analysis of interviews (n=82) with first generation labour migrants from Turkey & Morocco (in inner-city Belgium) and Somalia and Pakistan (living in inner-city Liverpool & and Manchester)
  (Buffel & Phillipson, 2011; 2016)

Social construction of place

- **Transformation of neighbourhoods into 'transnational social spaces' through ethnic businesses, tea houses, mosques**
- Despite (or because of) experiences of 'exclusion' people strove to create a sense of 'home'
- **Production of social space** linking with forging new identities but linked as well to existing transnational ties

Experiences of place

- I like this neighbourhood. My children have grown up here…and I know everyone here…they are like family. All my dreams lie here (Moroccan women, Brussels)
- It's a good area…because everywhere is pretty close…especially the community and the mosque and that's the important thing (Somali woman, Liverpool)
- 'The best thing about living here is that there is a large Turkish community. I don't feel like a stranger here…we are all the same (Turkish man, Brussels)
- 'This is the only other place I have known other than Pakistan. So I would say I feel very at home in this neighbourhood. Your home is what you make..not what people think it to be (Pakistani woman, Manchester)

Experiences of place

- ‘Twenty years back we hired the halls and then we prayed there…I said why are we hiring this hall? Why don’t we make our own place? So…you have according to your pocket…I gave according to my pocket. We were all people who were praying there; everybody contributed something to that kitty you know…We bought that place where this mosque is now’.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY STUDIES

- Need new generation of studies to capture **diverse styles of ageing** – best captured a neighbourhood level
- Need to address issues facing women as **transnational carers** – failure to address this issue in health and social care planning: development of transnational social policy
- Need better understanding of the way in which **transnational communities** can promote social inclusion through new forms of social capital and social networks.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY STUDIES

- Promote **longitudinal community studies** focusing on impact of neighbourhood change on older people and related groups
- Continue **'re-visiting'** communities to deepen understand of impact of social forces on peoples lives
- Research need to challenge **'invisibility'** of older people and carers within minority ethnic groups

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