

Insider perspectives of ‘outsiders’

A phenomenological study on migrant care workers in Italy

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'It is a difficult job, but if you do it with your heart.. then it does not always feel difficult'

Mara, Romania

Contents

Preface	6
Summary	7
1. Introduction	8
1.1 Background	8
1.2 Societal scope	9
1.3 Scientific scope	9
1.4 Care ethical approach	10
1.5 Relevance and research question	11
1.6 Key concepts	12
1.7 Objectives	13
2. Conceptual exploration	14
2.1 Care ethical exploration	14
2.2 Sensitizing concepts	18
2.3 Positioning	18
3. Methodology	19
3.1 Approach	19
3.2 Method	19
3.3 Study selection	20
3.4 Data collection	20
3.5 Data analysis	21
3.6 Ethical considerations	22
4. Findings	24
Vignette 1 - The lonely wolf	24
4.1 Introducing the findings	25
4.2 Balancing between proximity and distance	27

4.3	Trying to build a relation	30
4.4	Experiencing own limits	31
4.5	Feeling dependent	32
4.6	Feeling in control	33
4.7	Committing oneself	34
	Vignette 2 - Madame, I love you	36
5.	Care ethical reflection	37
5.1	Relational self	37
5.2	Interdependency	37
5.3	Intimate strangers	38
5.4	Self-sacrifice	39
5.5	The radical importance of context	40
5.6	Double loop of self-sacrifice	41
6.	Conclusion	42
7.	Discussion	44
7.1	Devaluation	44
7.2	Contribution to care ethical field of inquiry	44
7.3	Recommendations for further research	45
8.	Quality assessment	46
8.1	Internal validity	46
8.2	External validity	46
8.3	Reliability	47
8.4	Social desirability	47
9.	References	48
10.	Appendix	52
	Appendix A - Interview guide family assistants [English version]	52
	Appendix B - Interview guide care managers [English version]	53
	Appendix C - Reflection on gaining access	54

Appendix D - Transcripts Family assistants 1-8 [English version]	57
Appendix E - Transcripts Care managers 1-2 [English version]	122
Appendix F - Transcripts Family assistants 1-5, 7-8 [Original Italian version]	144
Appendix G - Transcript Care manager - 1 [Original Italian version]	203

Preface

The topic of this thesis is migrant care workers in Italy who give one on one care to the Italian elderly in exchange for ‘room and board’, and a minimal salary. The idea to write my thesis about this subject arose approximately one year and a half year ago, when I learned about this phenomenon during a course of the Master ‘Care Ethics and Policy’. The subject immediately triggered me for several reasons. First of all it intrigued me that this type of care was almost invisible, and very present and increasing at the same time. Secondly, the public opinion seemed to be quite radical in either encouraging or strongly disapproving this kind of domestic elderly care, but I kept wondering how the caregivers and care recipients experience their daily care practices themselves. On a personal level, the context of the topic interests me since I fell in love with Italy a few years ago. I lived and studied in Italy before, and I felt at home immediately. How would the women and men coming to Italy to work as a family assistant feel when they arrive? Summarizing, studying this subject felt like a great opportunity to dive into this interesting country and her residents more deeply.

In order to collect my data and write this thesis, I lived in Milan for three months. Thanks to an exchange-programme I was able to prepare and conduct this research as an Erasmus+ student at the University of Milan. I owe a lot to the persons who made this exchange, and therefore writing this thesis, possible. Especially the professors and teachers who supported me on an academic level have been a great help to me. I want to specifically thank Merel Visse, who consulted me in every possible way and helped me with her constructive feedback. I would also like to thank Gigliola and Marina from the Family Assistance Desk at Sesto San Giovanni where I conducted most of my interviews. Without their hospitality I would not have been able to write this thesis.

It has been a bumpy road with obstacles and deep valleys, but also full of meaningful conversations and touching encounters. As a result, my thesis is lying in front of you, my thesis as a completion of the Master Care Ethics and Policy. May you enjoy reading it.

Selma Haverkate, 15th of June 2017

Summary

Objectives: This study aims to gain more insight in the perspectives of migrant elderly home care workers in Italy. In scrutinizing the experiences of these caregivers this research seeks to understand what these experiences mean in terms of good caring, to deliver a contribution to the care ethical field of inquiry.

Background: As a consequence of an aging population and limited social services in Italy, the demand and supply of elderly care are out of balance. An increasing phenomenon is to hire a family assistant; these mainly immigrant women give daily home care and often live-in with the elderly. The family assistants are hired on an enormous scale, but their perspective is barely represented in public and political debates. How do they experience being a family assistant in Italy?

Method: The data is collected by conducting in-depth interviews and participative observations. An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis is used to analyse the data.

Findings: Family assistants have dynamic positions towards their care recipient, they feel both dependent and in control. Within the caring relationship they try to build, they seem to constantly balance between proximity and distance. The family assistants fully commit themselves to the needs of the care recipient, and experience their own limits in doing so.

Conclusion: It is not always taken into account the family assistants are dependent and vulnerable too. They are attuned with the care recipient but they do not always attune with themselves or receive care themselves. Therefore it is questioned whether this is good care, seen from a care ethical perspective.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Europe's population is aging and as a consequence the costs of healthcare are rising (Besliu, 2017). While healthcare costs are rising, in many European countries the social services of welfare states are decreasing as a result of neoliberal influences (Cox, 1998). The demand and supply of healthcare for elderly are out of balance and alternative solutions are being sought (Bettio et al., 2006). Consequently, the amount of informal care workers is increasing in different European countries. Particularly in Italy there is a significant trend going on of mostly immigrant women who permanently live-in with the elderly and give them one on one care (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010). It is notable that financial reasons are not necessarily the driving force in Italy to prefer domestic care to a residential senior home for the elderly. Even families that could easily afford a qualitative good residential senior home consider it to be more loving and respectful to keep their relative in his or her own house and hire a 'badante' (Ambrosini, 2015). The term 'badante' has been circulating in Italian public discourse since early 2000 to refer to these caregivers (Besliu, 2017; Hepworth, 2016). 'Badante' is derived from the Italian verb 'badare', which means 'to look after' or 'to watch'. Originally this term has been used for persons caring for animals, but over time it got redefined as a migrant caregiver (Hepworth, 2016). The last years the term got contentious because of the implicit negative association of elderly and animals. Thereby the term refers to a passive activity instead of actively giving care. Using the term 'badanti' is considered to be implicitly insulting for both the caregivers and care recipients (Barkhoff & Eberhart; 2009). Taking this into account I will not use this term, but refer from now on to family assistants, migrant elderly home care workers or caregivers (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010; Muehlebach, 2012).

Since a lot of family assistants are working irregular in the black economy, it is difficult to calculate the exact amount of family assistants in Italy, but between 2002 and 2009 at least 900.000 migrant family assistants were regularized. The number of foreigners working in the field of family assistance has increased by 173% between 2000 and 2007 (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010). Although the amount of migrant elderly caregivers are rising, the irregularities and the domestic context of the caring make these caregivers simultaneously invisible. The invisibility of the domestic elderly care workers in public and political life, combined with the fact that many caregivers work without contracts create a high risk of

exploitation of the caregivers (Ambrosini, 2015; Besliu, 2017).

1.2 Societal scope

Although migrant family assistants are hired on an enormous scale, and they are considered to be socially useful and possibly even necessary, there is a paradox notable in the way they are being (de)valued (Ambrosini, 2015). Political representatives and many citizens in Italy share a negative perception about migrant care workers being fortune seekers and exploiters of the elderly who are mostly interested in their inheritance (Besliu, 2017). The migrant care workers are also dominantly framed negatively in their home countries since many of them have children (Besliu, 2017; Hochschild, 2005). Consequently the caregivers are considered to be bad mothers who are abandoning their children (idem). As an additive consequence of many caregivers being mothers, a care gap arises in their home countries (Hochschild, 2005). The caregivers are receiving misrecognition not only on a personal level, but also their profession is being devalued. Partly this is a general aspect of how care practices are viewed (Tronto, 1993), partly this is a result of specific conditions of this type of care: ‘The requirement of cohabitation, the request for availability which may extend into the night hours and even around the clock, and living with illness and physical and mental decline - make this particularly arduous work’ (Ambrosini, 2015, p.5). As a consequence some see it as a well-suited solution that migrants are willing to take this heavy job, others consider the family assistants to be modern slaves (Besliu, 2017). In both ways their care practices are being devalued, and it is noteworthy that the way caregivers value their practices themselves is underexposed in the public discussion.

1.3 Scientific scope

As described above, the position of migrant care workers takes a limited place in the public and political debate, while the amount of migrant care workers has grown exponentially and is expected to increase continuously in the coming years (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010). The phenomenon has been studied a lot in different scientific disciplines and many articles are published in academic journals, which makes migrant elderly care in Italy a very current and relevant topic. It is notable that most researches are mainly theoretical and focus on the efficiency and costs of the ‘care at home’ (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010). Besides the researches on efficiency, a great amount has been written about the regularization policies and about the

political consequences of migrant care. There are for example several researches comparing different European countries on the challenges of long-term care (LTC) needs being answered by migrant care workers, aiming to search for ‘the most satisfactory outcomes for everyone’ (Da Roit et al., 2007). It can be questioned though in what extent quantitative researches focusing on economic effects take the perspectives of caregivers into account. As Van Heijst (2011) notes, the dominant discourse in thinking about public affairs is in economic terms. The focus lies on productivity and growth but the reflection on whether something is good or bad seems to be lost. ‘When discussing what is right and wrong about a particular policy, we need a broader interpretation of those words than simply their economic sense’ (Van Heijst, 2011, p. 202). Besides the quantitative researches there is a smaller amount of qualitative, empirical researches on experiences of this type of care. The qualitative researches derive from a neo-liberal, dominant view of autonomous human beings and define caring in a (too) narrow way.

1.4 Care ethical approach

This thesis positions itself in the care ethical field of inquiry and therefore derives from a different position than the studies conducted so far on this topic. I will briefly describe several characteristics of care ethics to delineate what this thesis could add to the ample amount of researches on migrant elderly home care in Italy. In the next chapter I will further elaborate the underlying care ethical conceptions and theories of this study.

Care ethics is a relatively young, interdisciplinary field of inquiry that is characterized by several critical insights (Leget et al., 2017). It is notable that care ethics is not defined as a moral theory or discipline on its own, but consists of multiple related thinkers sharing ‘a mosaic of insights’ (Held, 2006). One of these insights is that care ethics opposes the dominant idea of humans being autonomous, but derives from the interrelatedness of people. Humans are connected through a web of (caring) relations and are therefore reciprocally interdependent. Moreover, every human is at one or more stages in life vulnerable and dependent on the care of others (Held, 2006; Kittay, 1999; Tronto, 1993; Van Heijst, 2011). This idea of a shared relational web of interdependency describes the way humans relate to each other in a more adequate way than the presupposition of humans being autonomous and independent (Van Heijst, 2005; 2011).

Secondly, care ethics is a normatively driven ethics, which means care ethicists always seek to understand the morally good. The morally good can be found in practices, not

in theories (Walker, 1998). Within practices, within the particular, the morally good emerges (Leget et al., 2017). Additionally, care ethics states that care is always a moral practice and acknowledges the complexity and contextuality of caring (Lachman, 2012). Therefore the question considering what good care is, is always taken into account in care ethics.

Furthermore care ethics conceptualizes caring in a broad and inclusive way. Care is not 'just' a set of principles or actions but caring is a political, moral and social practice (Tronto, 1993). Caring is often reduced to a private matter, and therefore seen as irrelevant on a political level, but in reality caring plays an important role in every aspect of our lives and societies. 'Caring is not only a practice of individuals in their private sphere. Rather, caring builds society. And since caring always involves power, it is political at every level' (Tronto, 2010 in: Van Nistelrooij, 2014, p.15-16).

1.5 Relevance and research question

Because of the unilateral approaches of the studies conducted so far on this topic, it is highly relevant to study this phenomenon from a care ethical perspective. Care ethics has a more including view on caring, which can provide new insights on this topic. As I delineated, the phenomenon of migrant elderly care in Italy is very complex, and is subject to various sociological, political, cultural and psychological aspects. The multifocal lens of care ethics is useful in taking these contextual aspects into account as well. However, this thesis is focused on deepening out the meaning and significance given to these care practices, rather than viewing them in a broadening or widening sense. Specifically, this study concentrates on the experiences of the caregivers. As stated above these perspectives are underexposed in both public and academic debates. In order to get a fuller understanding of this phenomenon the perspectives of the caregivers should be taken into account. Apart from that, it is intrinsically relevant to gain a deeper insight in the experiences of persons being daily involved with this type of caring. This applies to the experiences of the care recipients as well, but due to the time limitation of this thesis I have limited the focus solely on the perspectives of the caregivers. Therefore the central question of this research is:

How do family assistants giving care to the elderly at home experience being a family assistant in Italy and what does this mean for good care?

This central question is divided in four sub-questions:

1. What is (good) care seen from a care ethical perspective?
2. How do family assistants experience their daily one on one elderly care practices at home?
3. How do family assistants in Italy experience being a family assistant?
4. What do these experiences mean for good care?

The first question contains an overview of existing views on caring in a conceptual way. These perspectives will provide the theoretical, care ethical lens of this thesis. The second and third question comprise the empirical part of this thesis. Care ethics is not an abstract ethics but studies the particular, since the particular provides us with (moral) knowledge. The fourth sub-question is to be answered by conducting a normative, care ethical reflection on the findings. The question of the morally good is always at stake in studying practices, particularly because (good) caring is situational and contextual. It should be noted that these four sub-questions will not be answered one by one but create a structure in answering the main research question in the concluding chapter.

1.6 Clarification of concepts

Experience. Experience is one of the central concepts in this study. The significance of experience is derived from the phenomenological approach. Experience is understood in this study as ‘reality as it is seen and lived by the participants’ (Dierkx de Casterlé, 2011, p.234). In the methodological chapter I will discuss ‘experience’ and ‘phenomenology’ extensively.

Daily one on one care practices. The care practices are not strictly one on one, experiences of family assistants caring for an elderly couple are also included.

Care manager. The care manager is the person who takes care of hiring the family assistant and managing practical concerns like arranging contracts. Usually the care manager is the daughter or son of the elderly person (Ambrosini, 2015).

Family Assistance Desk (Sportello di Assistenza Familiare). This is a help desk, promoted by a municipality, where information is provided about home-based elderly care. At a Family Assistance Desk elderly in need of care, and family assistants in need of a job are interviewed and registered in order to make appropriate matches (Da Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010).

Fixed base. Working on a fixed base means working around the clock. The family assistant lives in with the elderly person and mainly has two hours off per day (Degiuli, 2007).

External base. Family assistants who work on an external base are not living in with the elderly, but work either during the day or during the night (Degiuli, 2007).

Informal care. Traditionally informal care is defined as family-based care, whereas formal care is characterized as public-based care. Defining informal care by characteristics as unpaid care, care given by relatives or friends (non-professionals), and care without contracts regarding care responsibilities, is no longer accurate (Triantafillou et al., 2010). The boundaries between formal care and informal are blurred into a mixed field of care with both informal and formal aspects (idem). Family assistants are mainly non-professionals, meaning they are not trained, qualified or licensed, but in Italy there are increasing possibilities of becoming (semi-)professionals by trainings and regularization (Di Santo & Ceruzzi, 2010). By working in the private sphere associated with informal care, and simultaneously being financially compensated for their caregiving, family assistants find themselves in a grey area.

1.7 Objectives

This study has several objectives, consisting of a theoretical, empirical, transformative and a care ethical objective. Through an empirical research the aim is to gather more knowledge over and insight in the experiences and perspectives of migrant elderly home care workers. This theoretical objective might contribute to an empirical purpose: making the perspectives of caregivers more visible in the ongoing debates; both on an international-national level as in political and scientific debates. Thirdly this study has a care ethical objective by seeking to acquire a deeper moral understanding of these care practices and to deliver a contribution in thinking about what good care is. Through studying the experiences of family assistants insights can be gained about what is the morally good that emerges in their caring practices. An overall purpose of this research can be considered to be emancipatory: to give a voice to the minimized perspective of family assistants (Creswell, 2013).

2 Conceptual exploration

2.1 Care ethical exploration

One of the central concepts of this thesis is ‘care’, and therefore it is highly important to deepen out this concept in a theoretical way. This conceptual exploration is also used in a subsequent chapter to reflect on the empirical part of this thesis, in order to give the findings a grounded meaning. Theory and empiricism are related in a dialectical way to each other, which means they interact and complement each other¹. In this chapter I will focus on the theoretical part by discussing different (care ethical) views on ‘care’ and ‘good care’.

Care as a practice

In this research I follow Joan Tronto (1993; 2013) in defining care as an ongoing process consisting of five phases. The interconnected, but separate phases are caring about, taking care of, caregiving, care-receiving and caring with. Every phase of caring is connected to an ethical element of care. In defining care as a process that consists of different phases, it becomes clear that care is more than a disposition. Care is a practice, that involves both thought and action. The practice of caring is directed towards something, which reveals the teleological character of caring (Tronto, 1993; 2013). Care ethicists focus not only on the action of caring itself, but include the context as well. Care is always situational, and its complexity emerges in the multilayered character of caring (Van Nistelrooij, 2014). Therefore the context and particularity of a practice should always be taken into account. Care is considered to be relational; both the caregiver and care recipient are dependent and vulnerable which makes caring relationships reciprocal (Tronto, 1993). I elaborate these notions in the subsequent paragraphs.

Dependency and vulnerability

Kittay (1999) argues humans are inherently dependent. She does this based on the assertion that ‘everyone is a mother’s child’ and assumes that everyone has a fundamental need for relationships. In our interrelatedness and interdependency we are all vulnerable. Kittay emphasizes the idea that not only the care recipient is vulnerable, but the caregiver is vulnerable too. Van Heijst (2011) warns for the idea of self-sacrifice in which the caregivers

¹<http://zorgethiek.nu/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Notitie-over-de-Utrechtse-zorgethiek-definitief-2015.pdf>

forget their own mental and psychological integrity. The caregiver is not a power- woman or man, but someone who is fragile and who also has needs (Kittay, 1999; Van Heijst, 2011). The vulnerability of the caregiver is worse when the caregiver is poor, a woman, an immigrant or a person of color. Inequality in position makes the caregiver vulnerable to domination and exploitation. Therefore giving care to someone who is dependent makes the caregiver vulnerable as well (Kittay, 1999). There seems to be a complex balance of power in the way caregivers and care recipients relate to each other. Both caregivers and care recipients can exert power (Van Heijst, 2011). The relation between caregiver and care recipient can therefore be described as an unequal, dependency relation (Kittay, 1999). Equality is understood here as the conception of humans as free and autonomous agents, and since caregiver and recipient are not autonomous to the same extent, their relation cannot be viewed as equal.

Connectedness through dependency

Kittay proposes an alternative way of defining equality. She takes connectedness as a base instead of separateness and speaks of connection-based equality instead of an individual-based equality. The claims of this type of equality are due to the ‘connection to those with whom we had and are likely to have relations of care and dependency’ (Kittay, 1999, p.66). The base of connectedness creates a different understanding of ourselves, one in which we view ourselves as inherently related to others. It is crucial that also the caregiver is considered to be vulnerable and dependent, just like every human being is, and that therefore there is a social responsibility of being concerned with the well-being of the caregiver, so he or she can be treated as ‘mother's child’ too. This is crucial in two ways; first of all because otherwise the caregiver is treated unequally, and secondly the caregiver would not be able to meet the needs of the care recipient. The caregiver must be cared for to be able to care (idem). Within the complex, life-sustaining webs of human life care is a fundamental and central aspect, and so is our (inter)dependency (Tronto, 1993).

Reciprocity

Deriving from the connected-based equality of people, I will have a closer look on the caring relationship itself. The fourth phase Tronto distinguishes, care-receiving, forms an important and indispensable link in the practice of caring. Without this aspect we would not be able to define a certain practice as care, since care is a reciprocal process between care recipient and caregiver. Reciprocity is an element that could be considered to be part of human

relationships in general, because of the ability we have to give meaning to each other's lives by taking part in them (Dresen, 2001 in: Van Heijst, 2011, p.187). Van Heijst (2011) takes the idea of reciprocity a step further in her view on caring relationships. She considers caring relationships as not just an economic encounter of give and receive, but as a multilayered interaction of giving and receiving care. According to Van Heijst we are not only giving to receive something, but giving can be derived from a certain gratitude. This third element has a moral significance and is part of what she defines as the 'triadic model of caring' (idem). Furthermore Van Heijst notes that caring relationships have a certain kind of intimacy that cannot be found elsewhere. Between a care recipient and caregiver there is simultaneously a professional distance and a personal closeness going on.

Responsibilities

Whether you give care to someone *seems* to be dependent on whether you consider it to be your responsibility to give this kind of care. However, the allocation of responsibilities involves more than simply choosing. Margaret Urban Walker (1998) specifies the practice of caring as a practice of responsibilities. Within these practices of responsibilities morality is located and social differences are reflected. Interpersonal contexts including (a lack of) different power positions and privileges, play an important role in the process of allocating responsibilities (Berghs et al., 2006). Practices of responsibilities are not only influenced by interpersonal aspects, but also shape them. Identities, relationships and values are intertwined with our responsibilities (Visse et al., 2012; Walker, 1998). According to Carol Gilligan (1982) a moral problem arises when there are conflicting responsibilities, which refers to a contextual and narrative way of thinking about morality instead of an abstract and universal interpretation of what is right and what is wrong. 'Responsibility is both central and problematic in an ethic of care; responsibility is among the handful of concepts that require constant evaluation' (Tronto, 1993, p.131).

Kittay (1999) concentrates on a particular kind of responsibilities, those that refer to something neither coerced, nor voluntarily chosen. Often we do not question whether these kind of expectations or responsibilities are valid. But by accepting these responsibilities we do not do justice to our capacity of acting in a just way.

Global chain of caring

When we consider the practice of caring and how caring responsibilities are allocated, it becomes clear that caring responsibilities and tasks are not equally divided. By looking

closely at questions like ‘who cares for whom?’ care seems to be gendered, raced and classed (Tronto, 1993). The practice of caring is devalued and marginalised in society and this creates some serious consequences. One of these consequential mechanisms is the existence of ‘privileged irresponsibility’: those who can pay others to take over their responsibility of caring avoid responding in a direct way to the caring needs of others exposed to them (idem). This seems to contribute to an even more marginalised position of caring within our society and the devaluation of those who give care. The unbalance of caring roles has not only societal effects, but this unbalance can be seen worldwide. Arlie Hochschild (2005) introduces the term ‘a global chain of caring’, to refer to the practice and distribution of care on a global scale. The way paid and unpaid work of caring is distributed across the globe creates a chain of personal links between people (Hochschild, 2005; Lyon, 2006). ‘Each kind of chain expresses an invisible ecology of care, one care worker depending on another and so on’ (Hochschild, 2005, p.35). This globalisation of care has a great emotional cost for the people directly or indirectly involved, as a consequence of being separated from their mothers, fathers or children. New inequalities are rising in the access to care and these new dependencies (Lyon, 2006). Hochschild states that within this globalisation of migration ‘migration has become a private solution to a public problem’ (2005, p.36). However, through this chain of caring it becomes clear that care is not only a personal matter situated in the private sphere, but the practice of caring arises through social, economic and political choices, and should therefore be recognized as such (Lyon, 2006). Caring is now a ‘pass-on job’ which influences the lack of reward giving to the caregivers (Hochschild, 2005). Tronto (1993) states that only by understanding care as a political idea, care practices can be valued instead of marginalised.

Good care

The question considering ‘good care’ is a very relevant but complex question. Since care is seen as a relational and highly situational practice there seems to be no general answer on what good caring is. Defining good care is highly dependent on the underlying view on morality. Walker (1998) has developed an expressive-collaborative view on morality as an alternative to the theoretical-juridical model. In this research Walker’s expressive-collaborative notion is followed by firstly stating that morality is expressed in our senses of responsibility. Secondly, morality is interpersonal; the good is constructed among people. Through exploring and relating plural perspectives, diverse types of knowledge and research methods, and through dialogue we can access the good (Leget et al., 2017; Walker, 1998).

Good care is considered to be ‘the outcome of a particular practice where personal and political conceptions of care and the responsibility practice come together and are closely intertwined’ (Visse et al., 2015, p.12). Moreover, good caring is a constant attuning with ourselves, others and the environment in order to live in our world as well as possible (Leget et al., 2017; Tronto, 1993, 2013).

2.2 Sensitizing concepts

The purpose of formulating sensitizing concepts is to alert the researcher to certain important aspects and make the researcher more sensible for these elements during the collection and analysis of the data (Bowen, 2006). Therefore I distilled a select amount of sensitizing concepts, but I would like to emphasize these concepts are not directive or shaping boundaries in the way I look as a researcher. Based on the conceptual exploration, I formulated the following sensitizing concepts:

- Feeling (de)valued
- Experiencing loneliness
- Feeling vulnerable
- Identity
- Relations
- Values
- Feeling (in)dependent
- Feeling gratitude
- Feeling included/excluded
- Having emotional pain

2.3 Positioning

This research positions itself within care ethical topics as dependency and interrelatedness and views care as a moral, political and social practice. Furthermore care is considered to be a practice of responsibilities, directed towards something.

3 Methodology

3.1 Approach

As elaborated in the previous chapter this research derives from a care ethical approach. The ontological assumptions of this thesis are based on an interrelational perspective of humans and a social-constructivist view of reality (Creswell, 2013; Van Der Meide et al., 2015). People give meaning to their lives and to events in relation to other persons. These events and our realities are not existing objectively outside us but are socially constructed; in interaction they obtain their meaning (Creswell, 2013; Visse, 2012).

Furthermore, the underlying theoretical approach of this research is based on phenomenology since the experiences of a certain phenomenon take a central place in this qualitative research. Phenomenology acknowledges that humans experience the world in different ways and therefore studies the lived experience of phenomena in order to understand the essence of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Van Der Meide et al., 2015). Experience is defined in this thesis as ‘reality as it is seen and lived by the participants’ (Dierckx de Casterlé, 2011, p.234).

The underlying epistemological assumption of this study considering the question how knowledge can be acquired, is based on the researcher playing an active role in the dynamic process of making sense of her study object. This active role is due to the personal conceptions of the researcher that cannot be eliminated completely. This elimination is not considered to be necessary or desirable since these conceptions are required in order to make sense of the participant's personal world (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Acquiring knowledge is an interpretation process, and in this particular thesis it is considered to be a two-stage interpretation or double hermeneutic process: the participants are interpreting their world and the researcher is trying to interpret the participants trying to interpret their world (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

3.2 Method

Within this care ethical, phenomenological research the used method is ‘Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis’ (IPA). The method of IPA focuses on understanding the lived experience of the participants and the way they give meaning to these experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The aim is to understand in detail the perception of the participants, instead of

being able to generalize (idem).

3.3 Study selection

The research sample consists of eight migrant family assistant giving domestic elderly care in Milan, and their lived experiences form the focus of this inquiry. In order to get a broader view of domestic elderly care given by family assistants I conducted two interviews with two care managers and one interview with an Italian family assistant. These respondents are not part of the research sample but their experiences put the experiences of the family assistants into perspective and provide more context of working as a family assistant.

Initially it was difficult to gain access to the research population and to find respondents who were willing and able to talk about their experiences². Because of the experienced difficulties in finding participants, the used sample strategy is convenience sampling, which means the research sample consists of the most accessible participants (Marshall, 1996). Inclusion criteria were: having a non-Italian nationality, currently work or have worked as a family assistant on a fixed basis in Milan, having emigrated to Italy and currently living in Italy.

<i>Overview of respondents</i>				
Rsp No	Name	Country of origin	In Italy since	Age
1.	Laura	Ecuador	2001	48
2.	Julia	Ecuador	2000	40
3.	Lena	Peru	2006	45
4.	Mara	Romania	2005	38
5.	Isadora	Salvador	2014	28
6.	Lisa	Peru	1999	50
7.	Olga	Russia	2002	56
8.	Anna	Peru	2007	42

3.4 Data collection

In this research two forms of data collection are used: interviews and participative observations. These two forms complement each other in order to have a fuller understanding

² In the Appendix of this thesis a document is added wherein I reflect on the difficulties I experienced in collecting the data.

of the participants' experiences. The interviews provide insight in their individual perspectives and due to participative observations the context of the experiences is taken into account (Van Der Meide et al., 2015). The data consists of transcripts, thick descriptions, field notes and memos.

In total I conducted eleven interviews, whereof eight with eight different migrant family assistants. These in-depth interviews were semi-structured. An interview guide is designed and used to provide a frame for the interview, but the interviews simultaneously had an open character to be able to explore other relevant topics that were brought up (Creswell, 2013; Smith & Osborn, 2008). The interviews are audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim to be able to stay as close as possible to the formulations of the respondents. One participant did not give permission to audio-record the interview, a thick description has been made of this interview. Ten interviews were conducted in Italian, one interview was held in English. I have translated all the Italian transcripts into English before analysing them.

The second source of data is provided by observations. Partly these observations consist of the attempts to get access to the participants and the informal conversations with possible participants who decided not to be a respondent. Other observations are made at a Family Assistance Desk at one of the local municipalities of Milan (Sportello di assistenza familiare di Sesto San Giovanni). Four observations are held, lasting one hour to four hours. The observation setting was informal, and the observations consist mainly of informal conversations with family assistants and employees of the family assistance desk. I took field notes during and after the observations to capture different aspects, and in the writings I distinguished descriptive notes and reflective notes (Creswell, 2013).

3.5 Data analysis

In order to analyse the data the software-program Atlas.ti is used and the transcripts are encoded. Analysing the data and collecting data has happened simultaneously. This hermeneutic-dialectical circle of data collection and data analysis stimulates diversity in the data collection (Visse, 2012). An inductive content analysis is conducted in this study, divided in four steps, which are described by Smith and Osborn (2008):

1. Looking for themes in the first case. In this stage the transcripts are closely read and reread to grasp significant fragments, words or themes in the participant's sayings. The fragments are labeled by an interpretative code. This stage of open coding is aimed at staying close to

the participant's words. In this stage a lot of reflective memos have been written, in order to divide my own thoughts and feelings from those of the participants as much as possible.

2. *Connecting the themes within the first case.* The second stage is meant to categorize all the themes found in the first stage. This process of categorizing and ordering is also an ongoing process of going forth and back between the themes, categories and individual phrases to verify if they connect with each other. Labeling categories is called axial encoding.

3. *Continuing the analysis with other cases.* The different themes and categories of one transcript are connected to the themes and categories of other transcripts to incorporate them with each other. In this third stage of selected coding main themes and findings are distilled, however individual differences and nuances are taken into account as well.

4. *Writing up.* The final stage of writing up cannot be seen apart from the analysis process because the analysing and interpreting continues while writing down the findings.

In analysing the two interviews held with two care managers only the first step has been conducted. The transcripts are closely read multiple times until the most significant themes emerged. Atlas.ti is not used within the analysis of these interviews, but phrases about important events or deep emotions have been written down. Eventually the aspects that emerged to be the most meaningful are used to write a narrative. This has been a very interpretative and reflective process (Creswell, 2013).

3.6 Ethical considerations

One of the purposes of this research is to give family assistants a voice, but one could consider if it is just that I - as a Dutch student - am the one who is giving them a voice. I do not have the same mother tongue as the respondents and I do not share their cultural, social and religious background. Can they truly speak through me and this research? Am I doing justice to their stories and experiences while I possibly lack essential insiders information because of my different roots? These aspects are particularly important to take into account since the participants can be considered to have a relatively vulnerable position (Creswell, 2013).

This study aims for anonymity of the participants considering the personal and confidential content of their shared experiences. Therefore pseudonyms are used in this thesis instead of the real names of the participants (Visse, 2012). Almost all participants have

signed an informed consent-document, as an agreement of their privacy protection and to ensure they are well informed.

Another ethical consideration concerns the study selection. Seven participants are interviewed at the Family Assistance Desk after they had an intake because they are searching for an additional or new job. They were asked by an employee of the Family Assistance Desk if they wanted to participate in this research. It can be questioned how free they felt to refuse to be interviewed, particularly the ones without any employment at the moment of interviewing.

4 Findings

In this chapter I will present the findings of the empirical research. The presentation of the findings are introduced and concluded by two vignettes describing the experience of two care managers. A vignette is ‘an illustration in words’ (Lavrakas, 2008). A vignette gives a short impression by creating an atmosphere of a certain setting or subject³. These vignettes provide a context, wherein context not only refers to the circumstances or the totality of conditions in which a phenomenon occurs, but also to the text surrounding certain words. By starting and ending with these vignettes they literally enclose the experiences of the family assistants and give them a more profound significance.

Vignette 1 - The lonely wolf

Dana’s mother passed away a few years ago, and by talking about it, Dana is reliving her memories again, the good and the bad ones. She had a very positive experience with the first family assistant, Lara, who lived with her mother for one and a half year. Her relation with Lara has been very good, and there was a lot of affection between them. They created a relation of maximum trust, which Dana considers to be of the utmost importance. ‘After all, you leave your mother in the hands of someone else’, she says. Her mother had some difficulties with Lara because she did not want to accept a stranger in her own house. Dana praises Lara because she wanted Dana not to interfere in this caring relation and with the difficulties Dana’s mother was having towards Lara. Lara said that it was important they would figure things out with the two of them, and try to build a stable relation. Dana did not only feel good with the personal relation she had with her mother’s caregiver, but was also satisfied with how Lara cared for her mother in a professional way. Lara had previous experience as a nurse and she exactly knew what she needed to do. ‘She was like a lonely wolf’, Dana says. Protective and strong. The special connection Lara and Dana had, became visible in the sensibility they had towards each other’s mood. If they would make a phone call, Lara always felt it if Dana was down or worried. During the summer Lara would go back to Ukraine to visit her family and Dana would arrange a family assistant who would alternate her in that period. After the second summer Lara did not come back. On a disastrous trip in Ukraine Lara got sick; first she was suffering from pneumonia and after she got a type of jaundice. Lara passed away that summer. It was and

³ <http://www.vineleavesliteraryjournal.com/>

still is a big loss that such a valuable and beautiful person died, Dana tells. She never found anyone as good and as complete as Lara. After Lara's death several family assistants came and left, and Dana tells it was a truly difficult and painful period for her. Despite the painful loss of Lara she was dealing with, it was difficult to find someone who is both sweet and firm. Some of the family assistants were not attached to her mother at all and even bullied her. Dana repeats her mother was not an easy person and above all the job of a family assistant is very difficult because of the additive aspects as leaving your family behind. However, one experience was particularly negative. Just before the summer started she hired a new family assistant, and Dana left Milan for holidays. When she returned she found her mother in a completely different state as how she left her. Her mother had difficulties with talking and was facing physical difficulties as well. Dana figured out the family assistant gave her an excessive amount of the calming drops her mother used. When she brought it back to a regular dosage her mother slowly recovered. This has been very difficult for Dana, it felt like she found her mother being abused. It was a big issue considering trust and control, especially because Dana would normally pass by her mother every day, but she was not able to do so while being on holidays. Dana concludes she had good and bad experiences, fundamentally depending on the person, like with everything in life.

4.1 Introducing the main themes

Six main themes emerged from the data; 'balancing between proximity and distance', 'trying to build a relation', 'experiencing own limits', 'feeling dependent', 'feeling in control' and 'committing oneself'. In total the data has been labeled with 758 unique open codes, which led to 49 subthemes (families) and finally six main themes emerged. I will discuss and elaborate the six themes one by one and exemplify them with examples and quotations. In presenting each theme I will not discuss every single subtheme belonging to the main theme, but an overview of all the main themes and subthemes is presented in Figure 1.

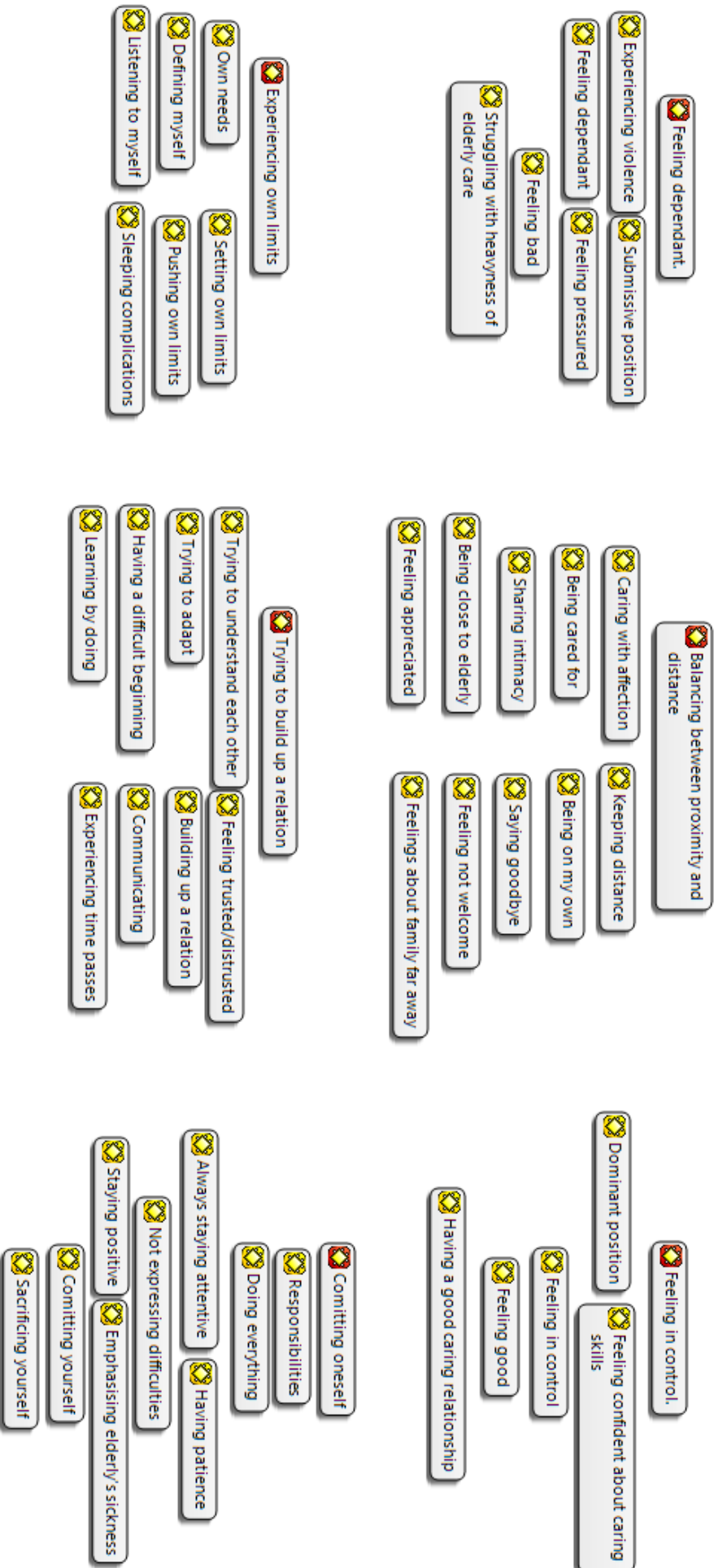


Figure 1.

4.2 Balancing between proximity and distance

The respondents experience an ongoing struggle in balancing between proximity and distance. This theme refers to several aspects of the experiences of being a family assistant. At first, it considers the caring relationship, how close or distanced the family assistants feel to their care recipient. Secondly, it refers to the physical distance family assistants experience towards their families living in their home countries and the feelings related to this distance. Thirdly, experiencing distance or proximity refers to how the family assistants experience the way they are supported; if they receive care themselves or if they feel like being on their own.

Feeling close - feeling distant

Several family assistants describe that the relationship with the care recipient feels like a very intimate and close relationship. They open themselves up towards the care recipient and get attached to them. One family assistant from Salvador describes that she puts a part of herself in giving care. To her this is more committing and it makes her more dependent on the care recipient, but she feels like this is needed in order to care well. Others describe they care with love, empathy, affection or with their whole heart. Mara from Romania says: *'We have to think everyone has a grandfather, a mother, a father, it could be ours. You see, you have to do it with your whole heart, with a lot of love'* (R4)⁴. To feel close and care with love also helps Mara in times it is difficult: *'Yes, it is a difficult job, but if you do it with your heart.. then it does not always feel difficult. If you do it with your heart and with love'* (R4). For some family assistants the connection with the care recipient is similar to a friendship or being family: *'I feel good there. They are feeling to me like family'* (R1). Another family assistant says that as a family assistant you *are* the family of the elderly: *'We are the family assistants who are their family. We cry, the family assistants cry more than the family [when the elderly person passes away]'* (R2). Two other family assistants specifically say they care for the care recipient as it is their own grandmother. Isadora gave care to her own grandmother, but her grandmother passed away. Now, when she gives care to the Italian elderly, it reminds her a lot of her grandmother. She does with them what she would have liked to do with her grandmother, and because of these memories she is enjoying the caregiving more: *'It is also a bit different, however it is beautiful, truly, to work with these persons'* (R5). Sometimes it seems that the family assistants feel even more close to the care

⁴ Each number refers to a respondent. A list of the corresponding numbers and respondents can be found in Chapter 3.3

recipients *because* their own loved ones are far away: '[there is affection as with] *our own family. Our loved ones, because also ours are far away from us*' (R2). Lena says: *'I left my child behind, in Peru, and when I started working as a family assistant there is a big affection, because an elderly person is like a child. I have to clean them, just like a child, and when I did not have anyone here, it was so close, so much like - I don't want to work as an employee - no, like it is my grandmother'* (R3). Here it seems like a more conscious decision of what kind of relationship she pursues to have with the elderly. This also applies to two of the family assistants who are not particularly feeling close to their care recipients or describing their relationship as such. They are not only experiencing their caring relationship differently but also seeking for a more formal relation. Olga tells that she feels good when she goes along with the care recipient, and that she does not like it when the relation is very intimate, for example in hugging each other or calling the elderly 'sweetheart': '[for me] *it is better to stay quiet, calm and for example always.. Always agree with each other (..) I'm looking for a little being apart, to keep distance*' (R7). According to Lisa the roles within a caring relation are employer and worker, not family or friends. This affects also the way she speaks to the elderly, namely in a formal way. She always says 'Madame' or 'Sir' to the elderly she cares for: *'It does not matter how long you work with the family, you keep the same distance in a way'* (R6). Lisa explains she has a mode of not letting things touch her and says she feels good having that amount of distance. However, she is not made of stone she says, and when an elderly person cries it touches her: she cries from inside. The family assistants are often searching for the right balance between being close and being distant to the elderly. This delineates that for all respondents the caring relation is not static, but dynamic and that a caring relationship can change over time. Several respondents note that the close(d)ness they feel is also dependent on the care recipient and the connection they have or do not have.

A difficult aspect of being close to the care recipient is that the family assistants constantly have to say goodbye to persons they get attached to. The death of an elderly person touches your heart, Julia tells. Laura says: *'I worked at more different places because these persons died, you see, I feel sorry for that. (..) All this affection you feel for these people and then..'* (R1). Many of the family assistants have experienced an elderly dying in their arms.

Feelings of having family far away or nearby

The family assistants who are working on a fixed basis are alone in Italy, all their family

members are still in their home country. Mara tells in the beginning it was very difficult; she felt alone and could not speak the language. There were moments she thought of going home, but by time it gets easier. Olga says the distance is not a problem anymore. In the beginning it was heavy but now she got used to it. She still misses her children, and she has the desire to stay close to them, but thanks to Skype and WhatsApp she can speak with them on a daily basis and still feel a bit close to them. The experience of missing is a recurrent aspect in almost every interview. Mainly this feeling considers missing certain persons, like children, husbands or parents. Sometimes the feeling of missing refers to a place, like missing the ground where you were born.

Six family assistants have one or more family members in Italy. Lena feels really happy and joyful now her daughter is staying with her in Milan, especially since she had a very difficult period of five years without seeing her daughter:

'I wanted to go back, to go back myself there, back to Peru. It is difficult because I leave my daughter of two years old behind. When she was so small. Yes, it was difficult. After, slowly, slowly, I have said: 'No, I have to stay here still, I have to work, after I take her here, my daughter'. However, I did not have documents, for four years I did not have documents' (R3).

Being on your own vs. being cared for

All of the family assistants came alone to Italy, and all experienced the initial period as a very difficult period. Some of them particularly felt being on their own when the people surrounding them did not seem to care about their situation. For example, Lena stayed with a man who was violent towards her, called her names and tried to hit her with a book. She told his cousins about several incidents but they did not say anything about it. But when the man started to be aggressive towards his sister, the cousins decided to bring him to an elderly home.

Several of the family assistants express they are not always only giving care but also sometimes being cared for. When Anna's husband was not in Milan yet, she was completely on her own in Italy. During Christmas and New Year's the care recipient's family would invite her at their house so she would not spend the holidays alone. Laura notes that at her current work place the two elderly are very sensitive and attentive towards her mood: *'At times when there are my problems, grandma looks at me and she sees I am a bit down: 'What is wrong?' I tell her: 'I have a headache'. 'Oohhh', she says, 'are you tired? Come here, sit with me, relax a bit' (R1).*

4.3 Trying to build a relation

Every time the family assistants start working at a new place, they are facing difficulties in trying to build a relation with the care recipient and the care recipient's family. Several respondents emphasize how difficult it is to care for persons who don't want to be cared for. In the beginning the elderly often do not want help in general, but particularly they do not want a stranger in their own house. As many care recipients are not satisfied when their children arrange a family assistant, the family assistants have to try their utmost best to build a relationship with them. Anna notes the elderly cry because of their loneliness, because they want their own children, not a family assistant. She started to understand their loneliness because her own mother who is in Peru expresses similar things. For the family assistants this can make the already difficult beginning, even more difficult: *'My first experience has been terrible. If you come here to work (..) and you find yourself with these persons, who make you feel bad, who insult you, and that is your first job? You would feel bad, right? They also wanted to fight with me. After that, I have learned how they are* (R8). 'Learning by doing' is a recurring phrase in the interviews and some respondents note they learn from bad experiences as well. Several family assistants tell they learned by experience how to approach the elderly and to be patient with them, since it will take time to receive their trust. This means in the initial period they are mainly trying to understand the habits and wishes of the elderly. Many respondents emphasize how different each care recipient is and the influence this has on the care you give to them. You need to figure out what kind of persons they are, what things they like and do not like, so you give the best care possible. As one of them says, it feels like constantly adapting yourself.

Feeling trusted - feeling distrusted

Almost all family assistants emphasize how important trust is in caring as a family assistant. Often the caring relation does not start on a neutral level, but with being distrusted. The family assistants have to win the trust of the care recipient. Lisa says: *'It is important you explain them why you are there, that you are there to help them, not to command them. Trust is very important, so you need to win their trust in the beginning'* (R6). Isadora had a particularly bad experience in being distrusted because of her skin color. The moment she entered a house to meet the family of her future care recipient, they started talking bad about her skin color. This was a very painful and difficult moment for her. Once she started

working the care recipient was controlling her: *'This lady always had to go to me, during the morning, the evening, she watched the things I did, the things I didn't do. (..) She was checking on me'* (R5). She says she has to prove herself first before receiving trust. It feels like a victory once she feels she is being trusted. It is important for her to show the family who she really is, because then she starts to win their trust. Another family assistant emphasizes she comes out of a poor, but *honest* family. She dislikes it completely when someone approaches her in a distrustful way.

Most of the family assistants feel trusted when the family does not tell them what to do, but give them a bit more space and agency in caregiving. Laura felt really good when a care manager told her she could stay in the care recipient's house as it is her own house.

4.4 Experiencing own limits

Although all family assistants agree on prioritizing the needs of the care recipient, it is inevitable to be confronted with their own needs and limits. Whether these limits are expressed, pushed or set is depending on the situation and on the caregiver, but in any case the experience of own limits is a recurrent aspect. Five family assistants set their limits in not working on a fixed basis anymore. While working fixed they experienced they were constantly pushing their own limits and not listening to their own needs. One of them says: *'You cannot go on with your life, you cannot do anything anymore, it is very stressful'* (R2). Also Lena experienced her own limits in working fixed. When she stayed with a man who did not sleep during the night, she felt it was too heavy: *'Three days he did not let me sleep, I could not stay in that way'* (R3). Although many respondents felt they were pushing themselves too much in working on a fixed basis, it was not easy for them to start working less. If they expressed their own limits, the family would push them to continue working in the same way. Many family assistants felt pressured to continue because the family would otherwise hire someone else who does want to work 24/7. Lena for example told her care recipient:

'I do the night or the day, you have to decide. I cannot do both'. And the man was angry, he said: 'If you don't work fixed, you cannot come here'. (..) He said that if I did not like it, they would find themselves another family assistant (..). I thought of it, and then I said, 'I work the same. I need to stay here' (R3).

The care recipient and the family did not listen to her needs, although she expressed them very clearly. Because she needed a job to earn money, she stayed with the same man, continuing to work on a fixed base, and continuing to push her own limits.

Some of the family assistants have set a limit based on gender: they don't want to give care to elderly men anymore. They felt sexually intimidated in former care relationships, or they don't feel safe with men, because they are, despite their age, physically stronger.

4.5 Feeling dependent

The relationship between family assistant and care recipient is subject to several power dynamics. All family assistants declare they feel dependent to a certain extent. Sometimes the feeling of dependency goes hand in hand with the experience of aggressive or violent care recipients: *'you cannot control them, they are aggressive, he can control you'* (R3). At times there seems to be a more subtle dependency aspect occurring in the caring relation. Olga tells for example: *'She [the care recipient] was happy, so also I was happy'* (R7). In other words, her own happiness depends on the care recipient's happiness.

One of the respondents told about an experience wherein she felt highly dependent on the care recipient. The care recipient was angry and wanted her to leave:

'She said: 'Go away, go away, I don't want you'. It was a fight. I said to myself: 'All right, but I need, I need to work', I really was having difficulties. So I cried, and I said 'Madame, let me find another job first, I want to come less here', I begged the lady like that. Because I was becoming stressed. My children far away, they were small still, my husband there with my children. I was here, alone (..) And so, it has honestly brought me stress. That she said these things to me. I said to myself: 'But if she does not hire me, in fact I remain staying without documents' (R1).

Additional to feeling dependent on the care recipient, it is also possible to feel dependent on a system. Both Olga and her future care recipient desperately want her to start working, but some papers are not ready yet. That is a very frustrating position: *'For me it there is no problem, I truly don't have a problem with this job (..) I don't know, I have to start working. That is the problem. Nothing else'* (R7). She needs to start working, but due to a bureaucratic system she cannot. She is allowed to stay one more week in the house of her former care recipient, but after that she is homeless. Because of the frustration and uncertainty this situation brings her, she is highly focused on signing the contract with her future care

recipient, since this will make her less dependent and give her some security and stability. *'The contract. That is the most important of everything. The contract. And nothing more. We hope. (laughs scornfully)'* (R7).

4.6 Feeling in control

The counterpart of feeling dependent seems to be feeling in control. One part of feeling in control refers to feeling confident about giving care. Once the family assistants have several caring experiences they note that they know what the job contains and they feel certain about what to do in order to care well. They are the ones with the knowledge and the skills, not someone else. This gives them a feeling of empowerment: *As with this current family; you go, you go there, I do what I need to do, those things I want to do in the house, no one commands me. Everything, I am in control there. Eating, I fix everything. No one says to me: 'What do you do, what have you eaten?' No, not at all!* (R1). Sometimes this means they feel confident enough to oppose the care recipient's children: *'Don't always do what the son tells you to do, because the children can say many things. But, they are not staying with the elderly'* (R8). Other examples are family assistants telling the nurse how she is supposed to give care, namely with more affection, or telling the children they should visit their parents more often. This touches another relevant aspect; namely 'disapproving'⁵. It is notable that several respondents explicitly disapprove the behavior of the care recipient's children and the fact that Italians are not caring for their parents themselves. Two family assistants note this would never happen in their country and culture, because in Ecuador the family cares for each other themselves. Julia notes you might see a few family assistants within rich families *'because the richer you become, the more you are without a heart'* (R2). It seems a bit contradictory that several family assistants are very judgmental towards the care recipient's children because they do not care for their parents themselves, while on the other hand other persons are caring for the children of the family assistants.

Feeling in control refers as well to controlling yourself or your emotions. Lisa for example tells that even though she feels angry, she just feels angry from the inside, but she stays calm under any circumstance. The fact that she can control her anger gives her feeling of being in control.

⁵ I consider 'disapproving' to be not only part of feeling in control, but also of feeling dependent. The respondents seem to reject certain ideas or behavior either out of feeling in control and feeling certain about what is right, either they disapprove things out of feelings of dependency or powerlessness.

The experience of feeling in control sometimes comes forth of the position the family assistants have towards their care recipient. This seems to be the case when they experience an inequality of power, wherein they are the ones with power. Several respondents tell they seduce or manipulate the elderly in order to let them do what they want. *'Sometimes she says: 'But nooo, I don't want to eat' and I say: 'Look, you see me now, tomorrow I don't come back, I don't come if you don't eat''* (R1). Another example is a respondent who tells her care recipient she will get an ice cream if she empties her plate.

4.7 Committing oneself

All respondents have a very strong feeling of commitment and of being responsible. This experience of committing oneself applies to a commitment towards the care recipient, the family of the care recipient and towards their own families. Committing oneself relates strongly to the theme of experiencing own limits, since sometimes the urge of staying committed is stronger than listening to one's own needs and limitations. This is where committing oneself changes into sacrificing oneself: *'It is not about my will, not like: 'I want to do so'. No. (..) That is not possible. If I start to work with a person, I must, I know it, I understand also that I work for this person, not for myself'* (R7).

The experience of truly and fully committing oneself seems to have a persistent necessity for the family assistants: *'That moment of acceptance is very important because from that moment on you have a responsibility until the end of the end'* (R6). Being able to fully commit oneself touches their self-identity and the values they consider to be important in life. Lena tells for example: *'No, I am like a character that also, always finishes something. Always. I go to the end of the end to finish a job'* (R3). Committing oneself seems to refer to being strong and the ability of handling anything, which gives a sense of pride as well: *'I was the only person who stayed there until the end, until his death. After six months. Instead of all the other persons who came to work there. They all left immediately'* (R3). All respondents completely dedicate themselves when they start working somewhere. Several declare they do more than necessary, more than asked, or even more than they actually can. Sometimes this is related to trying to win the trust of the care recipient, because if they work hard enough, they will eventually be trusted or appreciated: *'I like to always give more than I can. (..) Because, that is how the persons have more trust. Therefor. And later, they see that I am not only here to do only the things they tell me to do'* (R5). This does have a consequence for how responsibilities are being seen and divided. Often the family assistants find

themselves doing more than agreed on, and sometimes this seems to be what the care recipient's family is expecting from them as well. *'The lady did not say this, but it is okay, I feel good there. I do it, it does not change anything to clean a window as well. (...) I do it without any problem. I do it. When there is nothing else to do, I can do it. Why not? It is not difficult to clean a window (laughs)'* (R3).

Many of the family assistants came to Italy and started working as a family assistant in order to take care of their loved ones in a financial way, so the commitment they feel reaches further than the care recipient. It is about caring for their own family as well and feeling responsible towards them. Lena tells: *'I will work for her [her daughter]. To give her everything that... I need to pay right?'* (R3).

Also in difficult moments there seems to be no other option for the family assistants than continuing. Therefore many repeatedly say how important it is to have patience and to stay positive, in the daily care they give, but also towards the struggles they face: *'I thought to have patience, I said to myself: still, a little bit more, slowly, slowly. The things have to go in the right direction. If you make a commitment now, you'll make it here, you have to push yourself. Have patience, engage yourself. You'll make it'* (R4). An interesting example of staying positive is how one of the respondents emphasizes you should not say working as a family assistant is difficult or a burden, but see it as challenging.

A final aspect of committing oneself is that many respondents emphasize the elderly are sick: *'It was not him, it was his head. It takes over. It is not even his fault, because it is a person who is sick. In his head'* (R3). Maybe focusing on the sickness of the care recipient helps them in a way to commit themselves, in feeling needed or in relating to the person they give care to instead of equalizing someone's behavior to someone's personality.

As the findings make clear, the experiences of the respondents are very rich and diverse. Despite the diversity and uniqueness of their experiences I have tried to distillate the analogous aspects in their feelings and perspectives. As described in the introduction of this chapter I conclude the findings with a second vignette, describing the experiences of the second care manager.

Vignette 2 - Madame, I love you

There is nothing positive about a family assistant giving care to your mother, Martha says. First of all you see your mother changing, she becomes older and her whole character changes because of the Alzheimer. She closes herself in her own world and is not interested in you anymore. Secondly, you have to deal with an external person and trying to get along with each other. How could there be anything positive about that? It gets even worse when there are two family assistants alternating each other, whereof one is working during the night and morning, and the other is staying in the afternoon. Martha always had to mediate between them when they were discussing or disputing. Once one family assistant hit the other one, and the one being hit went to the police because she could not handle the exposed aggression anymore. Now her mother stays in an elderly residence home, but Martha also continued to hire the last family assistant. Gabriella, the family assistant, lived with her mother and cared for her mother for ten years. Gabriella is the linkage between Martha's mother and the world, Martha says. She visits Martha's mother every day at her residence home to help her with eating and to keep her company. They have a very loving relationship and Gabriella is very sweet towards her mother. But Martha emphasizes that Gabriella is only sweet towards her mother, to no one else. Gabriella and Martha have a bad relation with each other. According to Martha, Gabriella is a closed, difficult and aggressive person. She always asks for more money and pressures Martha by saying she will quit if she does not get more. The only reason for Martha to continue with Gabriella is that she takes good care of her mother, and she shows respect to her mother. If family assistants are calling her mother 'grandma', Martha dislikes it because it sounds like they are family, which they are not. Gabriella still calls her mother 'Madame', also after ten years. That is how Martha prefers it. Now, if Martha visits her mother in the residence, her mother is always repeating the same words over and over again. That has happened before because of the dementia, but recently the phrase changed. Her mother is now repeatedly saying: 'Gabriella, I love you. I love you, Gabriella'. Martha answers her by saying: 'No, I am Martha, your daughter'. Eventually her mother says with a lot of difficulty: 'Okay, you are Martha'. Martha says it is not a problem that her mother repeats this phrase, she thinks it is logic since Gabriella lived with her mother the past years. She laughs scornfully about it. Her laugh fades away and is followed by silence.

5 Care ethical reflection

In this chapter I will reflect on and discuss the findings by bringing them into a dialogue with the care ethical insights and theories presented in Chapter 2. Additionally I will sometimes make use of other care ethical thinkers or ideas to deepen out crucial aspects more critically. This reflection is an indispensable part of doing care *ethical* research, as Virginia Held points out: ‘The various aspects and expressions of care and caring relations need to be subjected to moral scrutiny and evaluated, not just observed and described’ (2006, p.11).

5.1 Relational self

As emerged from the findings the family assistants do not view themselves in a pure individualistic manner but are always relating to others in their thoughts, acts or decisions. For example their decision to come to Italy and work as a family assistant is motivated by the need to care for their loved ones. This is in accordance with what Van Heijst (2011) describes as a dialogical self or what is called a relational self. Through others and with others our identity is shaped. Both Van Heijst (2011) and Van Nistelrooij (2014) see caring and the identity of the caregiver as connected to each other. This is underlined by the findings; for example Isadora tells how she puts a part of herself into caregiving or how giving care for elderly makes her happy because it reminds her of her own grandmother. This is consistent with the idea of relatedness between the caregiver’s personal history and the feeling of being touched (Leget, 2013). An additional example of the experience of the relational self comes forth in Olga saying: ‘*She [the care recipient] was happy, so also I was happy*’. As Held describes, the caregiver’s position does not reflect an egoistic nor an altruistic stance but rather ‘their interests are intertwined with the persons they care for’ (2006, p.12).

5.2 Interdependency

An intertwist of interests as described above is connected to the interdependency we share as humans. As emerged from the findings the family assistants experience these feelings of dependency. This is in accordance with Kittay’s focus on a reciprocal dependency in caring relations, meaning not only the care recipient is dependent in being vulnerable but the caregiver shares the same dependency and vulnerability. This becomes specifically clear in the experience of Laura, who was told by her care recipient to leave while Laura would have

no documents nor job if that would happen. As Kittay (1999) notes, the dependency and vulnerability of a caregiver are worse when the caregiver is a woman, migrant or a person of color. All respondents are migrant women, and some are colored. Additionally, there are specific circumstances in working as a family assistant putting them in an even more dependent position. Their income, right of residence and housing (if working on a fixed basis) are dependent on the care they give. It shows how family assistants are experiencing not to have a completely free choice but make choices from a more vulnerable stance. This touches another crucial point that many of our responsibilities are neither voluntary chosen nor coerced (Kittay, 1999). This perspective of *taking* responsibilities rather than choosing them freely certainly applies to the family assistants (Held, 2006). The experience Isadora had with working for a lady who discriminated her is a clear example of a not voluntary chosen responsibility. The experience of being discriminated, insulted, pressured or violated comes forth multiple times in the stories of the family assistants. This strongly connects to what Van Heijst (2011) describes about power dynamics in caring relations: care recipients can exert power as well, also elderly care recipients.

Another aspect that emerged from the findings that corresponds with Kittay's ideas is that the caregiver needs to be cared for as well, in order to care well. If a situation continued wherein the family assistants were pushing their own limits while feeling not to receive care themselves it would eventually come to a breaking point. Taking the well-being of the caregiver into account does not always seem to be self-evident in working as a family assistant. Kittay describes the well-being of the caregiver is a social responsibility, but what if no one feels responsible?

A final aspect of interdependency considers the notion of Kittay 'everyone's a mother's child'. Olga says: *'You have to care for someone with a lot of love, these persons. Because the sick ones arrive. It is no one's fault, this sickness. And we have to think everyone has a grandfather, a mother, a father, it could be ours. You see, you have to do it with your whole heart, with a lot of love'*. This delineates the notion of being connected through relational webs in dependency and vulnerability.

5.3 Intimate strangers

The findings show a strong connection to the description of Van Heijst (2011) of a caring relationship, considering the simultaneously distance and closeness that is going on between caregiver and care recipient. 'Both are strangers to each other and still there is more intimacy

and distance than between friends or family' (idem, p.188). Some of the family assistants describe their relation with the elderly as being friends or family, but several have a more distant perspective on the caring relation. In both ways it becomes clear that the relation they have with their care recipients is of a special kind. Even if the family assistant prefers a more formal relation, the care recipient and caregiver are still sharing their lives together. They live together, eat together, talk with each other and spend all their time together. This creates a relationship where, as Van Heijst (2011) describes, simultaneously distance and closeness is going on. This bond of intimate strangers partly relates to Pulcini's (2017) description of the 'Distant Other'. The distant other can be distant in time or space but becomes, despite the distance, important to us. She explains the distant other emerges in our interdependent world as a consequence of the global dimension of care (2017, p.68). The idea of intimate strangers or distant others is affirmed by the experiences of the family assistants.

5.4 Self-sacrifice

An important theme that emerged from the data is committing oneself. Part of this commitment is self-sacrifice, which also relatively recent came up as a theme within care ethics. Van Heijst (2011) states that caregiving requiring self-sacrifice comes from a long Christian tradition in which self-sacrifice was connected with self-loathing and a lack of respect for the self. In this tradition humility was considered to be a virtue. It is notable that one of the family assistants defines herself as a humble person. It is plausible that she has the same Christian roots. However, the idealization of self-sacrifice does not fit into Van Heijst's idea of loving care: 'It is ethically inconsistent to promote the view that professional caregivers should consider themselves as complete nothings. Such a lack of self-esteem and self-love was once considered essential within the Christian ideal of self-neglecting caring, but this way of thinking must be discontinued' (2011, p.197). Van Heijst implies that self-sacrifice always opposes self-care, but this does not emerge from the findings. The family assistants who exemplify to (self-)sacrifice do not consequently ignore their own needs but are still capable of setting their own limits. Consequently, self-sacrifice does not necessarily exclude self-care.

Inge van Nistelrooij (2014) has a different perspective on self-sacrifice than Van Heijst, and her conceptualisation of self-sacrifice seems to be more in accordance with the findings of this thesis. Van Nistelrooij radicalizes the intersubjectivity of humans and the way our identity is shaped by others. 'Caring is a continuous practice moving back and forth

between different parts of the self's identity, (...) as having incorporated 'otherness' into the self, being and becoming a self only in relation with others' (2014, p.223). Therefore she considers self-sacrifice to be a common part of caregiving by defining self-sacrifice as giving up something in order to care for others (idem, p.213). This view on self-sacrifice is an extension or radicalization of the relational self and applies to the way family assistants describe their own commitment or self-sacrifice. Working as a family assistant in Italy comes forth of the need to care for their own families. This seems to not necessarily mean they have a lack of self-esteem or self-love.

5.5 The radical importance of context

Because of the specific and special circumstances wherein family assistants are giving care, some aspects of the discussed care ethical theories need to be reconsidered. First of all I would like to discuss the third element van Heijst (2011) adds to a caregiving relation, 'gratitude'. Gratitude creates a triadic relation of caring and makes caring more than an economic transaction of giving and receiving in return for a salary. The third element of gratitude shows that caregivers get more than only money for the care they give, meaning feelings of gratitude and joy. This is recognizable in the experiences of the family assistants, and several would agree with Van Heijst, by saying that caring only for money cannot be considered good care. I argue though that one should be careful with automatically adding or expecting this third element of gratitude. The family assistants do get more than 'just' a salary in being a family assistant but because a consequence of caring for the elderly in Italy is leaving their own family, they also get a lot of 'extra' negative feelings in being a family assistant. Van Heijst states as well: 'Professionals who have nothing extra to give, who are only obeying orders, or who try to compensate for a feeling of meaninglessness in their own life, fall short' (2011, p.198). I think statements like these do not necessarily apply to the caregiving of family assistants. Many of them compensate with the elderly what they are missing because of being far away from their family. Lena tells for example how difficult it was to leave her two-year old daughter behind in Peru but how much it satisfied her that elderly are like children, who she could wash, feed and give affection. She seemed to project and compensate her feelings of missing her daughter and of regretting she could not care for her daughter on and with her care recipients. I argue this is not something to be judged but something related to the circumstances of their care practices, of being a family assistant in Italy. This shows the importance of contextuality and how context should be radically

considered in caring situations.

5.6 Double loop of self-sacrifice

Even though there seems to be a connection between Van Nistelrooij's description of self-sacrifice and the way the family assistants experience this aspect of committing themselves, it can be questioned towards whom they are sacrificing themselves. Van Nistelrooij (2014) focuses on self-sacrifice as a part of caring relations between care recipient and caregiver. In the situation of the family assistants the self-sacrifice is more directed towards their families far away than as an aspect of the care they are giving to the elderly. Thinking through on the idea of self-sacrifice, it could be possible that the family assistants conduct a double loop of self-sacrifice. First they bring a sacrifice in order to care for their loved ones by emigrating to Italy and support their family financially. The second sacrifice is directed towards the care recipients by fully committing themselves to the needs and interests of their care recipient. In being a family assistant they bring a double self-sacrifice in order to care well for others.

Although self-sacrifice does not necessarily exclude self-care, I argue that in conducting this double loop of self-sacrifice there is a risk of not attuning enough to their own needs. Especially considering working on a fixed base I doubt whether there is sufficient time and space for self-care. It is not without reason five respondents decided they do not want to work fixed anymore. It is an exhausting care practice of constantly giving and not always receiving much. However, even though the conditions of working as a family assistant are intensive and heavy, all respondents note they also have feelings of satisfaction and appreciation in giving care. The experiences of the family assistants underline an essential element of what is needed in good caring, namely that persons should not only attune with others and the environment, but also with themselves (Leget et al., 2017; Tronto, 1993, 2013). If this does not happen, their self-sacrifice opposes self-care.

6 Conclusion

In this thesis I have sought to get a more profound insight in how family assistants in Italy experience being a family assistant and what these experiences mean in terms of good care. Care is defined as a relational, moral and political practice, taking place in a particular context and as directed towards something. By conducting a phenomenological, empirical research several substantial similarities have been found in the experiences of eight different women. In the caring relations they try to build they experience to have alternating positions towards the care recipient. Sometimes the feeling of dependency is predominant because without their care recipient the family assistants would have no job, no income and therefore no possibility of taking care of their own family. On other moments they feel in control and confident in their caregiving, which gives a feeling of satisfaction or happiness. In both roles or positions the family assistants have a very strong drive and a sense of being responsible since they fully commit themselves in their caregiving. Committing oneself and having perseverance are not only aspects of giving care, but these are also characteristics they identify themselves with. They are not 'just' giving care to the elderly but in a way they are giving themselves. Their identity is part of the caregiving and the caregiving is part of their identity, which makes the experiences of commitment very persistent. The family assistants experience their own needs and limits as well, but that does not necessarily mean they listen to these limits. Sometimes they push their own limits and sometimes they draw a line, often after a specifically negative experience. In all these aspects it seems like the family assistants are trying to find the right balance. They are balancing between distance and proximity.

The movement of balancing touches the idea of good care because both are not stubborn or predefined but situational and influenced by nuances. Good care does not only apply to good care for the care recipient but as much to good care for the caregiver. As emerged from the findings the family assistants highly commit themselves which some describe as self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice does not necessarily oppose self-care because of our radical intersubjectivity; through others we become ourselves. However, in this intensive domestic elderly care it is highly important that the caregivers attune to the care recipient's needs **and** to their own. This is a very critical point in terms of good care for the family assistants, especially for those working on a fixed base, because of the additional circumstances putting them in a highly dependent position. The fact that they are dependent and vulnerable too, and are therefore also in need of receiving care, emerges from the data but the responses they get

seem to be sometimes insufficient. It is not always self-evident the care recipient's family takes the social responsibility of caring about the well-being of the caregiver. If the social and political responsibility for the well-being of the family assistants is not taken, I argue it is difficult to view these care practices as good care. I conclude that it is necessary that the double loop of self-sacrifice of the family assistants should be always combined with the family assistants attuning with themselves, and others taking responsibility for the caregiver's well-being, in order to define these caring practices as good care.

7 Discussion

7.1 Devaluation

As a sequel to the conclusions I want to line out one of central subjects that emerged from the societal scope in order to exemplify the limitations and insights of this thesis. This subject of discussion is devaluation. As stated in the Introduction many family assistants are devalued on a personal and professional level. The findings show that most family assistant get recognition from the care recipient and the care recipient's family. The children of the elderly express they could never do what the family assistants do. It seems like people are willing to understand and value each other once they take part in each other's lives, but how could migrant elderly home care workers be valued without directly being close to them? As a first step I would like to suggest to completely reject the term 'badante' and substitute it for a more neutral word as 'assistenza familiare' [family assistant]. By referring to the caregivers as 'badanti' they are already downgraded in the word itself. The same applies for authors defining the family assistants as 'modern slaves'. Even though these terms might be used to raise awareness for the critical circumstances wherein some family assistants give care, these words devalue family assistants. Whether used out of pity or empathy I argue these words make them 'smaller' than they are. None of the participants described her practice or identity as near to slavery, so why would others?

7.2 Contribution to care ethical field of inquiry

This study contributes to the field of care ethics in several ways. Care ethics views humans as relational and care relations as an interaction and attuning of caregiver and care recipient. Therefore care ethics is highly interested in how these relations start, evolve and maintain and what meaning is given to these care practices by the concrete people involved (Leget et al., 2017). This thesis focused on domestic elderly care given by migrant caregivers in Italy. By studying the lived experience of the caregivers a more profound insight is gained in what aspects are important for them, what meaning they give to these events and what is the morally good in their care practices.

Additionally, the conceptual exploration and ethical reflection of this thesis contribute to the theoretical field of care ethics and more specifically to the care ethical discussion of

self-sacrifice and self-care. In thinking through these concepts by bringing them into dialogue with the empirical findings of this research, the importance of contextuality and interrelatedness is underlined as a contribution to two critical insights of care ethics. Within this phenomenological study I tried to develop a moral view on migrant elderly care, and by studying this from a care ethical perspective I added a new view on this already broadly studied phenomenon, simultaneously showing the value of care ethics.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

As an addition to my earlier suggestion of referring in neutral terms to migrant family assistants, I would like to recommend to conduct further research on the experiences of care recipients. The elderly care recipients form the other indispensable link in this caring relation and the way they experience the care they receive from a family assistant is underexposed in literature so far. A similar phenomenological study on their lives experiences can give more insight in the phenomenon as a whole and the care recipients' perspectives in specific.

A second recommendation considering further research is to study the political context of migrant elderly home care from a care ethical perspective. Due to time and extent limitations of this thesis, it was not possible to critically reflect on the political context but this is highly relevant to gain further insight in the power dynamics and larger structures of this topic. As stated earlier caring is both a social and a political practice, and therefore the political context should also be taken into account.

8 Quality assessment

Within this research I aimed to collect the data and present the findings as accurate as possible, therefore a few quality criteria need to be assessed (Creswell, 2013, p.196). The general criteria in qualitative research to enhance the quality of the study are internal and external validity, and reliability (Visse, 2012).

8.1 Internal validity

The data of this thesis has been collected in Italian⁶, while the presentation of these data is in English. Considering this additive phase of translation and the fact that both languages are not my mother tongue, there are a few extra challenges in order to meet the quality criteria. Interpretation is the core of qualitative research, but as translation is also an interpretation there is an extra interpretation step that needs to be taken, which might result in a loss of meaning (Van Nes et al., 2010). Especially the internal validity - the degree to which the findings correspond with the perspectives of the respondents (Visse, 2012) - could be threatened by the existing language differences. An extra limitation in order to enhance the internal validity is that there are no member checks included, which means my interpretations are not explicitly verified with the participants (idem). This is due to the difference in used languages; since the participants do not speak English, it would be useless to verify with them the English written findings. To minimize threats to the internal validity I used rich descriptions and fluid formulations, and avoided one-word translations. This stimulated the reflection process during analysing, and also makes it possible to check interpretations and adapt translations if necessary (Van Nes et al., 2010).

8.2 External validity

External validity refers to the degree of generalization, whether the findings of this particular study are applicable to other contexts (Visse, 2012). As I elaborated in Chapter 3 this study does not aim to generalize, but rather to deepen out certain experiences. Because of the specific context of each experience or event and the unique way every person gives meaning to events, one should be careful with wanting to generalize the findings directly towards other similar situations. Despite the intentional restraint considering direct generalization, the

⁶ With the exception of one interview that was held in English.

findings of this thesis could be transferable (a ‘soft’ generalization used in qualitative research) to a certain extent, because of the use of rich descriptions. If the results apply to other contexts is left to the readers to decide, whether they consider certain aspects to be recognizable or applicable.

8.3 Reliability

Since this research has been done by one researcher, there was no possibility of researchers-triangulation, which influences the (internal) validity and reliability of this study. How reliable a study is, is partly dependent on how independent the results are of the researcher’s propositions (Visse, 2012). Therefore it is of the utmost importance in doing qualitative research in general, and phenomenological research in particular, to have an open and reflective attitude (Van Der Meide et al., 2015). A reflective attitude supports an awareness of own assumptions and stimulates a dialectical process of going back and forth during the data-collection and analysis (idem; Visse, 2012). To stimulate my reflexivity as a researcher I created a document filled with reflections, thoughts and feelings about this research. Furthermore, the reliability of this study is enhanced by making use of multiple coding which gives more insight in the different analysing steps that are followed (Creswell, 2013; Visse, 2012).

8.4 Social desirability

The last aspect I want to reflect on is the degree of social desirability in the shared stories of the participants. As described in paragraph 3.6 many interviews were held after the family assistants had an intake at the Family Assistance Desk. In conducting the interviews I often wondered what influence the setting and timing of the interview had on the answers of the participants and whether they felt free enough to also share negative or difficult experiences in this specific setting. I noticed that it took time before the participants felt comfortable and became more personal in the experiences they shared. Eventually I have collected very personal and diverse stories, telling both positive and negative aspects of being a family assistant which makes the ‘truth’ value of the findings more plausible. However, the non-neutral setting of the interview might influence the reliability of the findings (Visse, 2012).

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10 Appendix

Appendix A - Interview protocol family assistants [English version]

Welcome

Thank for participation

Explaining research

Permission audio-record

Questions

- Can you tell something about yourself? (Who are you, how old are you, where did you grow up, what is your family situation? Children/partner/parents etc.)
- Can you tell something about your life in Italy? (When did you come here, why, where did you stay?)
- Can you tell something about your profession? (Since when are you working as a family assistant, for how many families, which family are you staying now and since when?)
- Can you tell something about the tasks you have, the things you do? What does an average day look like for you? Do you work every day? How many hours a day?
- Did you have experience in caregiving jobs or followed a caregiving course before you started working as a family assistant?
- Do you like your job in general?
- Which aspects do you like about your job? Can you give an example of that?
- Which aspects do you not like about your daily practices? What is hard or challenging for you? Can you give an example of that?
- How would you describe your relation with the elderly you give care to? And with his/her family?
- Do you feel at home in Italy?
- Do you feel valued for the work you are doing?
- What do you consider to be good care? What makes care good care?

Additional questions

- Would you want to do this job for a longer time? Can you imagine doing this for ten more years?

- Do you want to stay in Italy the rest of your life or do you want to go back to your home country?
- What things are important for you in life? Which values are worth a lot? What do you strive for? Do you have a motto?
- Do you consider yourself to be changed since you live in Italy? Or since you do this job?
- Do you have persons in your life that you identify with or that are an example for you? And why?
- What is your view on the Italian public/political debate about informal/elderly care? How do you feel with the things that are being written/said?
- What are the reactions in your home country about your step to go to Italy?
- Do you have contact with other family assistants? Could you describe your social life?

Appendix B - Interview protocol care managers [English version]

Welcome

Thank for participation

Explaining research

Permission audio-record

- Can you tell something about yourself? (Who are you, how old are you, where did you grow up, what is your family situation? Children, partner, siblings, parents?)
- One of your parents is currently receiving care from a family assistant, can you tell something about it?
- When and how did this kind of care start?
- Were there alternatives instead of choosing a family assistant?
- Was it something you were doubting about to do or not?
- Who is the family assistant? Where is she from etc.
- Did you always have the same family assistant or different ones?
- How do you find a family assistant?
- How do you select a family assistant?
- What is important for you in the care for your mother/father?
- Can you describe your relationship with the family assistant?
- Can you describe the relationship between the family assistant and your mother?
- How is the relationship with your mother/father?

- Who is responsible for hiring the family assistant? For the organisational part of the care?
- In case there are brothers/sisters, how is your relationship with them?
- What are the tasks/responsibilities of the family assistant?
- Are you satisfied with the kind of care your mother/father is receiving now?
- Which aspects do you consider to be positive about this type of care? Can you give an example?
- Which aspects do you consider to be negative or difficult? Can you give an example?
- What are important values in your life?
- Did you consider to give the care yourself?
- How did it feel to not do it?
- What do you consider to be good care? What makes care good care?
- What is your view on the Italian public/political debate about informal/elderly care? How do you feel with the things that are being written/said?
- Do you think the family assistant feels appreciated for the work she does? In what way, yes and in what way not?

Appendix C - Reflection on gaining access

When I arrived on the 22nd of February in Milan I felt extremely motivated to start my actual research, naming the empirical part. I expected it to be a relatively difficult research population to gain access to but since I received a phone number on forehand via a professor from the University of Milan, I was not very worried about getting in touch with caregivers or care recipients. I figured that I would use a snowball strategy, meaning the first contact would figure as my gatekeeper and provide me with new contacts. In reality it went completely different.. After one week I called the Moldavian woman to introduce myself and make an appointment with her. It turned out she had no clue who I was and also did not feel any need or interest in meeting me. I think part of the difficult conversation we had was due to my Italian. It was some years ago I spoke Italian and I did not have the chance yet to practice a lot and feel confident in speaking again. Besides, if you don't master a language fully, often you lack of nuance and subtlety. I think I overwhelmed her a bit with my whole story and as a consequence I felt overwhelmed by her reaction. She said she was always working or on the road and had barely time to call with her own children, how on earth was I expecting her to sit down with me to talk for an hour? She said she wanted to help me, but that she just couldn't. I felt so miserable. What was I doing? I felt naive going to Italy with all

my ideological ideas of giving a voice to the minimized caregivers. What was I thinking? Why would they want to speak with me? What is in it for them? Why was I bothering them and asking more while they are the ones who are always giving and having a life that is already tough enough without me bothering them? For who was I doing this? If I was doing it for the caregivers, then it seemed to be something they were not wanting themselves. Was I doing it for myself? But then it would have been easier to just stay in the Netherlands or do a conceptual study in order to graduate. And why was I radically doubting after one rejection? I knew from the beginning I did not pick the easiest road, so why was this first setback so hard on me? I think I just realised on that moment how hard it was going to be. If a number I received via via from a woman who already got some explanation about who I am and what I do was already not interested in talking with me, who would be? The fact that many family assistants are working without papers or documents would not contribute to being willing to talk about their experiences either. The same applies for agencies who connect elderly with family assistants. If the working circumstances of their family assistants are not really well, they would probably not be very enthusiastic about a random student curiously nuzzling in their work. And so it happened. Since I did not have any reference point to start from I just randomly started email commercial agencies, journalists, scholars and governmental organisations to introduce myself and my thesis subject and asking for contacts of possible participants. The journalists and scholars were really helpful with giving tips but (obviously) could not give me any direct phone numbers because they wanted to protect the identity of their respondents. The commercial agencies and governmental organisations would not respond or send me an automatic reply. Several of the scholars/journalists suggested me to go to parks and markets known as meeting places for migrant care workers. Since I did not have any other reference point I started to randomly go to parks and markets in order to meet possible respondents. It turned out to not be very successful. The biggest east-European oriented market seemed to be closed because of the inhuman and dangerous character of the market where the mafia was involved as well. The parks were on many days so busy that I could not think of a casual way of start conversations with persons that might be a family assistant without being strange in only approaching them and not others. Actually this was part of the problem in general with going to markets or parks; I was not feeling comfortable at all just randomly approaching women and first of all hoping they were actually working as a family assistant and secondly having a migrant background. It felt just too strange and random. I would not like it either if people approach me randomly because I look like a stranger to them and as a consequence they are assuming I probably have a certain job. After

a few attempts I decided to no longer continue with this strategy because it took me a lot of time to travel to these parks often located in the suburbs of Milan and without having success because every time I would find myself in an inner struggle. In the meantime I started with another strategy of coming into contact with possible participants, namely via Facebook. I became a member of several Facebook-groups where migrant care workers were offering their services and call-ups were placed by family members of elderly in need of care. I started adding random women and writing them messages to ask if they would be interested in sharing their experiences with me. I also placed a call-up myself on one of the Facebook-pages so anyone interested could contact me. On all of these attempts I never got one response although I know my messages have been read (on Facebook Messenger it is possible to check that). I was becoming a bit desperate and again I started wondering why I was actually doing this and who I thought I was satisfying with this research. In the preparation of my research and arranging the practical aspects of my mobility period I did not take that much time anymore to reflect on what I was looking for in Milan and what were my main motivations to go. But since the questions came up again I started to reflect on what I felt and thought when I heard for the first time about migrant women living-in with elderly and taking 24/7 care of them. I was shocked in a way, but I mostly kept wondering who they were receiving care of. Who was giving attention to them? Listening to their stories? I strongly believe in the healing and helpful power of being attentive and listening. I think that was part of my motivation, not to say that I thought I could solve their problems or anything, not at all. It was much smaller, but still valuable in a way. Just to put them in the center for a moment, to fully and actively listen to their experiences, their struggles and satisfying moments. To be present. Being in Milan and trying all these different things to get in contact made me realise I was maybe not giving them something, but mostly asking something (how arrogant and naive to think differently on forehand). Therefore I started thinking about switching to a conceptual thesis after all, because it would be extra painful to not be able to graduate because of the difficulties I was facing in gaining access to the research population. But only accepting this as a possible option felt like an enormous failure. Did I come all the way to Italy to do a theoretical study I could have done in the Netherlands as well? In consultation with Merel I decided to give myself one more week (until the first of April) and if there would not be any progress by then I would switch to a conceptual thesis. In that last week I decided to try another strategy in finding respondents since all the official canals did not lead to anything so far. I also changed my email several times or asked just about the possibility of speaking to elderly persons receiving care from a family assistant to see if this

would make any difference, but I never got a confirming response. The new and last strategy was to use my very small network in Milan as a way to get in contact with possible participants. I asked my landlord, the cleaning man, several Italian friends of friends and wrote again the Italian professors I was in contact with. It turned out to be very successful! My landlord had three friends whose parents receive(d) care from a family assistants of which two were willing to talk with me. The niece of the cleaning man was working as a family assistant and the cleaning lady of one of the professor had a friend who was currently working as a domestic elderly carer and had some experience herself as well. From there on it only started to become better because one governmental organisation wrote me back that they had to discuss my question with their superiors. That was better than all the responses I had so far. The superiors had some requirements, mainly considering the privacy of the respondents so I had to prepare a specific document first. Also the two ladies working at this family desk wanted to meet me first but after that it was all set and done. I could come as often as I wanted, observe during the intakes, conduct interviews in a different room and ask whatever I wanted. I felt such a big relieve. And even more important, I had the chance to have so many interesting interviews and have so many meaningful and quick encounters with people who gave me an insight in their lives. I feel very thankful that after all it worked. Extremely thankful towards the people that helped me on this road. And I feel also satisfied in a way knowing that in the end it was not only meaningful to me but also to the women I spoke with.

Appendix D - Transcripts Family assistants 1-8 [English version]

Family assistant 1 & family assistant 2 [Double interview]

I: Good. First I would like to ask you to present yourself; who are you, how old are you, where did you grow up, where were you born?

R: My name is Laura, I am from Ecuador.

I: And you are born in Ecuador?

R: Yes, yes in Ecuador. I am here since, more or less, 16 years, that I am here in Italy.

I: And always in Milan or?

R: Always in Milan. Yes, yes.

I: And do you have also a husband, children?

R: Pedro is my husband, he is here. And my children are in Ecuador. Three children.

I: They are small or big?

R: No, big. My first son is 28 years old, you see. My other son is 27, their ages are more close to each other, and my daughter is 22 years old, the girl.

I: Okay, so.. Can I say you [the informal you]?

R: Yes, yes, yes!

I: Okay, you work as a family assistant?

R: Now I am working as a family assistant, and to tell you the truth, in that house I do everything.

I: Everything?

R: Everything for everyone. Because there are two elderly persons. The man is a person who is - how do you say that - when something has happened in the head? That he does not talk. If he wakes up, he walks, but if you bring him to his bed, you have to help him to move around.. he always stays with a walking stick.

I: So he does not talk, and also to move around is..

R: No movements. When he wakes up, we are with two persons, when we are with both of us, one helps him. Then he walks, because when you give him an arm, he walks, but alone he does not. And then, there is his wife, that also has this sickness, this dementia senile, I don't know what it is called..

I: Okay, so something with her mind?

R: Yes, exactly. At times she is always bright, she has been super good, she talks with you like how we are talking now, but after one second she does not remember anymore what she said.. She asks many things, and to be able to work with them you truly need to have an enormous amount of patience with them. Because, if they are like that, 'we need this, we need that..' Then it is honestly hard. It is difficult. However, if you act with these persons being really gentle, and you have a bit of affection, they stay really good. But if you hold yourself back, if you say 'no, this is not going well, we are not doing that', then they get angry, you don't want that.

I: It is a quick change?

R: Exactly, it is a complete change. I said it, also to their family, because I need, it is not easy to stay with them the whole time.. once you come with patience, you need to have - how do you say that - these codes, by staying there and giving them a lot of affection, they stay well. If you feel good, they stay good, but if you don't feel well, they are.. a bit difficult.

I: Okay, so it also depends..

R: Of the person yes, I tell you that I am brought there because of that, because the first interview I did with them, to get to know the lady, she immediately.. we are - how to say - we both liked each other immediately. I liked her, she liked me, so quickly we have said 'yes'. Because they already did many job interviews with different persons but they did not want anyone. All of them left with a 'no'. 'No, I don't want them, no I don't want them'. As I came, yes, I could stay. She is now always with me, sometimes, we value a bit like, sometimes she says: 'But nooo, I don't want to eat' and I say: 'Look, you see me now, tomorrow I don't come back, I don't come if you don't eat, what do I do here then?' And she says: 'Aah, now I will eat everything, you see it?!' I know that... how to move ahead with her, with the lady, because he is really easy, he eats everything.

I: He eats everything?

R: Whatever you give to him, he opens his mouth. It is enough to hear him here, he quickly opens his mouth and he eats, he eats and he eats.

I: Okay, it is not a problem with him? But with her?

R: With her a bit more. But the time has passed that she became a bit worse. At times, at times there are moments that she is bright, she talks like us, like a normal person.

I: Yes, okay. That sounds for me more difficult even, because it truly differs every day.

R: Yes, then, for example, we have also a nurse who works here. She arrives at ten in the morning, she takes the material to grandpa and he wakes up, he wakes up and us two, we have a look at him, if he is dirty, we wash him at bed, if not, we bring him every day and shower him. If the lady takes a shower, I give her a hand, because she is someone who needs to do everything herself. Also with the lady and the nurse it is like, in the evening, if she helps the lady to go do something with her, there are big problems. She screams, the nurse screams when she is angry, and then the lady screams even more. You understand?

I: Aah, so it is like... (*makes a gesture of something that piles up*).

R: Exactly. I tell her: 'Don't do it like that, you need to take grandma, give her a bit of affection, a bit of kindness, hug her, she is good, she is equally good. Because when you go crazy, she holds back more'. And she says: 'heey, she went crazy, she closed everything, she left me in the dark room!' And quickly she says: 'I want to go' (*claps her hands*). 'On the contrary with me, it is not like that, the lady does not do that' I tell her. She says: 'Now I need to go', I tell her: 'But tomorrow you come back, now you set yourself down, you relax, you leave it here, everything is okay'. And she says: 'All right'.

(*silence*).

R: They are two different persons, these persons truly fight. Not everyone has it, to - how do you say that - to work with elderly. This way of giving your affection to them.

I: Yes, okay. It is very sensitive? With different persons?

R: Yes, yes, yes.

I: Okay, because.. What hours do you work?

R: During the day from 7.30 in the morning, I finish at 1.30.

I: Seven days a week? Or how many?

R: From Monday to Saturday.

I: Okay, and so there is also another person?

R: Yes, she comes only from ten to eleven, she is the nurse. In the afternoon they used to stay alone. For one hour, but now I stay one hour more, because the parents [their children] who work, arrive within an hour, for example at 1.30, at 2.00 everyone is at home. So they don't stay alone, and then they come back again at the end of the day, instead the nurse comes back at six in the afternoon, finishes at 7.30, or at 8.00 let's say, in the evening.

I: So they are not alone. Never.

R: Yes.

I: Because it is not possible?

R: It is not possible, no. Because when one has forgotten to bring the pill, let's say, which she takes to stay calm, quiet, she probably goes outside. It has happened one day, that after she did not have her pill, the pill had not been given, so we have found her outside, she wanted to go out. And after I said to her daughter: 'No, I have stay a bit longer' and she said I was right, the lady did not have her medicine, her medicine, you see. And she, probably has went

outside, out of her mind also. She did not remember what she did. And so, one needs to stay there as well, paying attention to these things.

I: Aaah, yes, yes. And when did this happen?

R: This has happened for one week, this case.

I: So it also depends on the period?

R: No, well yes. When you give her the medicine in the evening it puts her back. It is this that makes her calm for sure.

I: And you said that you do everything in the house, but can you explain a bit more?

R: Well, until the man sleeps, he is at bed until ten in the morning. I arrive at 7.30. The first thing I do is brushing the teeth of grandmother, and wash her face, after I tell her: 'now we need to prepare breakfast. But she says: 'No, I need to go upstairs', where her Nora is. 'Well', I tell her, 'All right' because, she has this habit, I don't know, but she needs to go upstairs, to look at her wardrobe, to do things I don't know.

I: Okay. It is something that..

R: Because she is fixated on some things. When she has these things, it is fixed, right? And then I tell her: 'No, grandmother, first thing is your breakfast and your medicine. After you can go upstairs, and you stay as long as you want'. You see, she says: 'Okay, all right, all right, all right'. Because of me, right? So first I make her breakfast, I make breakfast and after she says: 'I have to go upstairs'. 'Go, grandmother, go'. When she goes upstairs, I can do things in the house. Fold the clothing in their closet, that I have washed the day before, right? After I need to clean their bathroom, I need to hurry, because I need to also, how do you say that, cook, so I hurry. But she does not disturb me, for anything then. When she returns, let's say she has been upstairs for an hour, she returns and says: 'Well, what do you need to give to me?' 'Eh, nothing', I say, 'What do I need to give?' 'Grandfather has not eating anything, and you did not give me anything to eat, upstairs not, not even here'. 'No', I say, 'You have done everything with me, so come here, you relax for now'. There is a couch where she lays herself down, she has a blanket she puts there. Then she sleeps, or she doesn't sleep, because she watches me, she continues to watch me, but she pretends she is sleeping (*laughing*).

I: Sorry, but where is the room to sleep, I don't understand?

R: No, no. The sleeping room is not there, just a big couch, where she needs to stay, she needs to have light. The light is there during the whole, because she is afraid of dark. So there is light there so everything looks clear. But she puts herself there to relax, sometimes she takes a nap, and I hear her sleep, right? She sleeps until eleven. For me it is an advantage because I can do everything. Cleaning the house, preparing something to eat.. When it is eleven, I tell her: 'Grandma, if you are ready, we will need to prepare the table quickly'. First she does not remember everything. Now it has begun that she does not remember the things I tell her. 'Come, give me a hand here, you do this, put this here, put this there'. She asks you thousand times the same thing. So I need to come towards her with patience. However, she does do something, because probably she does not remember, not even how you need to eat with a fork, but when she starts, you need to tell her: 'Eat with this, eat, eat. Eat in a normal way'.

I: And now it is not..

R: No, she eats, she eats. But now you need to remember her more about how she needs to do

things.

I: Yes. And.. I think I did not ask before, but when did you start working with this family?

R: Yes, when.. In the month of July.

I: Yes, okay. And so it is already a difference? Now, compared to July?

R: Yes, yes, yes. It is a big difference. Because she was first more nervous, more.. Now it is a bit, because she eats a lot.. you cannot leave anything, not even fruit, because she eats everything that she finds. We need to hide new groceries, she should never find something in the fridge, because she eats it. It is always this thing of being hungry. Ready to eat.

I: Yes, but also because she forgets she has eaten?

R: That she ate. No, because she says..

R2: It is the Alzheimer's.

R: Yes, there was this nurse who said that persons with Alzheimer's never have a proper association with food. She always need to eat, to eat, to eat. So you need to stay attentive with her because she has gained weight a bit. The nurse said: 'I would not like her to change more because she was extremely skinny before. Yes, she gained weight a bit'. She could have four kilos more, but this is not good. But if you give her a plate of pasta, she eats it.

I: So you need to watch if she does not eat too much?

R: Yes. I measure everything. Yes, I give her a little bit, more salad, more vegetables, because she just wants pasta. But if you don't give her pasta, she is bad. I am used to it (*laughs*). Yes, I don't know. I feel good with them and right now we stay more with each other. I don't know about further on.

I: Okay. It is depending on if they change or?

R: Yes it depends also on her - how do I say that - if she get's worse. We don't know, some day she will change. Maybe gets more aggressive.

I: Also with you?

R: No, with me she is not aggressive. It is what I always say, she.. these persons need affection. One day I said it to her son, it is a son that I have never seen before, he does not live here, he lives far away. He came for mother's day, right?

I: Ah, yes. The holiday?

R: Yes.. He came to say hello. And she was like: 'Wauw, it has been so long that I did not see you!' She said it like that. 'But you are my son, right?' And he came: 'Hello mamma' and gave her kiss. She was so happy and touched, she also cried a bit. I said to him: 'You see, look truly at your mother, she needs a bit of affection, right? You need to be a bit more close.. Stay a bit more with her'. And he said: 'I don't have time'. So bad.. I said: 'She does not want much, just five minutes. To give a hug to your mother, a kiss. That is something, right?' And he said to me: 'You are so right, Laura, but we cannot do more'.

I: And how did you feel at that moment?

R: I have felt bad about it. And you, it is your mama. It is your mother. Also this son that is there, he lives in the upstairs-house, also he is not often there. He is also a bit annoying because she goes every time in the evening, she takes an ice cream, something like ice cream, something sweet. She says: 'I need to go upstairs, I need to go upstairs'. And the nephews don't want her close to them, the nephews are small, twelve years old. 'Grandma, you are', one of them said, 'you are bad'. Yes. 'When you talk, you act crazy'. Because she is a bit, always she is a bit bad, right? Also I wash her in the morning, but after she wants to go there,

and then they reject her, she maybe wants to hug her nephews and the nephews are saying no: 'No, grandmother, go away, go away! Go to your house, grandmother, go to your house! We don't want you here!' (*shouting*).

I: Pfff, oh noo, so sad.

R: And I think: mama mia, that is so bad. Instead of that they give her some affection, their grandmother.. this is also, because the parents have problems with their children because the children are jealous of the grandmother.

I: Ah okay, really?

R: They are jealous because mama works, and the time that is left for them, that time is.. grandmother arrives at seven, grandmother is upstairs with her. To tell you, grandmother comes there, right? She leaves her children, but instead she should stay with her children who are small. Give them something to eat, give them a bit more affection, they have said: 'No, it is not all right mama, you are our mother. She is always in the center, she needs to go away to her house'. Yes, it is a matter of attention.

I: So this situation influences the whole family?

R2: The family does not want her, so they take a family assistant, just like that..

R: She has been better. For example I said: 'Tomorrow is the day I don't come', she feels bad, she starts crying and says: 'But you are the only person that wants to come here', she says to me and cries. I give her a hug: 'Calm, grandma, it will be all right, it will be all right. Come, I stay with you'. And she cries and laughs, is happy. Because it truly seems like everyone, also her sister, I don't know what is the thing with them, but when it is Sunday with the family, there are always problems.

I: Do you think these problems were always there? Or is it something that happened when the grandparents were...

R: Before. They said that she was a very good person. But, when she was good, also with other people, she gave orders. She commanded everyone. And this is what they always say, the mother-in-law: 'This here [grandma], makes everyone laugh' (*laughs*). Those are her words. Because she says grandma is sly, that she does well, that she pretends. But it not true. That she pretends? She is sick! Alzheimer's. I don't know why she says that, that is honestly bad. They want her to go to an elderly residence home.

I: But it is not possible?

R: It is not possible because there is one son who said: 'No. As long as I will be here, my mother is not going to a residence home'. According to the others she would go. 'A person can come here, but she does not go to a residence home'. But because of the influence of the mother-in-law they want her to go to a residence home and that only grandfather stays alone in the house. Because grandfather does not give you any trouble. With grandpa, after he showered, he sits in his chair, and he is there, he says nothing. You give him a juice, an orange juice, and until eleven he just sits there. You give him some fruit, he eats it, but he does not bother you about anything. It is grandma who wanders around.

I: Is it a big difference between both of them?

R2: Grandfather is a vegetable, he sits. Grandfather is like a vegetable. For you he only opens his mouth to eat, but grandmother, his wife makes trouble about everything. It is the Alzheimer, however...

I: She is very active?

R: Very active. If she can not see me, for example I go outside to hang out the laundry and she says: 'I come with you'. 'No, grandma, look, you'll get cold'. 'No, I come with you. I have to give you a hand'. So well, we start to hang out the laundry: 'No, look at this', 'Where are you going?' 'Where do you go?' So, she makes me lose time, I say: 'Grandmother, you make me lose time, look, if I do it alone, I do it fast, right?' 'No, I need to always stay with you'.

(laughing).

R: So, always she watches, she comes, you know. But, she is not a bad person. At least, right now she is not. The nurse says that once the lady smashed her, but I don't know if that is true.

I: Who said it? Sorry.

R: The nurse.

I: Ah, okay.

R: However, I would say, maybe yes. Because as I said, when you scream at her, she screams more. They don't go along well. Because the nurse wants to command her. On the contrary, grandma wants to command. She does not want to be commanded, you see? That is a difference. And she says: 'No, this is my house, and here it goes as I say it does'. So..

I: Yes, but also she has a true mentality like.. *(makes a gesture to the head)*. 'I decide!'

R: Yes, yes. She needs to do it her way.. But if you tell her 'no', she completely changes. But if she comes: 'Come grandma, come here. I'll explain it to you'. I take her arm: 'Come here, grandma, come'. These things are.. 'Look, I never make mistakes. I always do for you what is right. Is it true or not?' 'You are right', she says, 'You are right, you always do the right things'. You see, we are.. we never not go along with each other. No, it is the opposite! We always agree, always.

I: Also in the beginning? From the beginning on?

R: Yes, from the beginning on. Yes, yes.

R2: These two have found each other.

R: Both of us feel good, honestly. I remember that her nephew has said to me: 'Do you know how to dance salsa, the merengue?' Because that is our music, right? I said: 'Yes'. 'Look I have brought the music'. 'Ah, yes'. 'Now, I'll show you'. In fact, she is like fixated on dancing on our music. It is something that has never happened with any Italian. She brought it to dance, in fact, at times she puts the music on and I say, I make her laugh a bit: 'we go dancing', and she dances the same as we do. They say: 'you are honestly here to bring a person a step further'. Because I also want to say, at times when there are my problems, when grandma looks at me and she sees I am a bit down: 'What is wrong?' I tell her: 'I have a headache'. 'Oohhh', she says, 'are you tired? Come here, sit with me, relax a bit. You are tired'. 'Yes, I am a bit tired'. We both talk about our things, us two, as we are friends for life. Yes. *(laughs)*. For real.

I: Yes, when you would describe your relation, it is a relation like being friends?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And with grandpa? How do you describe that relation?

R: With grandpa, they are, it is like, she says to him: 'but look, I love you'. She says these things because it seems like grandpa does not understand anything, but at times he understands, you know. At times I ask him: 'Do you understand?' Because at times I say to him: 'Grandpa, is everything all right?' When I put him to bed. And he says to me: 'Yes,

yes'. But it is not all of the times. It is very unique like that. Also he laughs, when she says something sweet, it is like he is laughing. But it is not so, how do you say that, visible. But it is something. However, he never makes any trouble to anyone. I feel good with both of them.

I: Yes, okay. So it is.. he does not really talk, but it is als not like he does not hear a thing?

R: Yes, he maybe hears something he understands, because at times if you to relax, he does like.. It is, with the nurse, he remains a bit like that. Because she says: 'Calm, you see, how beautiful your wife is here' (*laughs*). And he laughs. He truly laughs like he hears that his wife is there, as if how the nurse says it just breaks him, he opens up (*laughs*). She says it like that. I don't know why it makes him laugh, but she says it and he laughs at times, so then he is not always quiet.

I: And so, how is the relation between grandpa and grandma?

R: Yes, she hugs him, she says: 'You are the love of my life, you see, you are my husband, you are beautiful'. But honestly, he is good looking, it is certainly a handsome man, right? He has been a handsome man. Because he used to be, but he is still. Only that he does not talk, but she keeps him truly close because he is very well groomed.. Every day he takes a shower, he washes himself, he perfumes, everything nicely done. It is a pity he does not speak. A pity he does not speak. But he is doing very well.

I: Yes, so it is a pity?

R: Yes. And she talks about his life every time. How they met each other, they were children still, how she has seen him: 'Wauw', she said. 'He is mine, and from no one else'. (*laughs*). She always tells about their lives, their childhood. When they were teenagers. Because they honestly married as boy and girl, right?

I: Okay!

R: Beautiful, both of them, because also she is small, sweet, with dark eyes. A beautiful woman. A pity that also she.. We say that it is a pity, a shame that both her and her husband are sick.

I: I am sorry?

R: She is sick but also she feels sorry that she sees him being sick. Because he has been gone, it will have been sixteen years more or less that he has this sickness.

I: Ten years?

R: Sixteen years.

I: Sixteen years, yes.

R: That he started to slowly, slowly, declining. There was nothing to do about it. The damages inside your head, this disease..

R2: The disease of Alzheimer's. It destroys slowly.

R: It has hit him truly, it has hit his head. On the contrary she didn't have it, she begun with her - how do you say that - mentality, she went out of her head. Because she felt sorry to see her husband like that. She did not want anyone to see him. No, in fact, they did some things to hide it. For him, to take him to the back part of the house, because she did not want the people to know he was sick. Yes, she properly locked him inside, because she did not want anyone to see it, not even his brothers, his family, nothing, nobody. Therefore they say that she is a very bad person. In a sense, she did not give anyone permission to visit her husband.

I: She is very.. how do you say that, protective?

R: Exactly, too protective. It is too much. They say she is bad, I don't know.

I: Yes. Hm. Yes. And in general, how do you feel with this job? You like it, not like it?

R: I like it, yes, yes. It is a job that, I say if you work day and night, who knows, but for me it I won't feel good. Because it is hard, and heavy. But, during the day, it is half a day, I am good. Because I know which hours I am arriving, and I know which hours I am leaving. So I have time to.. Because previously I have worked fixed once, the first year I came here, I have worked as a family assistant with a person who was, she has had something that half of her body was paralyzed. So this arm was dead. Also her leg.

I: Ah, yes.. One side?

R: Yes, exactly. She walked, but she was a very bad person. Bad in a sense that.. Also during the day. Not knowing how to speak Italian, and never people arriving there. I have stayed four months with her.

I: Four months? Okay. And this was the first working place?

R: The first, yes.

I: How many families, how many grandparents?

R: No, no. I have worked this time as a family assistant, and then there has been a period, after 2008-2009, that I have also worked as a family assistant, the same with a person with Multiple Sclerosis (MS). It is that they die slowly, slowly, at the end she remained without.. they cannot even eat. I have worked as well in that period, I stayed, about two years with her.

I: Two years?

R: We were with three persons to care for this person, because she was really sick.

I: Because at the end it was not..

R: Then a period came that, they told me to first give her something to eat, staying for one hour, then it started to be two hours, then it was the whole afternoon. At the end she lady said if I wanted to stay working the whole night. I did the night, because she need to turn around every 5 minutes. Because if not, she felt bad. You put her on this side, she goes every 5 minutes like: 'Aaaah, aaah'. She started screaming, so I needed to turn her on the other side.

I: Every 5 minutes?

R: Every 5 minutes. And so, it has been a bit hard.

I: But you have done this also?

R: When I said to the lady: 'Look, what I do during the nights, no, I don't do it anymore'. I searched for a person and she did the nights. There was one who did the morning, and I did the afternoon.

I: Yes. And so it is, when I hear this it seems like it really depends on the persons you work with, that one you give care to? When this person is sweet, I don't know.. the relation is good, also for you, it is better, but..

R: Yes, yes. Certainly. For example now I feel good with the current elderly, because it is a relation with everyone, everyone. They are good, they are good persons. At least with me they are good. Protecting grandma, it is with her, with the mother.. because they see her every day, they see her, also I am sorry to see that the mother goes a bit.. But no, with them it is a good thing. With everyone, the children, with her sister, with the nephews.

I: With the whole family, yes?

R: (*nods*).

I: And what aspects are important for you in this job?

R: Yes, yes. That I feel good. Yes. Because if you, for example, do a job, they treat you bad,

you are not doing well, I tell you: not even one person would stay, not even I would, if they treat you bad and I stay, also I will feel bad. On the contrary with these elderly I feel good.

I: Yes, but why? What do you think?

R: Because always when I arrive I laugh, it is difficult that they also see it if I am a bit down. But, if it happens, they are like: 'What is wrong Laura? What is it? How is it going?' I tell them that something does not go well, I am like, I am like that. Well, they give me also - let's say - an advice.

R2: A motivation.

R: A motivation yes. 'Come on', they tell me, 'look, if you want something, I need you to do this. You need to do another thing'. And yes, then it goes better. They also share a bit of their affection with me, right? So I feel good there. They are feeling to me like family.

I: Yes, okay. And.. I don't know if it is right, but it sounds a bit like.. You give a lot, a lot, but also you receive a bit?

R: I receive, yes, yes, yes. I said, I receive as well because of this, with their relation. More than enough also. And also with my husband. Yes, when my husband is there, and the sister of the grandma, the one I care for, that are the days that grandma is behaving like someone else. When my husband talks she is like a smart person.

I: Really?

R: Really. At times with my husband, it is like grandma, she is really smart and like there is nothing wrong. When my husband comes along, she starts: 'Ninni, where do you go? Ninni, where are you going?' I never see her doing that. She starts, she knows things, she sees things, they talk. Because he says to me: 'But with grandma nothing is wrong?' And I say: 'There are moments that when she feels good with a person, she becomes another person, with you for example'. And she says to me: 'Look, I want to go eating, he has to eat with us'. 'No, no, wait, he comes after, we eat first, he eats after'. In fact, if she hears the doorbell, she is like: 'It is your husband! Go open the door! Come, sweetheart, go, go!'. 'Now, what does your husband give me?', she says to me. 'Come, come, have yourself a seat, here'. She does everything. She brings him also fruits, if she can, she puts all different fruits somewhere so he can eat it after: 'I put them here for him'. 'No, grandma, he does not want to eat fruit'. 'But come on, why does he not need to eat? Come on, go, leave it for him to eat'. And he says: 'No grandma, look I have already eaten, I don't want it...' (*laughs*).

I: So funny.

R: She sees we are like herself and her husband, when they were younger, she says: 'You see, it is hard now like this with my husband, but you with your husband, you are beautiful and very good persons'. 'I feel good with both of you, so good', I tell her. She laughs, and then she makes jokes, she makes jokes I can not put it into words. In those moments she has been, she is another person. After, when we are just the two of us, I don't know how the afternoon will be but.. then one day when the nurse arrived, she said: 'but look, grandma has done this to me, she is crazy, she did that to me, she did everything'. All the bad things the nurse sees are against grandma. I tell her: 'if it is true, I would like to try an afternoon'. And stay with her so she can see how things are going if I am with grandma, honestly, because she tells another thing.

I: Yes, so maybe when I would speak with her, it is a different story or not?

R: Eh yes, I don't know. Because she says as well, when the nurse puts grandma in the

shower, she doesn't want it, she screams. She does not want a certain hotness, she is afraid of water. However, there is another nurse, who is German, from Germany, right? She is a really good nurse, in fact with her I feel good, and with her also the lady feels good. She says: 'Look, I am going to wash you'. She does not say a word. If she does it, she says it really: 'I am now going to do your back, after I do this..' She washes everything. Doing it equally. If she makes her shower, the lady does not say anything. Instead of with the other nurse, they are always screaming. Because I tell you, the other nurse puts the water too hot (*hits the table with her fist*) or too cold, that is what I think.

I: Yes, this is what I want to ask you something about.. what is the difference between care and good care?

R: Yes.

R2: The nurse is the nurse, she cares because she is a nurse. The lady needs this kind of care, but she does not go along with the nurse, and with the family assistant she does, she stays well with her. Because she, she cares, she keeps her better, they go along with each other. On the contrary with the nurse, no. The nurse comes for the cleaning, for these things. But the nurse does not give love, I think that is it. She does not give love to grandma. And therefore grandma always refuses. And she becomes bad with the nurse. But with the family assistant..

I: Yes, but why?

R: It is her character. She wants to command. It is the character of the nurse. She is a bit roasted, right? She is rigid, too rigid. Because it seems to me that she stays also with a lot of sick persons, the nurse. Because she goes around, one hour there, one hour at another one, and another one... Well, she is like she holds herself back with this, right? That is one thing, another thing is, when she arrives she is also nervous, and wants to do everything. And no, no, that does not go well for them, for nothing. No. You need to have an enormous patience. I told her already: 'Anastasia, you need to have patience with her'. I said 'Do you hear what I say? Give her a bit of affection. If you do that, she is sweet like a cake, but if you shout, she shouts more'.

I: No, that is not a good effect. Okay, it sounds a bit like the nurse, that she is not very personal with them? A bit more distanced?

R: She always commands them. But the other nurse is not like that.

I: Yes, the German one?

R: The German one. Yes, as I said to you, she is.. they never fight. No, they go along. But she only comes when the other nurse is missing, is not coming, then the other comes. As she says, I am a quick fix, she says.

I: A quick fix?

R: A quick fix. Because when there is no nurse, or she is sick, or she needs to do a visit or something why she does not come, the other nurse comes.

I: Ah, okay, yes I understand.

R: It is gradually that she stays with them.

I: Yes. And what aspects are difficult or don't you like about working as a family assistant? Things that are, I don't know, difficult or..

R: Right now?

I: Yes.

R: Now, for me there has not been a difficult thing. Also yes, how to tell you that, with this

person who was terminal, for example the doctor said: 'You have three years, then you die'. You see, also with these persons I had a good relation that she did not have with others. You know that I am good one, to tell you the truth. That no one could talk with her, because she.. slowly slowly she was dying, her.. how do you say that?

I: Her senses?

R: Exactly. Difficult. To say anything. She did like: 'Aaah'. (*makes mumbling sounds*). When she wanted something to resolve, something she wanted, she did like: 'Áaah, aah'. No one understood what she wanted, well I.. I took my, I gave her a... (*points at my notebook*).

I: A notebook?

R: Yes, and a pencil. And it started with an A, with a B, with everything. Doing that to let her say what she wanted, well, if she wanted her cup, she wrote the C, the U, 'aaah, aah', she did like: 'aah, aah'. You see. As she said it to her husband, 'aah, aah', you see, she made me understand her, and others did not understand. You see. I had this with them. Sending this messages.. How do you say that? They needed me to send things to them, this is what I felt from them. In fact, she said every time that she wanted something, it was if I felt everything. Then they started to do something of it as well, which was a bit better, because a few days I suggested it. But they did not do it before, not her husband, not her children, no one had done it as I did. It started with me. In fact, she, every time that she saw me, when I arrived, she was like, she was happy, it was what she wanted.. she called me Paulina, and she said: 'Hello Paulina', and hugged me. She was happy, she laughed, she cried, she let her tears out, because she said: 'Finally, someone comes who understands me'. You see. I know that.

I: But, hmm.. I don't know.

R: At none of my workplaces I have felt bad, at none of them.

I: Because.. in one way it is very good that you understand her, but in another way it is a bit sad because it is just one person who understands.

R: Because not all the family assistants are good. You see many cases where, also on television, that they are fighting with the grandparents. You see, because, if you don't know what kind of person comes, they become really stressed. The persons becomes stressed.

I: Yes. And you said that not all the family assistants are..

R: No. (*with emphasis*). They are not all good.

I: Not? Ah okay.

R2: They came here to be family assistants. Because working every day, I think.. night and day the stress hits you.. and so you change as well.

R: In fact, with the person I started with, the first one, she said to me: 'Because you don't have the documents, look, I will fix your documents'. But when she got angry, she said to me: 'Go away, go away. I don't want you'. In fact, every fifteen days she changed her family assistant, or just after one week. Because the porter told me: 'I don't know how you have made it to stay four months', he told me that. Truly, four. When she told me to leave, she said: 'Go away, go away, I don't want you'. It was a fight. I said to myself: 'All right, but I need, I need to work', I really was having difficulties. So I cried, and I said 'Madame, go find me another job, I want to come less here', I begged the lady like that. Because I was becoming stressed. My children far away, they were small still, my husband there with my children. I was here, alone. It has been really..

I: Ah, okay, your husband was not here then.

R: No, no. He came later. Recently.

I: So, you were here alone?

R: Alone. And so, it has honestly brought me stress. That she said these things to me. I said to myself: 'But if she does not hire me, in fact I remain staying without documents'. I was properly at the end of what I had and could. When she gave me my last salary, my last salary she gave me, because she was punctual. I already packed my luggage, I said: 'all right'. Like she said: 'Go away'. 'Yes, now I don't come anymore. Look, if you are serious about what you say, I don't come. You search for another person, because I don't stay here. Not even a minute'. And if I say that, I do it. In fact, I have taken my luggage and I went away. She called the agency and they arranged someone new to go to her, I don't know who, I never returned. They did not call, they did not search, not even she did. Look, I have really done it like that. Because you arrive at a point that it does not go well, if you are good, you are sweet but... Everything has a limit, right?

I: Yes, yes. Certainly. Certainly. And that was your limit?

R: This made me arrive at my end, and I said: 'enough'.

I: And I am sorry, but how long ago is this?

R: It would have been around fifteen years ago.

I: She was the first?

R: Yes, the first year yes. Sixteen years ago more or less. Yes, yes. It has been a bit a bad experience, right? Then it has been ugly, in a sense that..

I: It was bad because of her?

R: Because of her! She was evil. In a sense that she was bad, I don't know, she did not even allowed me to shower her. I have been there for four months and she has never showered.

I: Ah wauw.

R: No, if she did it, because this side of her was autonomous, about everything. If she washed herself, every fifteen or when she did not say it, I could not do it, she has never let me help her. She did not even want me to clean the house. She did not want it. I did it when she went to rest. But she could smell the perfume of the cleaner, and she smiled and said to me: 'But what were you doing?' I said: 'I have slept'. But it was not true, I cleaned while she was in her bed. Because, because I thought, maybe some relative of her would come to visit. I did what I would do everywhere. But she did not want me to, because she wanted me to stay close to her, she said; 'But what are you doing?' (*angry voice*). I was bored, I really felt like I was a sick person as well. Yes, and once she was a little aggressive.

I: Yes? What happened?

R: Aggressive. Evil. And one day, she has - how do you say that - she had this walking stick, she had a walking stick to walk with.

I: Aaah, okay, for walking yes.

R: A walking stick, a walking stick. What you use..

I: Yes.

R: She wanted to fight with me with the walking stick. She did like this (*makes a smashing gesture*).

I: Pfff.

R: And I said: 'that is the first and the last time that you make this kind of joke, because the next time with this stick, I will throw it on the street', because we were at the fourth floor,

right? I said: 'Look, I take your stick, and I break it'. And she was a bit shocked, right? Never again she did it (*with emphasis*). But, the porter told me that she was evil, she was fighting with all the women. With me she didn't fight. However, it came to a point that she did, you see.

I: Unbelievable, so bad..

R: We have that, at times we feel good, at times bad.

(*silence*).

I: And is it something that has happened afterwards or not? With others?

R: This what I just told you? No, no, no. It has been this one time. And because of that I have said I never work again as a family assistant.

I: Ah, because of that?

R: In fact, I started working half a day, cleaning the houses, but not as a family assistant.

Then the jobs I had, I said: I am like a family assistant, but I don't feel like a family assistant, no I feel like, how to say that, a domestic worker. As with this current family; you go, you go there, I do what I need to do, those things I want to do in the house, no one commands me.

Everything, I am in control there. Eating, I fix everything. No one says to me: 'What do you do, what have you eaten?' No, no, they take me for everything, everything.

I: And do you feel, now with this job, you feel appreciated?

R: Yes, yes, yes. I feel like that. Wanted by everyone.

I: Is that important?

R: It is important, yes.

I: Because the first experience was not...

R: The first has not been good. The other, with the woman who had MS, I have felt really good, also with her husband, her children. Also with them it has been good, a really good relation in fact.

I: And what.. you said that, also what you see on television, what do you think about the things that are written about family assistants nowadays? Is it positive or negative or?

R2: Each person makes his own version of these things because each person.. Not all are good, not all are good, not all..

I: Like with all jobs?

R: Ah, I said that on the television there are bad cases on the tv, you mean that?

I: Yes, but..

R: Aaah, also I say, look, I am sorry yeah, I am sorry, but if if you don't know which family assistants to take, don't do it. If someone doesn't have that spirit, how to say that, to send this love to these persons, don't do it. It is better to do another job.

R2: Family assistants who only do it for the salary, not because they like the job.

R: Exactly, not because they like it. Because if it is that, don't do it.

R2: Maybe if there is an abandoned grandma, and the children are paying the salaries, they have the money, they take someone, right? And then the children leave and the grandma remains alone, with the family assistant. Well, if this family assistant is bad, poor grandma. But if this family assistant is good, it is better. However, you don't know. Because the children, many children leave their mother, their grandma alone. Being abandoned, they go away. And you don't know.. well, when it is discovered that the family assistant has fought the grandma, and all the things she did, it is too late. Because many, many people don't take

this job because they like it.

I: Because they need it?

R: Because they need it, that is the thing. If you take it for the salary, it does not interest you if the grandma is doing well, if she feels well, nothing. Then if the grandma is not in good shape, this grandma suffers. Slowly, slowly, she is left to die. Slowly, slowly, she will pass away.

I: And also... I don't know how to say it but maybe.. the responsibility is not divided? A bit the children, a bit the family assistant, a bit.. but it is only?

R: Yes, they leave it to the family assistant alone. This responsibility. Yes, in a sense yes. I had a friend who had two elderly she cared for.. It is not a friend, I knew these grandparents. They lived close to my house. But first, the grandma was in good shape, they were with two elderly, super elderly, 85 years, but they were strong, still in good shape, both of them together. There were no children or something, they were always abandoned these grandparents. And the grandma fell, she started to be sick, but her husband always went to the pharmacy, to take her medicines. It was a bit though, because both of them were old. The grandma..

I: He was strong?

R2: Yes. The grandma died.. Well, the husband was left alone, after only the grandpa was left on his own, and then the son took a family assistant in the house, a south-american, a type.. Sure I say it because we are also south-american, but not like that. And the south-american worked as a family assistant, well, they left her alone at grandpa, the strong grandpa, who has always been like that at his age of 85, but this grandpa, they left him alone because his wife was not there anymore, and then you saw these people there..

R: Strangers.

R2: That grandpa.. They made themselves comfortable, because they made something to eat. It was, you know, his house always looked so well, with these two persons. And then all these people entered there, the grandpa abandoned, they gave him food like he was a dog, it got worse.. they gave him something to eat, and grandpa, slowly, slowly, he let it go. And you see, these people that entered in the weekends would take over the whole house. But the son never came to visit, but this grandpa, they just left him, until he died, he died, this grandpa, this grandpa died because of his loneliness. Then it gets worse if you find yourself in a house with strangers, who come there to make a party, to do these things. Instead of caring for him. Instead of giving care to this grandpa, and also the grandpa let it happen and then, in about one year, he passed away. They were both strong. But at the end..

I: So in one year he..

R2: Also he passed away because he was done with these people. You see his house, it was so sad to see him alone like that. He was bright in his head, but he looked so.. they were cooking. Aah, they were Dominican. Dominican people.

I: Aah, okay.

R2: And there was this guitar music, and we like salsa of course, but in his house, you don't put this music on, I am like that.. If you have permission, okay, of putting on these things in the house of others, I ask first. You understand. If you like it, all right, If you don't..

I: Like the dancing?

R: Yes, yes.

(laughing).

R2: But this Saturday, that music, hard and loud.. to get drunk, to stay in the backyard, to eat, living there with their friends, but grandpa was like a dog, he changed afterwards, he became skinny and was only watching, watching. I have seen it because one time I entered, the son I knew, well, I don't know why we entered, to have a look, and after I felt even more affection for the grandpa, the poor one. I have seen that situation, poor man. He did not see me, I was like: 'Hello grandpa'. And he looked at what happened, and that was it, he was a poor piece. And these people made themselves always comfortable. I saw it, poor grandpa.

I: Very sad.

R2: First he was very well, but this is a sad story. Grandpa passed away. Within one year he passed away, when you don't find a family assistant that loves you, that gives you care.

R: Because there are also people who instead of properly caring are just saying their job is just because of the money. For me, I need to care for these elderly more, give good care, because that is my job. Because it is my job, because they pay me to do that. You see, you now, there are properly people who are.. good, good, good. Who are soft with the elderly because there is some affection as with.. as it would be our family, our own family really.

R2: Our own family. Our loved ones, because also ours are far away from us. For us, it is something I would never do with my own mother, to bring her to an elderly house, never. It is in a sense that, my mother, my grandmother, we don't do these things. Sometimes they come here to Italy. Well, if you have children, you see many, many family assistants are here.. This is their job, because the children, what do they do? The children put us there.

I: And how is it in Ecuador?

R2: No, in Ecuador we give the care ourselves.

R: We.

R2: We, we! A few you would see maybe with the rich people, Because the richer you become, the more you are without a heart.

R: *(laughs)*.

R: Do you understand? We, on the contrary, we are humble people. We don't do these things. We don't put other ones.

R: We care ourselves for our people.

R2: Also you need to ask me, my grandmother is 89 years old.

R: It is my grandpa who is born in 1924, and you know? He is in good shape.

R2: Being cared for my family. Wander around in his house.

R: Yes, yes. The care for my aunt? I cared for her.

R2: My grandmother the same case.

I: So, it is not something that is possible to happen in Ecuador?

R2: To take a family assistant, at our place?

I: Yes, yes.

R2: No, no. Because it is not..

I: It is not the culture?

R2: No, it is not the culture. To take a person. But the rich ones yes.

R: The rich ones, yes.

R2: The rich ones yes. But we, no. Also I, my grandmother is 87 years old, and my mother gives her care. She is in good shape. She keeps her. It is her mother. And so far she lives at

least with my mother who keeps her, she says: 'It is my mother, I care for her'. We think: we would never leave her alone. Do you understand? So, we are like that.

I: Yes. And therefore.. I try to imagine that, because it is really something that does not happen in your culture, is it also a bit strange to be in a strange family?

R2: Yes, for us it is strange that we see children who don't want their parents, grandparents, they refuse them.

R: That is why I am saying, but come on, give them a bit of affection!

R2: Many times when a grandparent dies, we are crying more. We are the family assistants who are their family. We cry, the family assistants cry more than the family. The family by then has left.

R: Because it is something that certainly touches your heart, if something.. you feel affection for this person.

R2: At least we are like that. Because we are gentle, but I don't know about others.

I: No, no. Maybe it depends.. yes.

R2: Exactly. And this is our story.

I: Yes, thank you. Can I ask also what things you did?

R2: Ehhh yes, I have told you that from 90, 2000, what year are we in? From 2007-2009 I have done it. But I only did the substitution for the weekends. I told you.

I: Only the weekends?

R2: Only the weekends, I resumed from Friday to Monday morning at 7. I took Friday, and ended on Monday morning at 7. I went away because I started with my other job that I had. I did some other job in that time. And so, I cared for these grandparents, they were two. The grandpa was in good shape, but he was sick, he had a sickness in his.. he had a prostate disease, so, 90 years old he was. The grandma on the other hand had Alzheimer's.

I: Alzheimer's.

R2: Alzheimer's. She has passed away, the grandma. I gave care.. so she was secured during the night, because she always woke up. Dinner, after dinner a pill to sleep. She would re-enter the bed at ten, let's say, she was like she was drunk with this pill, so she went to bed. But she was like a clock, at 3 o'clock, it was the grandpa who was in good shape, he heard it, grandpa did like this: (*makes knocking sound*), because the room where I slept, I had always the door open, so I could hear it. He did like this: (*knocking sound*) with a glass, I don't know, he had something. As I tell you, she woke up, I went and she was lying there completely naked, she had done pipi.

I: Aaah.

R2: Yes, I pulled everything, 'if you need to do pipi, what do you do, grandma?' Grandma already did it in the bed. It was always, it was always a thing that happened.. after I took her to the bathroom. She started crying: 'nooo, noo, I don't want it', like that. And then I was like: 'go, go', I changed her and the bed, renewing the things, I went to the bathroom. She said to leave her in the bathroom, but if you don't stay attentive: 'Grandma, what are you doing?' If you left her, it was.. I let her go because I was alone. With the door open, because you need to watch her. Because if you don't watch her closely, she took the roll. The hygienic paper, she would take the whole roll. So, she left everything like, everything broken, one big mess. And then, I took her to sleep a bit, 'Come on, grandma, sleep, a bit more' I gave her her medicine and that is it. In the end she would sleep. And then it all started again at 7 in the

morning, sleeping, falling asleep.

I: Because you were there..

R2: Day and night.

I: Yes, exactly.

R2: Yes. It is very heavy. Because she does not let you sleep. Then, she would start to go.. If she is finished sleeping, she finished at three in the morning. With everything naked, with doing pipi.

R: She was like a clock.

R2: Yes, it was Saturday, Sunday, I needed, I went to work there. But all the mornings she was like a clock. And then, I took her, I changed her, changed everything, I walked behind her. Because it was impossible to leave her alone, because she wanted to go outside, she wanted to go to door. She.. Therefore, I left everything closed, the gas, the kitchen, I closed the door, everything.

I: Because otherwise it was dangerous?

R2: It was dangerous. She was aggressive. She was aggressive. 'No, no!' And I needed to go the whole night, from three in the morning on, to stay behind her, behind her, behind her. 'What are you doing? Grandma, come here, sit down'. 'No, I want to go!!' She went to the door and screamed: 'Help, help me!' And then to make them tired, we went out on Sunday, at ten, because also I cannot sleep with a person who does that. I was super tired.

I: Yes! But also there were two persons?

R2: He was in good shape, he sat down with his breakfast in the morning, ate everything, he went to his couch until noon, that..

I: It is a bit like the division in your family now? [to R1]

R: Yes.

R2: Yes, both of them. But she had Alzheimer's, and I took her outside, but she knew her house, she did like: 'We go all the way here, a whole round'. 'Grandma, where do you go?' She walked away. 'Come here, come here, grandma'. She walked, she walked. We went onwards. 'No, come here, we'll go home'. She: 'No, it is a walk around'. She knew her house, I saw that she knew her house. She went there, where the porter of the house was. She did the whole round, we see if she makes a mistake. I went with her, she was always so fixated, because as with Alzheimer's, she was so fixated that she did not see, it was like her world was not the same. Only walking, she walked, she walked. And you go with her to keep her behind you, behind, behind. She walked and crossed the street and that is it. And then we went home, I made lunch, also that was something that.. For grandpa everything was fine, lunch, everything, he was always behaving like a sir, with the cutlery, everything was okay. But she was the thing.. What a joke, that, grandma eating and spitting out again.

I: It was difficult for her to eat?

R2: It was difficult.

I: But why, she did not want to or?

R2: She was commanding grandpa. 'Well', (*strikes with fist on the table*), she said to grandpa. How she became so disgraceful I don't know: 'Well', Allora (*again strikes fist on the table*). 'It is enough!' Only towards grandpa. Not to me, she did not do it. An action about nothing. About nothing.

R: (*laughs*).

R2: 'Grandma, come one, eat'. But, at grandpa, at her husband, she behaved like a diva towards her husband. I don't know why. It was grandpa who she was screaming at like that: 'Well, what do you do? It is enough!'. Because he looked and ate, ate, looked, ate. I did not fight like that. Then she was like: (*makes a gesture of someone who doesn't want to open the mouth*). I started with putting the food in her mouth, in her mouth. In the end she ate. And that was my job. Then in the evening same story. She slept a little, little bit during the afternoon, grandma did not go sleeping a lot. But she was angry about that. After making dinner, pasta, it was time for her medicine because that was a thing that.. her medicine was the only thing that let her sleep, it was this pill. And the same routine every day. In the end her nephew decided it was too much. Because at times he talked with me, he had another person who stayed from Monday to Friday. But grandma has started to get worse. A period she was more aggressive, she did not want anything. She did not let grandpa rest, that kind of life. And her nephew had decided to bring grandma to an elderly home, I don't know where they brought her. And then only the grandpa remained. And grandpa has this problem with his private parts, that the skin was completely damaged. He needed, he needed help with washing, changing the bandage every day, doing this like a nurse, every day I had to wash this - how do you call that - everything there, then he washed himself and then because all of it was gone, he put a cream, putting a cream on the damaged parts. And Monday I needed to clean, and he said that it was not so bad. However, this switch had to be done every day, every morning. But the other day he gave me the bandage, telling me to clean because he could not do it, I came to clean it..

I: It is a lot, right? To do all this?

R2: Yes, with a lot of patience. Yes, yes. You need to have eyes on grandma, eyes on him, eyes on grandma, eyes everywhere. It is for him, he did not do anything, he could wait when grandma was asking me something. Being a family assistant is a very difficult job. Worse working with these persons who are so sick. With a completely healthy person, okay.. But with a person who has Alzheimer's, it is very difficult. The stress you have.

I: Is it also something that you, both of you, did you have previous experience with caring?

R: Yes.

I: Yes?

R: I knew, I knew also how to do an enema, doing injections, everything. Because the nurse showed me once, which things I need to do for that, she showed me how to do it, that is it.

R2: Yes, also to me. They showed me because I did not have any experience. This was the only experience I had with these two grandparents. That is it. Because the lady who worked there said that the nurse was from my country. She came on a Friday, she showed me how I needed to do the care for grandpa, what food I need to prepare, also more the care for grandpa, how many and what things I needed to do with him, and what pills I needed to give to grandma. These things she showed me how to do them, everything, and that's it. Without previous experience, there was not a moment that..

I: You did not make mistakes or?

R2: No, no, no, no. In fact, you do it because you have a responsibility.

R: You improve with these things. To do the things. You learn more, the more you do, the more you learn.

R2: You learn new things.

I: Yes, but I can imagine that at first it is difficult. When you don't have any experience..

R: Exactly. After, slowly, slowly, everything goes, when I work. It is more easy. Every job, you learn more. Starting to make new experiences. Maybe for me it is needed in working, to learn new things.

I: It is something you need in your job?

R2: Yes, I need to learn, if it is correct or necessary what I am doing. Learning these things and doing them well, because it is a person, right? We are talking about something that is breakable, it is a person. This skin is very delicate, so, you need to do, you need to have a similar responsibility. Monday morning I left everything in a good state, I left a note, I went. She [other family assistant] arrived, and I left. Yes. And this is my experience, I don't have more. After I always did..

I: For how many years did you do it?

R2: Two years I worked with them, I needed to substitute every weekend.

I: And, the same question I have asked Laura, what aspects do you like or don't you like or are difficult?

R2: No, it is not that I did not like it. It was difficult with the grandma. More that she wakes you at three in the morning, you understand? Because when you go to sleep the same time as grandma, at eleven in the evening she went to bed. Then you need to wake up at three in the morning, eleven, twelve.. but then you don't sleep well! You go to sleep, you sleep a bit, because you need to stay attentive that you need to wake up also. You don't know what to do with grandma because she did not understand anything. Well, this experience is stressed, working with a person with Alzheimer's is very difficult. You need to stay attentive, don't sleep, or just from eleven to three, these are three hours that you have slept.

R: Also I have worked during the weekend. With a person.

R2: Yes, with persons who have Alzheimer's it is bad, because..

I: It was also stressed or not? [to R1]

R: Nooo, I said, I worked at a place, let's say from Monday to Friday one place, maybe in the morning you go to one place, in the afternoon I do other places, so this kept me better because I talk with one person, then I talk with another one, and I am not busy the whole the day and the whole night, because that I didn't like.

I: Yes, okay.

R2: This is the case when you work fixed. Fixed no. I have worked fixed, I tried working fixed, in one house, it has lasted one week. I cannot do it.

R: I did it for four months (*laughs*).

R2: After one week I said, I will never work fixed anymore because it is something very stressful.

R: I worked with children also..

R2: You cannot go on with your life, you can't do anything anymore, it is very stressful. No case of seeing your house in the evening. Now I work during the day, then I go home.

R: To rest. As normal, calmly.

I: Yes, not like always, always working?

R: In the weekends I worked instead. With a doctor, I remember, a very good person. And you know, that I did not even know how to cook? So one person who came on Friday, left me already all the things ready to warm up for Saturday and Sunday. And the doctor, he was

honestly a doctor, the cutlery needed to be all very precise. I properly learned there how to prepare a table. He was alone. It was an enormous house, with a swimming pool, with everything, two floors, one person, with his dog also (*laughs*). So I found this place through a friend, you see. When I started, slowly, slowly with doing all his books, learning how to do the cooking. In fact, he liked it that I did this, that this person left. He told me: 'you are more in shape than him', because first there was a man who gave care to him. And so I said 'I also feel really good here'. I worked six months there because after he died. He was in good shape, truly in shape, but I heard that he went, he had been in the bathroom and then, with blood everywhere, dead, I don't know what he had or happened exactly. Pfff, one week and he was gone. He was a very good person.

I: But also that is, I don't know, but I think that is maybe also a bit a difficult aspect when someone feels like family?

R: To remain?

I: Yes, also when someone feels close.

R: You know I have learned how to play cards because of him, because this job was like that. To play with him. He showed me how to do it, and I started playing cards with him. And I became better than him.

(*laughing*).

R: And I let him win, because if he did not win, it would be bad. 'You see', he said, 'this is my price, you became better than me' (*laughs*). He had humor, from four to six we played cards, because it was what he wanted, because he had a person to do all the other things, he had them, right? I was only there to keep him company in the weekend. I entered Saturday at two o'clock, until Sunday seven in the evening. I have felt super good, with all the jobs, all of them I have good memories of. Because I have worked at many places.

I: Yes, how many?

R: Oehhh...

I: Do you remember at how many places you have worked?

R: Many.

I: Fifteen years, yes.

R: Many, yes. And I have felt good, I worked with many. I worked at more different places because these persons died, you see, I feel sorry for that. Because I did not have someone for a long time. All this affection you feel for these people and then..

I: Yes, that is something we don't decide.

R: Also with one lady who had the same Alzheimer's, or no MS. The one with MS, who died in three years, she was the longest one. It started when she was twenty years old.

I: Twenty?

R: Yes, she got married. And one day after she got married, she was pregnant, the day after she was pregnant of her daughter, she had one daughter. That day she has been - how to say that - she got sick also, until the tenth birthday of her daughter she has walked, walked, walked. Then, she could not go out anymore, slowly, slowly, she was in a wheelchair, she was truly sick when her daughter was thirty years old, I remember Ornelia, her daughter, for thirty years she had a mother. She ate, because you put it in her mouth, at first she could do it with her hand. When I went away there, as happened with other workplaces because they wanted me to stay also in the weekend, I felt sorry to leave her because I felt really good with

her. And after she started crying a bit because she felt that slowly, slowly, she would not be able to eat as before, she ate well. It was more than 35 years that she had this disease, MS takes very long.

I: Very long.

R: Very long, because I told her before, she would have three years and that is it. It was terminal, this MS. It is called sclerosis multiple. It is different. These three years they said when it started, she started when she was pregnant of her daughter, the first day. She started to feel bad, to feel bad, to feel bad. She had a daughter who told me she had a dream, that it seemed a beautiful thing, but it was a dream of lies, there was a white rose, and she said this was her child. It has been like that. She always told this bad dream, that everything was black, everything was a lie. In this lie, there was a white rose, 'it would be the daughter that I will give birth to and then that was it'. The daughter said: 'I don't know if I will have children some day, because if I think about mama, I mean, look at her'.

I: It is something that her children had as well?

R: I don't know, I don't know this illness. In fact, she was not married, she had a boyfriend, that's it. Then they returned there, because she had a, her boyfriend was Sicilian. And Sicilians are a bit more flammable, and he said to me: 'If you don't come to work in the weekends as well, as we want it, you'll never come back here again'. You understand? 'Well', I said, 'all right, I will never come back'. In fact, I never returned, not even to see her daughter, the mother, no one. Because he said these words to me. He was Sicilian, and also I have my pride, you see. These two things. I am sorry about it but I never came back.

I: Was it a bit like blackmailing he said that?

R: Yes, and after many years I have seen him. Outside on the street, he did not even greet me, I did not even say anything, because I did not know if he would be close to me or not, I saw him, or that he would fight more, I don't know. I did not know if his wife was dead, I have never been able to ask, she cried as well. She told me she was sorry.

I: Yes, very sad.

(silence).

R: Yes, there are many things. There are beautiful ones and ones that are a bit displeasing. Because it is not nice to leave sweet persons.

I: It is really a job where you are close to people. You are in the same house..

R: I get attached to them, like they get attached to us.

I: It becomes a part of your life?

R: Like family.

I: As family, yes?

R: Yes.

I: Can I ask a last question? Because you [R2] have done this job for two years, but do you think you will do it again or not?

R2: No, no, no.

I: You don't prefer this job?

R2: No, no. I did it as a replacement. I did it with responsibility, but my job... no no.

I: And why?

R2: Because... I don't know. For me, no. You see, I work with mister Lorenzo in his house, cleaning the whole house. I feel good with them, really good. That is what I like. It is.. doing

things in and with the house, other jobs are better for me.

R: That is what I said, I feel good because I do everything, I feel the same as in my own house.

R2: Also it depends on the persons you find. Not everyone is..

R: No one tells me anything. 'See, you do this, you do that!' No, it is the contrary: 'Don't do too much, come one, relax a bit, stay calm' (*laughs*). Instead I say, all right. Because when I am active, I am a bit..

R2: I, on the other hand, I like it to be more active, do this, do that. The house, the room, also the time passes quickly. Instead of, caring for a person, when do you do it? Tuesday I took care of the husband of a friend. I stayed there, she went away and left me there with him, he has MS. Staying with him, sitting down, without doing anything, I only gave him care because she told me to, recommending me, maybe he starts coughing, leaving me with her husband who is sick. I sat down, without doing anything. And I, I like to be active, to work. I don't feel good to work like that, caring, looking, the time does not pass.

I: Ah, okay. It is really like that?

R: To me the time passes super quickly. Everything is true.

R2: Because she does the family assistance, but also she does the cleaning.

R: (*indignant*). I do everything! In that house I am in control.

I: Okay, it is not only the care-giving part?

R: I do the caring-part for them, I stay active with them, right?

I: But is that also something you like? For example, when it is only the caring-part as you said, when it is a situation that you cannot do other things as well?

R: Yes. Yes. I am saying that also when something is not going, they say: 'leave it, leave it, stay, enough to do with caring for the grandparents'. Then in the afternoon I work at other places. So I do it everywhere. I finish at five. I arrive at home being happy, oooh, the day is finished (*laughs*).

I: You are now with your husband?

R: My husband yes.

I: And also the children are here or not?

R: No, my daughter.

I: Aah, the daughter, the youngest?

R: Yes, she is twenty years old, she came here when she was sixteen. She came here, if she did not feel good here, she would return to Ecuador.

I: And she came with your husband?

R: With my husband, yes, yes.

I: So he was staying first with the children?

R: Yes, yes, yes.

I: So you stayed here alone for a long time!

R: For ten years.

I: Ten years, aah.

R: Ten years alone.

I: And wasn't it difficult?

R: No, I am used to stay alone and because of the job I am not missing out on kindness. I worked a lot, also in the weekend, as I said, because I like it. I felt also the strength of doing

this. I want to say, I have been doing well, with the job, with everything. And yes, I missed my children, and my husband as well. However, staying alone makes me better (*laughs*).

I: Very independent?

R: No, I feel good. Also now with my husband staying here. We are with the two of us. My daughter is almost never there. She is already grown up.

(*silence*).

R: But I don't know if one day I will turn back to my country. Yes, I will return.

I: Yes?

R: Yes, yes, yes. I say it to the god of Italy. However, I got used here you know. And my husband (*laughs*) said: 'you will never return anymore', he was joking.

I: But you, when it is possible you'll go?

R: I will go. I am only here to.. Yes, yes. First I traveled almost all the years, after it became something more difficult, every three years I went, yes or every two years.

I: And you, Julia?

R2: I, yes, I will go back to Ecuador as well when.. I went in 2015.

I: But you're thinking about going back for ever or?

R2: Yes, yes.

(*laughing*).

I: It is out of question?

R2: Yes, yes, I'll go.

R: But yes, our country is our country.. I am sorry. We are here, you see, to work.

R2: To help our children, but when that is finished, all of us will go back.

R: You miss your country, right? We miss our own country.

R2: Yes, I will go back. I'll go back.

I: But do you feel at home in Italy as well?

R: Here? Yes, yes.

I: But what is the difference? I mean, I think I understand in a way it is not your country. I don't know if it is the same but for example, I like Italy, but it is not the Netherlands..

(*laughing*).

R2: You see! Yes.

R: Exactly. Yes, the same for us. I like Italy, but I will miss.. It is not my country. You see. Because there I feel.. it is the country where I was born. Where are my..

R2: There we live like.. These two small houses. We have our own house.

(..)

I: Yes. Thank you so much, it is getting late now, so maybe we should close down. Thanks a lot.

Family assistant 3

Lena, Peru, Lima, about 45 years old, divorced, daughter of 14 years old, in Italy since 2006, had also experience as a caregiver in Peru before she moved to Italy. Before the interview I attended the intake she had with one of the employees of the family assistance desk.

I: Because.. first I would like to know which aspects in working as a family assistant you like or don't like.

R: I like working as a family assistant.

I: Yes?

R: Yes, I like it a lot.

I: And why?

R: I like it because if you are like me, I left my child behind, in Peru, and when I started working as a family assistant there is a big affection, because an elderly person is like a child. I have to clean them, just like a child, and when I did not have anyone here, it was so close, so much like - I don't want to work as an employee - no, like it is my grandmother. Like that.

I: Ok, so it feels a bit like this lady is like your grandmother?

R: Yes, as I said.

I: Yes. Okay. Because you said first you have worked in Peru.. and did it immediately feel for you as a job you like?

R: Yes, I like it. Therefore, because I still work like that, with elderly persons, seventy hours or more.. I like it because I like working with patience, and I continue doing this, although now I can't work much because my daughter has arrived, she stays here, in Peru.

I: She is in Peru or not?

R: She is here, in Italy my daughter arrived. And I continue for some hours, or for during the night, working like that, as a family assistant.

I: You don't change?

R: No, therefore there are the three hours that I have now. Two times a week, and I like it, and therefore I don't want leave there, the lady is good, calm. I like staying with her.

I: And she is the woman who..

R: Yes, I said that I give care to her three times, no two times a week.

I: Okay, yes. Three hours, two times. And how would you make a description of your relation with her?

R: I make a description?

I: Yes, yes.

R: Of how I do with the lady?

I: Yes, but how do you feel with her? How is your relation with her?

R: My relation with the lady is good, after I have heard that the lady talked about me, that I am good, kind... yes!

I: Ah ok! So you feel also appreciated?

R: Yes, I feel like that, with her. Also her sister, is a bit angry. However, she is not angry with me.

I: Ok with her? The sister?

R: The sister yes.

I: Because she stays there?

R: Not much with me, but with her who gives her care, also there is a lady for her that is on a fixed basis, because I know I do much in three hours. Also, she is a bit special. However, instead of the sister I give care to the lady, I do the shower, I make the coffee, I do a manicure, pedicure.. it is very good. It is different with the sister. The other one.

I: Okay. What is the difference exactly?

R: The characters, the characters.

I: And that is important for you to feel good?

R: Yes, it is important. However, one needs to have patience, with a person. Because if one does not have patience, one can not work. One can not work without patience, I have a lot of patience.

I: Ok. Was it always like that, like you have had many patience? Or is it something you needed to learn to have?

R: No. I have been working as a family assistant already in Peru, I have always had it.

I: Yes, so it is something in your character?

R: Yes, it is my character. I am true, also I make it clear, I am always smiling.

I: Okay.. and you have said that it is a bit like, elderly are a bit like children. Because they need care?

R: Yes, changing the pants, wash them, and give them something to eat, if they can not eat, you put it in their mouth, I do everything. For me, nothing is a problem.

I: And are there also differences between caring for an elderly person or for a child according to you?

R: No, no. (*silence*). Yes, there is a difference, because a child talks, she talks to you, she tells you things, but instead elderly when they have dementia, they don't talk, they talk to you about other things. You don't understand the things they are talking about.

I: It is not possible to have a conversation like we are having now?

R: Yes, exactly. And with children you can, understand and after talk a bit, they tell you a story, about many things. Instead of that with the next elderly when they have dementia senile of Alzheimer's, we can continue to talk, but after they forget.

I: Yes, and when they talk often they say the same things?

R: Yes, continually they say the same things.

I: And is that difficult for you sometimes?

R: Yes, it is difficult because it continues.. Not just one time, and one hour. No, they say it ten times. Then everything goes that was good, if you're healthy, calm, everything goes. You have to have patience for things with elderly. And you have to stay calm, play cards, say things: 'we are going to do this now', because they continue to talk about the same thing. They continue, continue.

I: Yes, I can imagine that is also a bit tiring.

R: I work more with this, with the brain and the hands that is what I do, more with the brains. Family assistants work more with their brains to find the middle.

I; And why do you say that?

R: Because these are sick persons, there are persons that continue to say the same words, continue with that and you are here. The next day it is again continuing, continuing.

I: Hmm, so it is more psychological?

R: Psychologically it is stressing for you, right? And so, you have to have patience, doing another thing.

I: And were there moments that you thought: 'No, it is too much.. I don't want it anymore?'

R: Yes, yes, yes. Also. However after the man I cared for said to stay. Because I was angry and after I became calm again and we went on.

(*silence*).

I: Ok, so when he was angry, you have thought that?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And this... Can you explain a bit more about this situation?

R: When I was angry, he just did not let me sleep, I need to have rest for the next day, right? And he thought, we start blanco again. I: 'Now it is done, I don't work anymore, I am so tired, continuing the same thing...' Three days he did not let me sleep, I could not stay in that way. And so I said 'no', then I went away. After, I calmed down and I said, 'all right, I continue'.

I: Pfff, ok.. But how did you do this? It was a mental change?

R: (*laughs*). Yes, yes, like that. Yes. I said it. Because after slowly, slowly it becomes your vision. I was angry, but after you continue while the years pass, continue to stay there, one year, two years, three years, they pass, everything is fixed with this person. You stay with him, 24/7, I can be angry, because when someone has a vision - it is difficult to tell you - because you live with him, eat with him, stay with him, sleep with him, everything...

I: Always.

R: Yes, you go to the supermarket with him, you go talk with him, always like that.

I: But, yes, I don't know why, but one forehand I thought it is a bit lonely, but you are always with a person or..

R: No, no, no, no. Always, since I arrived in Italy, I always worked on a fixed basis, 24 hours to 24 hours. Now I can not because I have a child.

I: Yes. But she is.. when did she arrive?

R: In december?

I: Ah okay, so first she stayed in Peru, with your ex-husband?

R: With my mother, and with my father. Yes, and after my daughter wanted to stay here, and I have said that is ok.

I: Ahh, and for you? Was it something you wanted or?

R: No, I have said, that is okay, quickly. Because my daughter is a teenager, she is 14 years old, she stays with me. I don't want anything to happen because I am here, and she is there. Because not everything is work, not everything. And also, I have a responsibility towards my child. I thought that she got here, to stay with me.

I: And how is it now? That she is here?

R: That is why I am now searching for a job as a family assistant, although for the night or the morning.

I: Because she sleeps during the night?

R: Because I can still see her then.

I: Yes, I understand it.

I: And how do you feel now with her here?

R: Happy, happy. I am happy, so many years I have left her there, so many years. To work for her.

I: Also the things you did were for her maybe?

R: I make a big sacrifice for her. To leave her. Because she is my only daughter. So, I am happy and joyful now. I am there, she eats, makes me a surprise, I make her something to eat, and after I am with her, my daughter, I am at my house, my house and that's it.

I: So it is more together?

R: Yes.

I: And was it a difficult decision for you? When you left Peru?

R: Yes, difficult, very. I wanted to go back, to go back myself there, back to Peru. It is difficult because I leave my daughter of two years old behind. When she was so small. Yes, it was difficult. After, slowly, slowly, I have said: 'No, I have to stay here still, I have to work, after I take her here, my daughter'. However, I did not have documents, for four years I did not have documents.

I: Four years that you did not have documents while staying here?

R: Yes, I did not have it.

I: Aaah, so it was not possible to return?

R: No, no. No. After five years, they have given me the documents. And then, I could go immediately, I went there to see my daughter. And after, I fixed the documents for her, for my daughter. And my daughter could come for one month, after she went back there. Like that, moving on. And after my daughter said to me: 'mama, I want to stay with you'. All right, now she came here and now she stays with me.

I: Yes.. and what do you think of the future?

R: Me?

I: Yes..

R: I want to still work, for my daughter because she wants to stay here, she wants to study here, she wants to go to university, she wants..

I: So here in Italy?

R: Yes, she wants to stay here, she wants to study here, she wants to go to university, she wants a job here.

I: And you?

R: I will work for her. To give her everything that... I need to pay right? After, later.. I will go to Peru. I don't know about my daughter, if she will go with me or if she builds up a life here. After I will come to find her, stay for three months here, go there again, like that. Because when I think of staying in Italy, I don't really think of staying here.

I: And why?

R: No.. Because I want to stay there, in Peru. With my family.

I: Because your other family is still there..

R: Yes, my mother, my father, they are there. My sister, my brother, everyone. We are with five.

I: Five in total?

R: Yes, only my sister arrived, the younger one. She arrives now and stays with me. She stays one month, after she goes to Peru. A tourism project. The first time because no one have ever visited. Never.

I: And, I don't know.. but do you feel also at home in Italy or?

R: Yes, yes, yes. I hear my mother, everyone [misunderstanding].
(silence).

I: Ok, I want to ask another thing that you have said before, because now with the lady you care for, with her the relation is very good you said, but also..

R: .. There I do something, I am sewing what is broken, also that I do. I am also ironing, and I shower her, I do pedicure, manicure, her hair, everything..

I: And how do you agree on what is your responsibility? Is it something you have talked about before with the woman, or with the woman's family? Is it something that.. I am sorry, it is not clear. I want to know how it is clear which things you need to do? Your responsibilities?

R: Yes, I have said that, with making the contract, also with assisting her sister, 'when there is nothing to do, you do the ironing and the sewing, when something is broken', they have told me that. It is a bit of everything. But not the house, there is much to sew, that is it. When I am busy with the lady, I don't do the sewing, but if not, then I do it.

I: So it is something that you have agreed on before or is something when you were already working, there were other things you needed to do?

R: After the girl who worked fixed here said it to me, that after I clean the windows, we make these things, that is what she said. The lady did not say this, but it is okay, I feel good there. I do it, it does not change anything to clean a window as well, it does not change anything. I do it.

I: So you have to be flexible with these things also?

R: No, no. I do it without any problem. I do it. When there is nothing else to do, I can do it. Why not? It is not difficult to clean a window (*laughs*).

I: Ok, ok. Yes. (*laughs*).

R: It is important that, that I feel good. Over there, they are not controlling me, if she eats something, or drinks something. No, she does not want it. They make a snack around five, and they say to me, you have to take something as well, you know? Or a coffee, they are not bad. So I do it, it is not a problem for me. If I have nothing to do with the lady, or with the sister, if I showered them already and when there is still time, and she asks me to clean something? I do it.

I: So, it also depending whether there is still time left?

R: Yes, I am only there for three hours. If there is time, I do it. Yes.

I: Ok.. are there, because you said that you truly like the job of a family assistant, but we also talked a bit about the things that are difficult about working in another country when your family is elsewhere. But are there, in doing this job, also things you don't like or that are difficult?

R: For me it is difficult to work on a fixed basis, because I worked the whole morning with a man. I needed to stay the whole morning, the whole afternoon, and even also the night, when the man sleeps. There I changed, because I need to wake up good in the morning. Instead of a man that does not let me sleep during the whole night and still I need to stay the morning to wake him up. That is what makes me angry, that is not right, I have said. That is heavy.

I: When it is truly everything you need to do.

R: I said, 'I do the night or the day, you have to decide. I cannot do both'. And the man was angry, he said: 'If you don't work fixed, you can not come here'. I was angry. 'Look, I am not clear', I said. I only work because I have to work, however not during the night, because I need to sleep calmly, work calmly during the morning, I have to cook, I have to this and that. But the man has said it is just like he want it.

I: And when was that? With this man?

R: With one man I have worked with. In March the relation was finished.

I: Ah okay.

R: However, he did not say anything, because they were like that, he only pushed me, only me. That is it. They decided because he said that if I did not like it, they would find themselves another family assistant. He said that, 'all right, I do not do anything'.

I: Because also you did not want it anymore?

R: Yes, but I continued working equally, the same. I thought of it, and then I said, 'I work the same. I need to stay here'.

I: Yes, and he was also the man that was a bit aggressive?

R: Yes, it is him. Sometimes also sweet. When I went out to take a coffee, after having breakfast, I took him a muffin or something. I am like that, you know? And I have stayed with him for one year and a month, almost two months. Now. I am always like that with everyone, I like that. I am not someone who says: 'No, he should give me money to take it', no... I do it, it costs only one euro. Or when I make something at home, a cake, I took it. And he eats it: 'so tasty', he says.

I: So it is always..

R: I am happy, I am being appreciated, I like working. But on a fixed basis, no. Too much, when I work. I said, 'you need to do well with sleeping, look, I took this', I am telling him, 'I took a muffin, I took an ice cream for you, and you do not sleep during the night, come on! Be good', I said. 'If not, I am leaving, I can not stay like this, not always like that, not always'. 'Nooo, I sleep', he does not remember anymore. It was like that.

I: But he did not sleep?

R: It was not him, it was his head. It takes over. It is not even his fault, because it is a person who is sick. In his head. Well, you cannot say like, eehh, no if you can..

I: It happens like that?

R: Because at that moment he is not reasonable. You can not say something, also he can't, However, afterwards he does not remember it. Afterwards, it is like that.

I: It was like that the whole time that you were there?

R: For one year and two months, yes. After this incident happened, we were calm again.

I: Yes, because.. Can you describe this relation? With him?

R: Yes.

I: It was not as with the woman I think?

R: No. No. No.

I: With him?

R: With him it was... There were days that it was good, there were days it was like that bad. However more bad than good. I stayed there while doing something and he said to me: 'I have to go outside'. But I needed to close the door because, when I would be in the bathroom, or when I am in the kitchen, he escapes. So I closed the door with a key. 'Give me the key, give me the key', he said to me. He said swearing words, all of these bad words, he called me also a whore. And also I stay with a book like this (*makes a gesture of holding a book*) and one time, he came and hit me.

I: Really?

R: I stayed there, and I did not see it and the man came. however, I did not see it: 'aaah', I said, 'slowly, slowly', he calmed down.. I told it to his cousins but they did not say anything and after that, it was done for me.

I: And also in that situation you need to stay calm or?

R: Yes, well, they took him to this hospital. But also with his sister, he was evil right? He wanted to fight with his sister. I said: 'noo, enough, enough!' I said it: 'stay calm with your sister'. He said: 'No, she is a piece of shit that...'

I: He was truly a bit aggressive?

R: I said: 'enough, enough! Grandpa, come here'. 'No, this is my house, I am commanding here!' Instead his sister said: 'stay calm'. It was like that, he is aggressive.

I: Pff, also even more difficult with two persons?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And what do you think, maybe in giving but also in receiving care, what is the difference between care and good care?

R: Yes. To us he has this attitude, in this moment he is right, whatever he does. But no, it is not like that. It is his head. Because he is a sick person. And therefore he changes in this way. And for us he can do this because he cannot not do it. But to me it seems that he has this sickness, that is Alzheimer, and everything that he does is because he is being sick. So it is also not his fault. At least I say that, no. However there are persons that have Alzheimer's and they are passive, not aggressive, like the woman I had who was sweet, and they just eat, they eat the whole time, they eat, continuously. Still she continues to eat. However, I liked it a lot also with him, not because it was like that, one time good, one time worse, but more bad than good. However, it was not his fault or blame, it was his sickness. It is that, I don't know how to explain this thing.

I: Hmm.. So it is necessary for all the persons who give this care to realise that there is a disconnection between the person and the sickness, and the head.

R: Yes, because the persons that are aggressive they need to go to the door of the hospital also, therefore they brought him. Because they were afraid that he would fight with his sister. As well.

(silence).

R: Because I, you can not control them, they are aggressive, he can control you. He need to go to the hospital, stay there, with other aggressive persons.

I: Yes, ok... And for you, which aspects are important in a family?

R: In a family.. For me what is important from this sick person? Their family members? The family?

I: Yes.

R: Most important for me is that they are good, they treat me well, they need to pay me what is right, because often they make something sneaky like: 'I already gave you the payment, you have to work during holidays', and they don't make you the payment. They do not even pay you in the payroll. Do you understand me? After this, when the payment is right, they have to be persons that are human, correct with us, right? That we can eat well, not always pasta, pasta, pasta, pasta.

I: Also that has happened?

R: Yes, this has happened as well. And that is important, to take me into account within my job. Yes, for me these are the things.

I: Yes, and with the elderly?

R: With the elderly you can not say it, because I can not say if they are good, or if they are not, because they are sick. Can you say: I work with these elderly because they are good? No,

they have an illness, it is called Alzheimer's. It happens that they are slow. So, you have to stay there with patience, and open a bit your character to go ahead with the person you assist.

I: And it is nicer and easier when you have a good relation of course. But are there also situations that you don't want to give care? With a person?

R: No, I am like a character that also, always finishes something. Always. I go to the end of the end to finish a job.

I: You truly dedicate yourself?

R: *(laughs)*.

I: Yes, yes!

R: One time I worked with a man for six months, he was angry all the time. I had a glass close to him, he took the glass he wanted to pull me and fight. And I stayed like this: *(makes a defensive posture)*. And after I put only plastic glasses there. If he would throw it, all right, it is at least from plastic. Imagine it would be glass, it was bad.

I: Yes, yes.

R: I was the only person who stayed there until the end, until his death. After six months. Instead of all the other persons who came to work there. They all left immediately.

I: Ah truly?

I: Because he was difficult?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And you have always stayed there, until the end?

R: Until the end of the end.

I: Wauw ok. I'll have a look at my list with questions, because I have asked much and also you have just a bit of time... Yes I think it is all right like this. Thank you so much.

Family assistant 4

Before the interview started one of my contact persons at the family desk came to me to ask me how long the interview was taking, and that she had a new respondent to bring in. I told her I needed about 30 minutes, and she explained to me that the woman had someone waiting for her in the hallway and that she didn't have so much time, so if I could do it in 10 minutes. This highly influenced the interview setting and atmosphere. I felt rushed and didn't really dare to ask through. The woman was restless and seem to want to leave as soon as possible. Her answers were very short and she would not use more words than strictly necessary. This could be also part of her character, but to me it seemed more related to the time pressure than to her character. Finally the interview lasted 15 minutes.

I: Maybe you could first describe a bit who you are, what is your name, where you are from, how old you are etc.

R: My name is Mara I am from Romania, I work in Italy since 12 years, always as a badante. All those 12 years I have cared for two ladies, one for 7,5 years and another for 4,5 years. And I have felt well, I do this job with a lot of love. To care for a person. And I like elderly people.

I: So in general you have liked it with both of the two persons?

R: Yes, yes. I have felt very well. Very well. With the elderly people, and also with their

family. I have felt really good.

I: And could you describe your relation with them? With the elderly for example?

R: Ehhh, the first lady had dementia senile, she had congestion problems and she had glaucoma at her eyes, problems with her sight. And in the beginning it has been a bit hard, in the beginning, because I have went to her house, she lived alone, I did what she wanted, but slowly slowly.. We succeeded in understanding each other, and we got along in the end. She has put her trust in me, and slowly slowly, the relation became very good.

I: Ok, because first it was a bit difficult with the trust?

R: Yes, she stayed alone, she lived alone. And after a certain point, a strange person arrives at your house, that is a bit difficult. Later, slowly, slowly, she trusted me.

I: Yes. And for you? Because I think it was also for you a new situation?

R: In the beginning it is a bit difficult. But slowly, slowly.. The first job was still more difficult because I did not know how to speak Italian, I did not know any people. It has been very difficult. But slowly, slowly, I have learned Italian, I learned a way of cooking. And we were, we have created a good relation with each other, we had a good relation and we went like that until the end, until she passed away..

I: Ah, ok. That is sad.

R: Yes.

(silence).

I: And what did you do in a day? Cooking you said and..?

R: In a day, first I have been busy with the lady. She was self-sufficient, she washed herself alone and I stayed close, close in case she needed me, I gave her a hand. After I prepared breakfast, and after I started cleaning the house. After cleaning the house, ironing, cooking. All the things you do at home. We could go for a walk in the afternoon.

I: And so you have worked during the whole day and during the whole night?

R: Yes. I stayed the day and the night. Day and night yes.

I: And this.. how was that for you?

R: Hmm... Yes, I had two hours of rest per day. And on saturday at 2 o'clock I rested until Sunday evening. I rest, I went out, and then her daughter came, sometimes I worked, sometimes the children came. Her children came, cared for her when I was not there.

I: Yes. So when you were not there?

R: Yes, yes. She has to be where you go, always someone should have stayed still.

I: Yes, and were there also aspects you think are difficult? With this job?

(silence).

R: Yes, it is a difficult job, but if you do it with your heart.. then it does not always feel difficult. If you do it with your heart and with love.

I: This is the most important?

R: Important yes.

I: For you and also for the elderly?

R: Certainly. Also for the elderly.

I: So..

R: You have to do it with your heart, with love, and with patience.

I: Ah, patience. It is also important?

R: Very important.

I: Ok.. I don't know... was that also something you had to learn? To have patience or?

R: Yes, yes. I have learned many things. Because several times she repeats the same things. In the end you say: Yes, yes, I am listening to you. There is nothing bad, if they sing another time. It was nothing bad at all. (*laughs*). No.

I: Eh ok. Hmm. Yes. What do you think is the difference between what you did, domestic care and care in a residence? According to you?

R: Hmm.. According to me it is the same thing.

I: Yes?

R: Hm. According to me. But I, like I am alone here, so there is nobody, I am not going to pay a full rent, and go working in a residence. There are persons that are with their whole family here, like that. Anyway, you take a house, rent the house, and cover this kind of job.

I: Ah ok. So, that is the difference, but the care is not?

R: No, according to me, the care is the same.

I: Ok. And can I ask if you have a family in Romania or?

R: My family is in Romania, everyone is in Romania.

I: Ok. And it is possible for you to visit them or?

R: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. I go during the vacation. Yes, I'm going in the vacation.

I: When do you have vacation?

R: Normally in the month of August.

I: Ok, so you have one month?

R: One month, yes.

(*silence*).

I: Ehhh, was it a difficult decision that you were in doubt when you arrived in Italy?

R: Yes, it was very hard in the beginning. First of all, I did not speak Italian. First of all. I only knew 'buongiorno' and 'ciao'. Nothing more.

I: And how did that feel?

R: After I have learned it by watching tv, a bit from the lady, a bit from the tv, and I started to talk. It makes me understand. Yes, it was easier to understand, but it was more difficult to talk, because you are afraid you will make mistakes, that you say some wrong words, and you arrive in a circle like that.

I: Yes.. and so, these moments that you did not know what you should say, were also the difficult moments?

R: Yes, it was very difficult. Yes, yes. Very difficult.

I: Hm.. Were there also moments that you have thought, I do not want to stay here anymore?

R: Yes, I have thought that.

(*silence*).

I: And what happened in these moments?

R: I thought to have patience, I said to myself: still, a little bit more, slowly, slowly. The things have to go in the right direction. If you make a commitment now, you'll make it here, you have to push yourself. Have patience, engage yourself. You'll make it.

I: So, patience is truly an important thing?

R: Yes, it is true.

I: And now, how are you? How do you feel?

R: Now, when I have cared for the second lady, also she had dementia senile, she had more

or less the same disease as the other lady, as the first lady. Apart from that the second lady was worse, she had cancer also. They have found cancer, a tumor.

I: In her head or?

R: In her gallbladder.

I: Aha, ok.

R: And this went very sudden. In one year time she passed away. And it was easier because I already had experience with the lady before. I already knew how to speak Italian, I had already adapted to the habits here, because the ones they have in Romania, there is a certain point of habits, which are different, you have to challenge yourself to get used there, to be able to move forward. It was a little easier, as I said. That I was already speaking the language was a great thing. I knew how to ask, to ask questions, these kind of things, I understood the things there were saying, and the lady was a great help afterwards.

I: She?

R: Yes.

I: So it is.. It sounds like, I don't know, I am trying to imagine it as well. Like this is also difficult, you have a good relation with someone, you are always with her..

R: Yes, yes. We have had a good relation. With the first and with the second. I can say I have been lucky to find these times these very good ladies, the same applies to their families and I have been lucky.

I: Yes? Do you feel lucky?

(silence).

I: And how did you find these families? Or they found you maybe?

R: Yes, the first a friend of mine found them. And the second they have found me here, at the family desk at Sesto.

I: Ah, ok. So..

R: There are two taxes and premiums, and after one week they have called and there was a lady that needed help.

I: Yes, and with her you stayed 4,5 years?

R: 4,5 years.

I: And, I don't know... Could you describe the relation with the family?

R: With the family it has been a very good relation. They made me do several things, I took care of the lady in the first place. Hygiene, cooking, pastries, all these things. And they when I had some difficulties they encountered me. It was a care like, I said before, I was lucky to find these great families. We always got along. If there were some things, they talked and I felt trusted, it was without arguing, never arguing.

I: And could you give an example of such a difficulty?

R: Ehhmm. To say to them, I had to go back to Romania, I had to do something urgent at home. I had already taken my days of vacation, and I asked if I could go away for two weeks, and they have been so kind, they made me go. For this kind of difficulty.

I: Yes, ok. So, they also were sympathetic with your situation?

R: Yes, yes.

I: Ok, the last question, I think. Do you feel appreciated by this family?

R: Yes, yes. If I am appreciated? Truly!

I: And how do you feel that?

R: Ehmm, yes.

(silence).

I: They said for example they are happy with you or?

R: Yes, certainly certainly! For sure, for sure. When she died, the second lady died with me. There was no one of her children, and all the three children, the lady had three children, they hugged me because I have stayed close. Because, I thought they should have been right there, when it happened, this misfortune. But for too many reasons they were not there. It was me.

I: Yes. So you were there in that moment?

R: Yes, and when they arrived, the lady passed away already.

I: Yes.

(silence).

I: And now you are looking for a new family?

R: Now I am looking. Now yes.

(silence).

I: Ok, the last one..

R: Ok..

I: What do you think is the difference between care and good care?

R: Care and?

I: Good care?

R: But.. You have to care for someone with a lot of love, these persons. Because the sick ones arrive. It is no one's fault, this sickness. And we have to think everyone has a grandfather, a mother, a father, it could be ours. You see, you have to do it with your whole heart, with a lot of love.

I: Yes, and so you also give the care like it is your own family?

R: Yes, for sure. For sure.

I: Ok. Yes. Thank you so much for doing an interview with me.

Family assistant 5

I: Yes, maybe first it is good to know something more about you, so where you're from..

R: I am from Salvador.

I: From?

R: Salvador.

I: Salvador! Aah ok!

R: In central-America.

I: That is very far away!

R: Yes, it is very far away. And it is since four years that I am in Italy. Four years that I have worked as a family assistant, with elderly persons. I have also worked as a babysitter.

I: Ah, also?

R: Yes, also. As a babysitter. And after, I have worked, when I did not find any of these jobs, I have cleaned houses. Or I worked maybe one hour or two with several elderly. Also I have worked at a hospital, where the hospitalized are.

I: So you have done a lot of different things?

R: A bit of everything.

(laughing).

I: It depends a bit on what is possible?

R: Yes, I have cared for the elderly, who had Alzheimer's.

I: Because with how many families did you work?

R: I have worked on a 'fixed basis' with two families. After I started working with a lady also on a fixed basis, but that took only 2 weeks because after..

I: Because?

R: She died *(laughs)*.

I: Ahh, ok.

R: Yes, she was already sick, she was truly sick.

I: So, that was very short?

R: Yes, they expected that it would take longer with this lady, but unfortunately she is gone. And after, I have worked outside of Milan, I worked at Lecco. And now here in Milan.

I: So you also move around?

R: Yes, yes. Also. I go back and forth like that.

I: And so, when I have understood it well, there are three families, but one very short, and the others more far, I mean longer?

R: Yes, longer, we say.

I: Ok. And what did you do there?

R: I did everything. When I worked there, with the elderly. When it was fixed, because when I worked fixed, you sleep there, you do the cleaning, you prepare the meals, you have to pay attention to the persons, going for a walk with them. Sometimes I had to do the groceries for them as well.

I: And those things for example are, it is something - how do you say that - that you have talked about before you started or it is something that happens?

R: Before, I have talked with the family, with the children of this lady. They have told me to stay here, when I went talking with them, they have told me I only had to stay here, in general as accompaniment. Only to accompany the person and to do the cleaning. After, the other things came like that, it came to me like you also have to help them to do other things. That's all.

I: And how was that for you?

R: For me it is.. I like it when I start with working. They say certain things to me, like 'you have to do this, this, these other things'. But, sometimes perhaps also the children of this elderly person came to bring the groceries. Or they called me, and told me: 'no, we are coming another day, because we don't have time today'. And I always said: 'no, don't worry. I do whatever I can do'. I can always create a way to do all I can, all that is needed. To always give a hand to those people. Like that.

I: So you are always flexible?

R: Yes.

I: But do you also feel flexible or?

R: *(laughs)*.

R: Yes, I like to always give more than I can.

I: Yes?

R: Yes.

I: Why?

R: Because, that is how the persons have more trust. Therefor. And later, they see that I am not only here to do only the things they tell me to do. Besides, I also like to learn more. Because I also learn from them, and they learn a bit from me. I always like it to let them see who I truly am.

I: So that is also important? Trust?

R: Yes. For me it is very important because like others have said to me: 'it is very difficult that the persons have this trust when you start working'. And for me it is very important because I like it to let them see how I am, because then they start having some trust in me. It is for that.

I: Ah ok, but so you said it is often or always in the beginning difficult to receive that trust?

R: Yes, it is a bit difficult because they are persons who perhaps have had several family assistant, I don't know, different persons who have worked at their house and after that another person comes, you get to know the person and they don't remain, let's say. To get to know a person, therefore it is important. But that is how I am.

I: So it is the most important to show them that you can be trusted?

R: Yes.

I: And which other aspects are important for you in this job?

R: Yes, it is the responsibility of something that one has. Because you have to be responsible with what you have to do. Besides, how to say, besides I always like to search for ways to.. I don't know how to say it.

I: Don't worry. A way to..

R: To.. But in reality, I have liked ways that they understand who I am. That is my point, exactly.

I: So, that they also know you a bit?

(silence).

R: Yes, because it happened that I worked with a lady where there were persons that were not very sympathetic, about my skin color, therefore. So, I searched for a way that this person sees me as who I really am. Well, that has always been a bit a difficult moment for me. A bad situation we say, it has passed however. For this I make them, I like to make them see how I am. Because perhaps the persons think bad, and therefor I always like to show them how I really am.

I: To give..

R: .. to give them proof.

I: A proof of that you are a good person?

R: Yes.

I: And this experience, could you maybe explain a bit more about it? What has happened?

R: Yes, I can explain it. Because first I worked with, there was a lady in Lecco, I went away to live there in Lecco, to work with this lady. But, after I have been in Lecco, I returned to Milan again. After this lady. And the daughter of this lady for whom I worked in Lecco called me and had another place to work for me. To give care to a lady, and I had to go to talk with these persons. I talked with the nephew of this lady, and also another person - I don't remember who - was there. Ah, it was the cousin of the sick lady who I had to give care to.

Who also had talked with me. However, the moment I entered this house, to talk with the nephew of the lady, there was also this cousin of the lady, and when I entered the cousin said to the nephew: 'But we have to take this girl?' 'Yes, she is good, because she has also worked with my uncle you know'. 'No, I don't like it because you see her skin color', and after this, there were persons, they talked bad, you see. And the nephew said to the cousin: 'no, no, no, listen to me, decide when you have seen with your eyes how she works'. 'Well, ok'. After she saw how I was and everything, and she said to me: 'you can come'. I went, I have stayed there to work. This lady always had to go to me, during the morning, the evening, she watched the things I did, the things I didn't do. But less bad than first.

I: She was checking on you a bit?

R: Yes, she was checking on me. Less bad, because I am a person that when I work, I do always everything. I don't like to stay and sit somewhere, let's say. You see.

I: You have a lot of energy?

(laughing).

R: But she always found me, or in the kitchen while cooking, or while I was cleaning the bathroom. But she said, in the end, when she talked about me, that she saw that I always was busy, I always stayed doing something there, or I was paying attention to her aunt. Her cousin has said, after the job ended, her nephew has told me: 'Do you know that in the end she started liking you, my aunt?' Because she said she saw that I was always busy, I never sat down. Therefore. 'Ah really?' 'Yes'. Therefore, I am happy, because in the beginning it was like.. Yes it goes well, I have felt that. You learn during life, that is the truth. You learn also these things.

I: Hmm.. yes. It sounds a bit to me like when people say bad things, you start working even more?

R: *(laughs)*.

I: Or not?

R: Eh, yes. Yes. Because I like to work, I like to do things and I like to learn things.

I: Yes. And more specific with your work as a badante, not with work in general, what do you like? Which aspects?

R: According to the job?

I: Yes.

R: According to the job I like to give care to elderly persons. I also like to clean at houses. This is.. I like it a lot to clean houses *(laughs)*. I am crazy, let's say.

(laughs).

R: And giving care to the elderly, that is another thing that I like a lot because I have always cared for my grandmother.

I: Ah ok!

R: However, my grandmother passed away. I could not do anything, and well, with the elderly persons I give care to, it makes me remember a lot. I do, I take care of them, maybe as my own grandmother, let's say. And well, with them I do what I did and wanted with my grandmother. And well, I like elderly persons. Cleaning. Also with children, being with children I like, but not as much as being with the elderly.

I: And why? Why is there this difference? Because of the memories you have or?

R: Because children - how do you say that - I like children, however.. It is a bit more delicate

with children. Because - I don't know how to explain to you - until a certain point I like them, but after... (*laughs*).

(*laughing*).

R: I don't know how to explain.

I: It is only for some hours you like them?

R: (*laughs*).

I: And with elderly it does not become too much?

R: Hm, no. With the elderly I like it more because, with a child you can also learn certain things, but it is more - I don't know how to really explain it - but, with the elderly I like it more because, they have already lived a whole life, they talk to you about it, it is a lesson from them, about everything. Therefore.

I: Ok, so you also talk about a bit about life, about everything someone has experienced?

R: Yes, yes. (*laughs*). Yes.

I: Okay.. I don't know. Ah, yes. I want to ask something - and also tell me if you don't have time anymore - because you said that when you give care to the elderly it reminds you a bit of your grandmother, and also the relation is a bit similar, or how would you describe this relation?

R: A bit similar.

I: A bit.

R: Yes, a bit similar. Because at times, I put my head into theirs. How I am to them. And it reminds me a lot of my grandmother, truly. Because with them I do what I have liked to do with my grandmother. And therefore I like it more, this relation with elderly persons. It is also a bit different, however it is beautiful, truly, to work with these persons.

I: Yes, I would like to know also the aspects that are a bit difficult, you have told some things already, but which aspects are difficult or don't you like?

R: It is a bit difficult because sometimes they don't like certain things. Well, one should be accustomed to what they like. You have to get used to the things they like. You have to.. It is as if you need to put yourself in their heads, when they have Alzheimer's, I have worked also with these persons, they start to fantasise about things, they say different things, maybe things that are not true like that. However, I always search for a way to never oppose them. I don't know how to say that. But always do what they say. In that sense it is a bit bad, but on the other hand not. I always try to do what they want.

I: Yes, it is truly...

R: Because when you don't do what they want it is a bit bad (*laughs*). These four years have been.. And this is what I could do until now.

I: Ehh, do you want to stay here forever or?

R: Yes, I am married with an Italian.

I: Aaah ok! When did you get married?

R: I got married last year.

I: Aaah congratulations!

R: Thank you.

I: So, of course you stay here!

R: Yes!

I: Can I ask you something else?

R: Yes.

I: What do you think is the difference between care and good care? When is it good care? For you and for the elderly?

R: Hmm... For me? The difference between care and good care you say?

I: Yes.

R: For me, in caring... In caring you should only do what they say to you. But in real care there is a person that is diverse because she puts also a part of her own into it. It is doing everything in order to care well for this person. But to care, if they tell me I only care to give care. There are persons that say, you have to care for the person. 'I care only because they tell me to do it, not because I want to do it myself'. That is caring. This is another thing than... how do you say that - what is that word? The word has slipped me.

I: Don't worry, it is nothing..

R: It is more committing. Because after it is being more dependant on the persons you need to care for, you need to care well for the persons.

I: Yes. It is depending on the relation you say?

R: Also the relation, yes.

I: Ok, so.. there are different aspects? Important ones?

R: Yes, important, yes. Then I say something that, when the persons that give you a job, the initial person with, I always say that this initial person always has to see the trust, if it is there. Then, it depends what do you think of the person, if you find everything in one person. Because there are persons, there are elderly, they are like they could be children. There are persons that perhaps always.. they are always there or maybe the persons that are also wives, husbands like that, for them it is very difficult, for these elderly persons. For both these elderly [the wives and husbands] and children, when they talk to you about having a person in the house, to let the elderly person not stay alone. For them it is a type of, like a trauma. I want to say it because it is very difficult that they have certain habits, and then another person, another person is in their house, and to are supposed to have a relation with this person, but for them.. they don't know this person, they have never seen the person, it is not easy. Well, everything depends on, let's say, on me. That I do things to go ahead, but everything depends on me, how I am. The moment that you enter the house where you work, the moment one enters, you need to look and estimate closely, also with the elderly person, what does he like, what does he not like, but it is not easy because you don't know the person. However you should search for a way to understand the person. The moment the person asks, you talk. These things. I always search for a way to make them understand me, to understand them. What things do they like, what things don't they like. It is always staying... (*laughs*). It is always like that, when you start with working.

I: But this is a way you do.

R: Yes. Or no, no. it is not a way I do, but a way I have always done.

I: But is it also a way that they other persons do? They try to understand your situation? Or it depends?

R: It depends on the person. Because, certain people understand. But certain people don't understand it. Therefore one should always try their best to understand, in the beginning. When you step into the house, the place where you have to go to work. Therefore.

I: And in general, do you feel appreciated?

R: (*deep sigh*). Yes.

I: Yes?

R: Yes, hmm.. Many times I have always felt appreciated. At moments. They have always told me, in fact they told me sometimes, also when I walk on the street, take the metro, some people are like this: 'Aaah you are so sweet looking!' Like that, really. My mother says to me, she said: 'But you have something.. Because people immediately appreciate you'. And.. (*laughing*).

I: Aaah that is important. To have a character like that.

R: Yes (*smiles*).

I: So, the example that it was not good, what you have told about before, that you were not appreciated, that was at that place in Lecco?

R: Yes, this woman... But she was a racist, because she defined it, no one liked it. But at the end, her nephew told me, that I was being liked by her aunt: 'because she sees how you are, you always clean the house, in the morning you also always clean my aunt', because the woman I had to clean, wash her, put her in the shower, because she could not do anything herself. Because she stayed at bed. Well, she saw that her aunt, when I woke up the first thing I did was with her aunt. I cleaned her, I watched first out for her before I did other things. An I felt that I had to do it the whole job like that. For me it is first organising the persons. After the other things come ideally, the cleaning, they come.

I: But also - I don't know - did it feel a bit like a boost, you see?

R: A victory.

I: Yes, that you have won a bit, when the idea about you changes?

R: (*laughs*). Yes, it feels like it, yes. That is my story.
(*silence*).

I: Yes, and now you are looking for a new job?

R: Now I am looking for a new job, yes. Because it is about a year, more than a year, let's say a year and a half, that I cannot find something not fixed, on a fixed basis, let's say.

I: You don't want to work a fixed basis, right?

R: No, no! Fixed is, how to tell you, a job where you work all the days. But often I do a temporary job, let's say. And I went somewhere to a woman who called me and after I helped her with cleaning. After, I don't know, when they are going to call me. Or if someone calls me to do the ironing. It is not a job where I can say they have me all the days, no I go to work and I return home like that.

I: Yes, there is someone to return to at home.

R: Yes, but I know that at the end of the month I find myself with new taxes. And therefore I am looking for a new job. Therefore I came here also. The people told me they were here, the people talk and told me: 'in this place there is real help'. Therefore I came here.

I: Ok, so it is the first time that you are here?

R: Yes, yes.

I: I hope it will succeed.

R: Yes, I hope that... let's hope. I try something. I am sure that something will come out of it.

I: Yes.

R: You always need to have trust. That something will work out with jobs.

I: Yes. I think that is a faithful way.

R: Yes, we'll see.

I: Okay, thank you so much and all the best.

Family assistant 6 [thick description]

Peru, Lisa, in Italy since 1999, 50 years old

Before the interview started I asked for permission to make an audio-record of the interview. She did not agree with this. An interview was okay, but an audio-record was one step too far for her, she said. She didn't really explain why, but she just said she didn't like it. I noticed during the interview I was less calm compared to other interviews. I thought it was difficult to divide my attention and concentration between listening carefully to the things she said, and make notes at the same time. Especially because I aim to have a more dynamic, intimate and 'natural' conversation than having a static, formal interview. At a certain point I decided to just focus on what she was telling me and write notes afterwards. This gave me a more clear focus and it changed the atmosphere of the conversation a bit. On the other hand I still felt nervous because I was afraid I would forget important things she was saying, or would not be able to remember her exact phrases. After the interview I asked her to sign the 'informed consent-form'. So far she was the only participant that actually read the paper, and who I had to explain some things about it.

When I ask her what she does on an average day, she gives me a rich description of all her tasks. In the morning she wakes up the earliest, to afterwards wake up the elderly person. She emphasizes that it is very important to do this in a nice and gentle way, with sweet words so the elderly person can wake up slowly. After waking up they will go to the bathroom, and she helps the elderly person with washing and dressing up. Then they will go to the kitchen where she prepares breakfast. She helps him/her with eating and with taking the medicines. After breakfast she asks what the elderly person wants, if he/she wants to rest a bit on herself in the living room by watching tv for example, or if she wants to come with her. If she comes with her they can communicate a bit and have a conversation. while Lisa does other things Lisa herself will for example go to the sleeping room to make up the bed and to clean some other stuff, like doing the laundry etcetera. If the elderly person wants something else during the morning, like eating fruit or drinking water, Lisa helps with that too. When it is time for lunch she lets the elderly decide what he/she want to eat. She gives three different option. After lunch it is time for relaxation. Often the elderly sleeps a bit during these hours, so this in the free time Lisa has. Mostly these are two free hours in total, from 14.00-16.00, a bit depending on the elderly, how much help he or she needs, how much self-sufficient the person is, and how much sleep the person needs. This is for Lisa the time that she goes out to do some groceries for herself or goes out for a walk. Also these are the only hours Lisa is making phone calls, to the family members that are still in Peru for example (they are in total with 13 children, of which 7 are in Italy). She thinks it is not appropriate to call during other hours than these two hours she has in the afternoon. She explains: 'if you take the job, you also take a certain responsibility. I want to be correct in that'. To Lisa that means that you don't make phone calls during work, you are dedicated to what you do.

If I ask her if these two hours a day are enough free time for her, she answers that it is a bit depending on the elderly person if it is enough or not. If the elderly person has a bad physical and psychological situation it asks more from you, and a bit more time off would be welcome. 'You can imagine that when someone cannot walk alone, so when you have to push the wheelchair, or when a person needs your arm to find her/his balance, it asks more from you than when someone can walk alone', she says. She notes that heavy is the wrong word to describe working with elderly that need more help, it is wrong because it sounds like a burden, while you do this work with empathy and trying to help the person as much as possible. She says it is necessary to understand someone is sick and that every elderly needs a different kind of care because they have different kind of problems. Also people are different so the contact you have with them is different too. For example, some elderly are more closed and they don't open up so easily, this is not difficult, but you just have to take a bit more time. When someone is both physically and mentally sick it is not difficult, but it is a challenge.

Lisa is almost 20 years in Italy and she almost always worked as a family assistant. She gave care to two elderly men, or actually three if you count the man she recently took care of because of substitution. And the rest were women.

The first man had Alzheimer's. Dementia passively, he was not aggressive or anything but he could just be forcing and a bit intimidating in his words. A person with Alzheimer's, she explains, is always right. If you don't agree, or you don't go with them, then you have a problem. You have to follow them. There are different stages of Alzheimer, but if you stay nice and do as they want or ask from you then there is no problem. If something they want is impossible, it is important to explain them in a calm way why it is not possible. Explain, explain, explain. If you enter their house and start to command them, then probably there will be problems. It is important you explain them why you are there, that you are there to help them, not to command them. Trust is very important, so you need to win their trust in the beginning. She repeats often how important trust is. And respect, also respect is very important, she explains. You have to treat them always with respect, so always speak to them in a respectful and formal way: you say 'Buongiorno signora', 'Arrivederci signor'. You do not say ciao, or nonna. Never, if someone says ciao to you, you respond with buongiorno. It does not matter how long you work with the family, you keep the same distance in a way. Because you are not family or friends, you are the worker and they are your employers. You know each other a bit of course, but the way you talk to them, with respect, does not change. Respect is very important.

She likes to care for the elderly with empathy. The aspects that are important for her in working as a family assistant considering the family is that the communication goes well and that there is mutual respect. With the families she had it went really well. Lisa considers it to be important for example that if she asks if she can go out on a Sunday (for a particular, special reason) there should be comprehension about her situation. This does not necessarily mean the family approves her request to go out but it means that they should at least talk about it in a normal way. And there should be trust that she is an honest person, so that she would not ask it if it would not be serious. So she and the family should be able to talk about such things in a normal way. They should not say 'no' immediately without trying to

understand. People should not shout to her, but stay calm and explain. It happened sometimes that a family or the employees at a family desk shouted at her. Even though, she feels so angry from inside at these moments she always stays calm. She has a mode to not let things touch her. Maybe it is also something she learned more working with the elderly. To have infinite patience. She says she feels good having that amount of patience and distance.

But, she explains, she is not made of stone, she is not a rock. When she sees the elderly people having pain, it touches her as well. Often the elderly cry, from physical pain or they cry because they feel so much pain in their souls. Then Lisa cries from the inside. Two people died in her arms. And you have to continue, day after day, month after month, year after year.

She is used to it. Her parents were almost never at home because they were always working, there was not much money. She comes out of a poor family, with emphasis she says: poor but honest. She has 12 brothers and sisters. 6 of them are also in Italy, the three women including Lisa herself all work as a family assistant. There is one family where one of her sisters works and where she sometimes substitutes her sister, if necessary. With this family her family has a special connection, they know each other well. With other families she does not have (had) a special connection. Mostly the children of the elderly person just stop by very quickly to arrange her payments and that is it. It is not a relation that changes, becomes stronger or less strong. It is just how it is, and it should stay the same. Before she starts working for a family she has had a conversation with them to talk about the tasks, responsibilities and they explain what they expect from you. 'If you accept it, you know what you accept, you know what you do so you make a commitment. That moment of acceptance is very important because from that moment on you have a responsibility until the end of the end. And that applies also to the family. They know what they asked you for, and what are the agreements, so they should not ask more from you. They can ask a favor, once, twice, three times but it should always be asked, they should not command you what to do. Communication is they key to everything. Without communication you do not have anything', she tells.

That is also what makes the difference between care and good care. Communication. But also experience, the more you have worked, the more you know what to do. Because you improve a lot. In the beginning she did not know anything. But when you look closely when someone else does it, you will improve by doing it yourself. You have to be a bit spontaneous in that. It is also important to have patience, and do the things you do with attention. Care for someone with attention.

She feels appreciated by the families she worked for. Especially the last family where the elderly person died in her arms, she still sometimes has contact with them via the phone. They were so thankful of how Lisa took care of their mother, also in the last days, that as a present they paid her ticket to Peru so she could go back home for some time. They thank her in words and in gestures. Also with other families she experienced that they show their gratitude. And if not, one time the daughter acted not nice to her, the next day nothing changed, they just smile to each other.

Family assistant 7

I: Yes, maybe first it is good to know a bit more about you. So first, I don't remember your name exactly?

R: Olga.

I: Olga. Ok. And where are you from?

R: From Russia.

I: From Russia?

R: Yes, from Russia. I am Russian.

I: And since when are you in Italy?

R: About 15 years.

I: 15 years, ok. And all this time you have worked as a family assistant?

R: Yes, yes, always a family assistant, however I did not work steady. Different jobs have passed, for example one for six months, one month, one year and a half, like that. One place I have worked four years and a half in the beginning. My last job was only for one year.

I: One year? So, shorter times..

R: Yes, I don't know why it was for example just one year. Because one, because one lady fell, she was 93 years. 93 years (*with emphasis*) and falling down, there also was a lot of police, they arrived, she fell and broke her leg. After the surgery, her son took her home, left, first he brought her home, then to a rehabilitation center, and after to a retirement home.

I: Yes, to a structure or something similar?

R: Yes, a structure for elderly.

I: Ok, so of course it is possible that your job finishes when the lady..

R: yes, yes, yes. For me it is better if the duration of the job is longer.

I: Yes, you prefer that?

R: Yes, yes. Before this, I have worked four and a half years with a lady, staying with her was very difficult, because she had Alzheimer's and Parkinson. These two diseases.

I: Ah, both two?

R: Yes, yes. However four and a half years is a few years. It is not much time to work, that is it. She died. She died and I was looking for another job. I thank the ladies of the family desk who found something, I always come here to find something.

I: Ah ok.

R: Yes, they give me work.

I: Also the other families you have found here?

R: I have found them here, yes.

I: And in general, do you like this job or..?

A: Not like you say yes yes .. I like some parts, I understand, if I hear something new, for example, this lady, the last one was very interesting. Yes, a lady who when she was young, she worked, I do not know how you call the name of this job, but she was truly informed, well-grounded. We talked with each other, she tells everything, everything, everything. So, it is interesting to work with Italian people, let's say.

I: And maybe it also depends on the person? Because you said this one lady was very bright?

R: No, no. That was the first lady. This lady had a bright head, quite bright yes. She

understood everything. We have talked with.. about everything, everything. If I asked her something, she explained voluntarily, with a lot of pleasure, everything. Also if I for example wanted to know more about Italy, about her family. I asked, and she explained well and that's it.

I: Yes, so you had a bit more an idea about her earlier life?

R: Yes, certainly. And for example, she liked one thing, I liked another thing, we still had discussions, however we find a consensus (*laughs*).

I: Yes, yes, to find the middle?

R: Yes, yes. The consensus.

I: Hmm, did you work fixed?

R: Fixed.

I: Every day...

R: Always fixed. Always fixed. I don't know. Maybe, I am lazy, I don't like to wake up early so..

(*laughing*).

R: Yes, with the lady we never were in a hurry from her part, also the lady for example did not need to go to work, to wake up early. For example the last lady; half past 7 I wake up, I wash myself, I dress myself, I make the room, later around 8, I go to wake her up there, waking her up I do as well, and I help her with washing and getting dressed. After we go, we go, no she goes first into the kitchen, she does gymnastics.

I: Ah really?

R: Yes, not much, but like that..

I: A bit to wake up?

R: Yes, yes, yes. I do the bathroom, after 15 minutes, around half past 8, or 8.45, we have breakfast. I prepare normally a coffee latte, and.. after we go outside. Always, always. Almost every day we go outside.

I: Also when the weather is like this? (*it is raining outside*).

R: No, with rain no.. Also when it is very cold not, also for example that some days she needs to go somewhere or the lady has a wish, we go out. Like that and nothing more. We are at home. In summer it is very hot here for example, in summer. And around nine.. After nine let's say, after nine, like nine and a quarter, nine and a half, we go out, we go to the parc, we found ourselves a spot.. We took the car when it was not really warm yet. So we were, we found a place and sat down and after we walk a bit, we talk, for one hour, one hour and a half we were outside.

I: And after?

R: And after, when it is around 10.30, 11.00, we return home and I start preparing lunch, or also I do some cleaning, it depends, one day, one time I clean the car before we leave. Another time I do it after, for example, we return home and before lunch. Sometimes after lunch I do the cleaning. No, so... saturday or friday I did the cleaning normally. And lunch, the lady ate everything, she liked the things I prepare, she honestly ate everything with pleasure. She was happy to eat.

I: Ok, so it was not difficult to prepare something she liked because she liked..

R: .. no she, she did not have favorite meals, some meals. She ate everything like that.

Certainly I asked her: 'what do you prefer today?', I said to her, 'You know what to eat?'

And she ate everything. Also I made sweets, I made sweets also. I made everything.

I: Yes. And are there hours during the day you are..

R: That I am free?

I: Yes?

R: Yes, after lunch I could go out at two or at three o'clock. For two hours. Then I returned home.

I: And she was resting or?

R: She was resting yes. The first time there, she did not rest, she did not rest, she sat in front of the tv, and after when it was hot, hot, I said: 'we go to bed', also in the room it was cooler, in the bed, she relaxed, she rested. She went. That time I tried to come a bit earlier also, like that. She was happy, so also I was happy. After the evening, the afternoon nothing. We take a book sometimes, a newspaper, we read like that.

I: Together or?

R: No, I read because she saw just a little bit.

I: Ah ok, so you read, she listens?

R: Yes, yes. A little bit, I don't read good. So, a bit I read. She liked stories about crusades. However for me it is difficult.

I: What kind of stories?

R: Stories about crusades. Or scanvorde (*crossword puzzle*). You know the meaning of scanvorde?

I: No, I don't know.

R: Hm.. It is written, a word that for example, refers to where you rest in the afternoon, for example in a garden or a parc, for us it is like that.

I: Ah ok..

R: That is what she liked, I. for me it is difficult. So, she watched television, like that. The afternoon passed like that, after at 7, yes, at 7, I made dinner. I prepared it as well, and in the evening, we have eaten more vegetables. Vegetables with cheese, or some meat. Meat, meatballs, ham, those things. So and vegetables. Always vegetables. Like that. After dinner, after dinner, she helped as well, I washed the plates and she dried them.

I: She dried? Aah, yes, yes.

R: Drying, the cutlery.

I: To make it dry?

R: Yes, yes, yes. The cutlery means spoons, forks, knives.

I: Ah yes, everything together?

R: Yes, yes. That's it. Slowly, slowly. I did everything slow because she was too slow, slow, she made it, slowly, slowly. And for me that is difficult, so I did it because I am intensive.. Ah, yes, after dinner, when we cleaned the kitchen, I took her, changed the..

I: the clothes?

R: Yes, I put on the pyjama, I take her to the bathroom to prepare her for sleeping, and after she came to the kitchen or watched tv. And I went to the sleeping room, to look at the computer (*laughing*). I did not work then..

I: You have contact with your family via the computer or?

R: Yes, yes. Yes. My children, my friends, everyone.

I: Ah yes. Because you have children?

R: Yes. Children, two children. They are both in Russia.

I: And is that difficult?

R: Difficult.. Hmm.. Yes. I am used to it already that I stay here, and my children there. I don't know about the difficulty. Yes, certainly I want to see them, talk, stay close to them. With my cousins, my children. But now, it is without a problem. There is Skype, there is Viber, there is Whatsapp, now it is possible to talk, to see each other every minute let's say.

I: With the technology nowadays?

R: Yes, yes, yes. We go on. Yes. And that's it.

I: And how do you describe your relation with this lady for example?

R: Yes, I see that with true joy this lady and me went along. My intuition, my intuition tells me that this lady and me were without problems.

I: And also in the beginning it was like that?

R: No, in the beginning I don't know when.. There was a problem when.. I don't know. I don't know how. Simply the first time I came. And that's it. After, slowly, slowly.. I know that the persons - that is how we say it - who are very old, it is not just being old, I know that it is sickness. This psychological illness is not simple. I know that.. yes, all psychological illnesses are difficult. Yes, you always have to pay attention, always. They say she is calm, and everything. So that is also my part: I have to be careful. I have to stay calm. Without a loud voice, just slowly, slowly. For example I ask: 'where do we go, what do you want?' I always have to ask. I always have to agree with them. It is not about my will, not like: 'I want to do so'. No. Or, 'I do not want to do it like you. I want to do that'. No. That is not possible. If I start to work with a person, I must, I know it, I understand also that I work for this person, not for myself. That is important.

I: Yes. And are there other aspects you think are important? When you do your job?

R: For me I think with this lady, we did not have problems. Like that. And with him, I saw him two times so, I like it, with pleasure, I honestly liked to stay with him. And for me, I have truly said I am happy that I found this job. He is also self-sufficient, he walks, healthy and also strong. He does not have problems with his heart for example, he does not have diabetes, he does not have problems. And for me that is also important, because I am not that young, I am 56 years old. Already an age, an age not like 35 years. So we go on. (*laughs*). I am happy, I have said I am happy that I found him.

I: Because you work with him now as well?

R: Now I did not start yet. Bureaucracy. Let's see when we make the contract, I do not know. Some things are missing still.

I: Ah, okay. Because .. yes, I do not know. These are the difficult aspects? The bureaucracy or with the job itself there are also aspects?

R: How difficult? Not for now, for me it is not difficult because there is a place to live now where I sleep, at the lady's house I gave care to before. However, just the last days are left, 'until the end of month you stay here' he said, after I have to give the house back. For now yes, I can stay here, one week I can wait. Even I can not say I'm hungry, or have no money, no, these things are there. A bit of money too. There is no problem with eating, no. Anyway, I have to work (*with a lot emphasis*). I must, I don't know. Now. We try with women, with men..

I: Yes, because this situation is for one more week and so after..?

R: Yes, yes. I have to take care of it. The ladies even said the boss, or the employer, he is angry. This is also bureaucracy. Yes, he also wants me to start working. Also the ladies want me to go to the house, they want me to stay at the house.

I: Yes, Okay, this is also something you see?

R: Yes, yes. Yes.

I: And for example with him, the contact is with him or with his family?

R: With his family just one time, we should have made the contract, I don't know, with his cousin let's say, but he said nothing. Nothing, nothing. Yes, we have talked but he didn't say anything serious. Nothing serious. Yes, he showed me the house, nothing more.

I: Because normally, how do you know which things are your responsibility? Is it something you talk about before you start or something that happens?

R: Pfff.. We didn't talk about this, but... I don't know how to say it, I can ask things. For me that is important when I start working. For me it there is no problem, I truly don't have a problem with this job. I know my job, I know it already, I practiced it. Yes, certainly every person is different, every person has it's own character, so I still, I don't know, I have to start working. That is the problem. Nothing else.

I: Other things.. Once you started there is no problem?

R: No, yes, it can give, yes it can give some.. Some questions can come. But now I don't know. For me now there is no problem. Nothing. The problem is the starting time of working.

I: And.. is it something you have experienced before? That it is difficult to start?

R: Yes, yes. Yes (*deep sigh*). I don't know what I can say. (*deep sigh*). Experiences yes. There is experience. But I have said that now.. I can't say anything. Nothing. I saw that we are in contact with this man, one time truly ten minutes I think. The second time yes, a small hour. He is without problems for me. For me there is no problem. For him. I don't know. This hour, also it is not enough time to know each other well. Let's hope.

I: Yes, let's hope. Also I truly hope it.

R: We all hope it. About everything. Like that.

I: Yes. I don't know, because.. Is it also possible for you to go back to Russia some times or is it not possible?

R: Forever you want to say? Or for holidays?

I: For example.

R: For holidays, yes. I seek to go every year, but.. it is not going, you know, because for example, if I worked with the lady, I wanted to go, July-August or August-July. Or August-September sorry, for one month, one month and a half.

I: Yes.

R: Yes. I don't work anymore for this lady, so now I don't go. This year I don't go. I go next year. Within one year. I have said that I seek always July, August, September, these months. Or July, or August, or September. Maybe a piece of August and a piece of September, like that, I don't know. I go next year. Yes, no I don't go.

I: Yes, because it is not possible?

R: No, no, no. I understand that, if I just started working since two months. And also as he proposed, I have to renew my residence permit.

I: Aaah...

R: Oh, it is better that I do the residence permit-card. Because it is a possibility. To make the

residence permit-card. Permanent.

I: So, there are other things that you also have to do?

R: Yes, yes.. the contract. That is the most important of everything. The contract. And nothing more. We hope. (*laughs scornfully*). That is goes well.

I: Can I ask a last question?

R: Yes, yes.

I: What do you think is the difference between care and good care? When is care good? For you?

R: Care and good care?

I: Yes.

R: It is very important for me to agree with a person. I know that for example some family assistants with their lady, with the sick people, are like: (*makes kissing sounds and gestures*) (*puts high voice on*): 'Ohh, my dear, my love'. Yes, certainly that goes well.. But it is better to agree, to get along. For example this morning they were (*puts high voice on*): 'Aah, my dear, my love, my sweet, we go.. Ohh, you are sweet', like that, like that. That is not good, it is better to stay quiet, calm and for example always.. Always agree with each other. 'Are we going here?' 'Yes, we are going here'. 'What do you want to eat?' 'Yes, is that what you want?' 'Ok, good'. I do it like that. It is like that, doing it.

I: It is not necessary to completely do like..

R: To hug each other?

I: Yes, well I don't know. Because it sounds like you said that.

R: (*deep sigh*). What can I say? Eh, yes, also hugging, however you know with the men, you have to be very careful.. Hugging, hugging.. (*deep sigh*).

I: Why?

R: I worked with a man who was 83 years old, 83 years (*with emphasis*). He suddenly said; 'we go sleep in my bed together'. And I said: 'to do what?' 'To do things with me.. Women, men, what things do they do?' And I said: 'For you, you can want to do something, I certainly don't want it. So it is already a no'. But ... you understand? I'm looking for a little being apart.

I: Distance?

R: To keep distance.

I: Yes, I understand it. Yes.

R: With the men. Do you understand?

I: Yes, I understand it. And so it is even more important to be clear immediately?

R: To be calm.

I: Calm.

R: Yes. With women you can certainly hug (*silence*). And it is like that. Also, men are different.

I: And therefore you prefer to work with women or?

R: With women yes. Also with men someone has.. My friend for example, now she works with a man, however they have never hugged each other, never hugged. Like that.

I: She does not do it?

R: No, no, no.

(*silence*).

R: Everything okay also.

I: Yes, okay. Let's hope that it is possible to start soon.

R: Yes, yes let's hope. This morning the cousin of the man called me, I did not understand anything of what he wanted to tell me. He said, two documents are missing, maybe the tax codes, and a card of.. I don't know. Well, it goes well. Slowly, slowly yes.

(silence).

R: Okay, well.

I: Yes, thank you so much.

Family assistant 8

I: Yes, maybe first it is good to know a bit more about you.. So, where are you from, also I don't remember you name anymore.

R: My name is Anna.

I: Anna, ok. Anna, yes.

R: I am Peruvian.

I: Peruvian.

R: I am 42 years old. I am born in July '74.

I: And since when are you in Italy?

R: I am here, in Italy, since 2007. So in a bit, I'll make it to ten years.

I: Yes, ten years yes. And have you always worked as a assistant?

R: As a family assistant? Yes. But just here. In my own country I have done other things, but here I have learned many things.

I: Yes, so in Peru you had other jobs?

R: Yes, other work, different ones, different. Here I have learned doing family assistance.

I: Yes, okay. And with how many families have you worked? More or less?

R: So, I have worked with.. one, two, wait because I don't remember it.

I: Maybe she [the family desk-employee who she talked first with] asked it as well?

R: One, two, three, wait.. four. I don't remember (*takes her bag to grab some papers*).

I: No, it is okay..

R: No, look, I have my..

I: Ah, okay. You have all the papers now?

R: Yes, yes. Okay, I have worked with one, two, three, four. Four, five, six persons.

I: Six persons?

R: Six persons, yes.

I: Okay. And always fixed or?

R: No. Until August 2013 I have worked on a live-in basis, right? After not. After not. Then I only worked a long day. Yes, a long day. I don't work 24/7 anymore. No.

I: No. And why?

R: Because, well, because I came here alone, I was not married. After I am married. And my husband said: 'Enough, that's it'.

I: Aha, okay. And he is Italian?

R: No, no, no. He is Peruvian. Yes. And after I took him here. And then you don't want to do this job anymore, right? On a live-in basis. You cannot do it. Well, so I stopped this work in

2013 with this lady, she died and after, after I said: no, after I'll continue doing the same job but always only during the day, just daytime.

I: Yes, because in the evening you are with your husband.

R: Yes, yes.

I: And do you have children?

R: No.

I: Okay. And.. I don't know, what things do you do in a day?

R: In one day? In my job?

I: Yes, exactly.

R: Okay. Well. How to say, when you are living in, it is a bit different. It is a bit different. Yes, because there are things that you don't do with the person. No, you don't, right? For example, when I worked on a live-in basis, I did not sleep, you don't sleep, because they are dreaming or they talk to you, you understand? During the night. After, you have to do the things, first you need to wash yourself. It depends on what their children tell you, right? Because some tell you for example: 'Before washing you'll make breakfast, and after you do the washing'. Another one tells you: 'No, first washing, after you'll make breakfast'.

(interruption by one of the contact persons).

R: And others tell you that, right? So it depends. Normally when you are living in, they tell you to do the cleaning first. Well, then we have breakfast together *(with emphasis)*. After, I have to change them for example, their clothing. The dressing up. After we talk, we talk because elderly like to talk a lot. And after they repeat the same things. The same things, the same things. They tell about their lives, what they did. I have given care to two people who were 97 years old. So, they talked also about the war.

I: 97 wauw!

R: They talked also about the war. They cried. They told me all and they cried. It is beautiful to care for elderly, you see?

I: Yes? It is something you like?

R: They tell things that make you remain like this: *(poses like someone who is listening with open mouth)*.

(laughing).

I: And that's it. We are talking or sometimes they like to go by bicycle. They go by bicycle.

I: Also they go by bicycle themselves?

R: Yes, yes.

I: So, maybe it also depends a bit on the persons, how they are physically?

R: Yes, yes. Because the two persons I gave care to, they were thin, thin, and we went by bicycle, right? However, when I did it, I am tired!

(laughing).

R: But they! *(laughs)*. After we did all that, I started immediately with something else, because I need to do the cooking, right? Then they stay in the kitchen with you, or they are watching tv, after you need to eat together.. I, normally, with all the people I gave care to, none of them, no one went to bed after lunch.

I: No one?

R: No one, no one. No one. They stay talking, they talked, talked *(laughs scornfully)*. Yes. After that, we arrive at a point that we should go outside, right? Outside, so they can stay

with their friend for example. We left at four o'clock, at five, and after we arrive home around seven or eight. (*laughs*). Yes, because we wander around, we wander around.

I: Yes, you walked together?

R: Yes, yes. And after, it is enough. After we eat. After, I am annoyed, because in the afternoon I am a bit tired.. I am a bit annoyed.. I am tired.

I: Because, don't you have free hours or?

R: Certainly, certainly. I had two free hours, when I worked on a live-in basis. When I was living in. On that moment the children were returning home, or the daughter. You did not leave them alone. And that's it. We ate, they were tired, however they did not go to bed. No, no, no. No one went to bed at eleven, but at midnight. Yes, late. So, I did everything, right? Instead of, for example when you work extern, I arrive and then make breakfast. It was also a bit different, right? Because..

I: The hours are a bit different?

R: Yes, and then you arrive more fresh. Because when you are living in, you don't sleep, because they don't let you sleep. Instead of, when you work extern, then I start more clear, right? I arrive at work more clear because I have slept well (*laughs*). And after, you do the same things. But, for example, you don't put them in bed, it is the family who puts them in bed, when you go. You stay only eight hours, a long day.

I: Yes, okay. So, this is also a big difference for you maybe?

R: Yes, yes, yes, yes. And also a bit for them, also a bit for them because they knew for example, they do not even have dinner with me. They know that for example the family arrives, they are the ones who are making something to eat. It is a bit different, also for them.

I: Ah, yes. Yes. So, now when you don't work fixed, but during the day, it is from the breakfast on, and you prepare the dinner also or not?

R: No, no.

I: Yes, ah okay, so this is the moment that the family comes.

R: Yes, the family comes and they have dinner together. Because, some are different, but grandparents want a person around. For example, the last one I gave care to, lived alone, but she did not want a person, but she... I have worked many years with this person, I, when I left her, and I went home, she got scared. Because there would not be someone during the night, then she truly was alone. But it was her who did not want a person. Indeed, there is a bed next to hers, but she did not want anyone. No one.

I: Ah, yes.

R: And on the other hand, why not? But she did not want anyone. She said that she still wants it like that, that she could do all of it herself. But it was not true. It is not true.

I: Aah, so in her head it was a bit different from the reality, like what is possible to do alone?

R: Yes, yes. Yes. Almost everyone is like that, right? Almost everyone is like that.

I: And is that also a bit difficult for you?

R: When they think like that?

I: Yes.

R: Yes, yes. For example.. it has happened for example that, they want to replace something in the house. Well, I wanted to help them. 'Leave me, leave me! I can do it alone'. And after they stay there. Five minutes.. I pretend I am not watching, after decades...: 'you want to have that but you cannot do it? Have you seen it? I'll do it'. They were against it, but after..

Yes, it is hard a lot of times.

(laughing).

I: And what do they need in order to be able to let you do it?

R: Normally in the beginning they are always persons who don't want any other people. For example with the grandfather I have worked for. However, slowly, slowly, with the days.. After, it depends because you need to see what kind of person it is, for example there are persons that don't like it if you say 'you' in the informal way. No, you need to say 'You', the formal way. Madam, sir. There are persons who are like that. Others don't want you to sit down. Well, one week passes and you have understood how that person is. You know the things he likes, the things... If one likes it that you behave like a cook, you do it. But if another cooks.. Or for example, my first experience, she insulted me. Above everything, they insult you, they call you names, they say so many things. And I think that - how do I explain it to you - with the years they become like that. And after, one was for example, I tell you this, she said to me to call her 'You' in the formal way because she has been a professor!!! *(with emphasis)*. 'Okay madame, okay madame'. *(laughs)*. Yes, it depends. Not everyone is like that. But my first experience has been terrible *(with emphasis)*.

I: Ah yes?

R: Yes. Because, in a sense, if you come here to work, and then you come here, and you find yourself with these persons, that make you feel bad, that insult you, that is your first job? You would feel bad, right? They also wanted to fight with me. After that, I have learned how they are. Well, his daughter told me for example: 'Do it like this, if he tells you something, do like: I hear something with one ear, I leave it out the other one. Because if you pick up everything, she will always make you cry...' *(laughs)*. And honestly, because this first job has been so terrible, right? I changed my job.

I: But why exactly was it so terrible?

R: Because, well, being younger in Peru, I did another job. Everyone can find himself doing a job like this.. And then, the person insults you, he does not want you at home, he wants to fight with you as well. And for you.. the whole world is different, your whole world is different, right? At first, it has been like that. After, I got used to everything, elderly are like that. After you have learned yourself by experience, right? And after you improve, right? It is like.. like with everything in life.

I: But in the beginning you have thought: what do I do?

R: No, I have cried, but it was hard, I have cried a lot. I have cried.. also I remember that once an elderly person lost her mind, she wanted to fight me. After, another time she took a knife, she was laughing at my face. Yes, the first, yes... The other ones didn't do that.

I: But what do you do in that moment? When..

R: I cried, I cried. Because it was my first job! Well.. I cried more and called her daughter. And I knew that when you arrive at the first job, you are really full of everything. I was full. For the others, the second, third, fourth, you improve.. Well on the other hand, I am like that. They insult, because they can truly insult you. I tell you these bad things, however I have learned from it. I am like that. That is my job.

I: But how do you learn? Or how.. I don't know. What is important to learn? To be - I don't know how to say it - what things do you need to learn to be capable?

R: Okay, well, for example I need, I am a very sensible person... and - how to tell you that -

changing jobs has been terrible for me, in the beginning. The first job. After the daughter came and sat with me: 'You need to do it this way', she told me. 'You need to, if my mother insults you, you have to try to let her out of her authority role because otherwise..'

I: Hmm, she said that?

R: Yes, her daughter said it to me.

I: Yes, yes.

R: And slowly, slowly, I did it like that. Slowly, slowly. After, one time, the lady told me more or less: 'I lose myself' because she realised what she had said to me. After, she came to me: 'I am sorry, I felt bad'. Yes, she realised it. And she said it to me. 'I felt bad because..'

After, one day (*laughs*), it makes me laugh because her daughter was angry, she said: 'Because you did this to Anna, she is now crying too much. Look, stay, you stay silent, silent, silent. And the lady took my hand and said: 'Who made you a deal with my daughter? But you see that I talk to you the same way as to my daughter'. And that was true, because she also did it to her daughter.

(*laughing*).

R: I was like, okay.

I: Yes, like you were not the only one?

R: No, no really. Because she was fighting with her children... mama mia. Her daughter, because they both swear! One started, and then another got angry.

I: They did not come anymore after that?

R: Eh, they did yes. Because she had two children. I stopped. Instead I saw another job, things remained the same there.. After doing this job, as I said to you, I have learned many things, however the elderly are always like that. With their children, with the neighbours, yes. It was a bit like, I have learned it, after when I started, after when I started, well.. You are, you improve, after one says that, one says this. Well. I continue doing this, they laugh, you learn. You learn because, how do I explain it, you learn from them doing bad things as well, they do it because they are sick. It tells you to do things because I need to take care of the persons that are not okay, right? They are not okay at all. And so I have learned in those ways. My second job, when I finished with this job, and when I told her I would quit, her daughter said to me: 'Look, you can do this job because you have stayed with my mother for a long time, and my mother has been a terrorist with you' (*laughs loud and high*).

(*laughing*).

I: Wauw.

R: I laughed: 'no, no. I have found another job'. And after it was the same thing. But there were, they were not women, they were men. The mother, there was the mother, but the children were man. Well, they consulted me, because the one was complaining, then the other would complain, because they were with three. The first would complain, then the next complains.. They also had - how do you say that -

I: Wives?

R: Yes, their wives yes. One told me everything.. No, they did not say it to me, sorry, not them to me, but the elderly person, when they would leave, would say: 'Do you know what this whore has done?' Honestly..

I: Oh my...

R: Yes. 'You know when it is like that', I said, 'but is it with them like that?' Just imagine

that situation. Yes, they told me many things. However, with her, some things they verified with me, some things. Because at times it was a bit.. But after..

I: For example?

R: For example one day, they have called me, that they have found cancer in my mother's body. In that week, I don't know what came to my mind but there was always anger, she wanted to fight, she was not happy with anything. She told me that the children did not want her, that she wanted to go live with them, but they.. it was partly true, because they, we were with three family assistants. Three family assistants because..

I: That is a lot!

R: They started there along the way, because when I arrived there being young, there was no one there, it was just me, and the son said to me: 'Look, I need someone 24/7'. 'All right', I said, 'but I need Saturday and Sunday off'. And so I said: 'Saturday, Sunday I can not do it because I also need to rest, it is not easy to work with elderly people'. Then it was on a live-in basis. But no, I can not do that. After I told them: 'you need to understand this, that I need to rest a bit, even if you pay me €5000, I do not do this job'. Because honestly, there are also family assistants who leave the house one time a month, there are persons...

I: Ah wauw, pff. Yes.

R: There are people, just for the money, you know? I don't do it because after you have a headache, honestly (*laughs*).

I: It is not possible.

R: No, no, no.

I: What did you do?

R: No, I didn't do it, no, no. And he said: 'but, do you have a friend?' 'Yes'. 'Take her'. 'All right'. 'After you ask her, you bring her here'. But one month passed before she could start, so they did it during the weekends (*laughs*). For one month, after he told me: 'no, no, no, no'.

I: The children?

R: Yes, he told me: 'Anna, I cannot do this anymore, bring the girl!' (*laughing*).

R: Well, I was there to do things a bit early. And then there was someone who stayed Saturday and Sunday. And then there was another one. Because I need to go out two hours a day, right? Two hours from Monday to Friday. So, we were in three. And he said to me: 'I prefer paying, because I don't want to stay with my mother'. I: 'Okay, all right'. I don't know how they supported her. Because truly there are children that are.. With this lady, I always explain it.

I: But what.. Was it more difficult with her than with other elderly persons or was it the same for you? Because it sounds a bit like she was very..

R: Yes, because.. in general. No, because I think.. but if I already have had experience before, well for me it has been a bit, I don't say to you it has been easy because it was a bit hard.. But, yes, heavy with sleeping, then her character, everything that was being controlled, because she was like that in general, honestly. They were not persons that made you, they were not persons that you could be yourself with. But talking about the things she liked, they talk so much, so much. She got used to me, she got super used to me. Then, as I said, we were with three. But, in this job if you need something, for example as I said to you, the children did not stand it. And one day... (*laughs*), now it makes me laugh, because I have

seen the son coming who was a business consultant, he always stopped by, because his office was in the same apartment. He always stopped by, he talked but I don't know why, but he was always there, every day, because he stopped by every day, in the morning, but every day he fought with her. He arrived and went home, to see his mother, and they would be with their mother, every day. One day, I don't know but he took me something. She screamed, she screamed She: 'grrrr' (*makes a gesture of someone that hits someone*). And I was like: (*hiding herself, making herself small*).

I: Yes, exactly! What do you do in such a moment?

R: Because at first it did not happen like that. To repeat it, at first, the mother always started, then the other would do something, the same like that, with the hand (*makes aggressive gestures*).

I: Truly bad?

R: 'Leave me, leave me!' (*imitating and screaming*). I was hiding myself in the kitchen. It was hard. And after there would be spots everywhere, right? I don't know how you call it, bruises, bruises were left everywhere.

I: Bruises?

R: When you do something, when you do something bad, for example with some things and then the color changes..

I: Ah yes, yes. Wauw, with blue and green?

R: Green, yes. It went on like that for six months. For six months. Instead of going down to the office to make his money. He went down. The lady was like: 'no, no, no'. Because we were with three family assistants, but both the children told me it was my fault, that this happened. All right. I see only this. After with other elderly I have given care to, it was not like that, no. But certainly that they were the ones always fighting with their mother. Because I always cared for elderly persons, but violence like that I have seen just once.

I: Only one time? Only that time?

R: Only one times yes. Yes, the other resounded and I have seen it.

I: Or with words?

R: Yes. Sometimes they did not want to say anything. 'Hello, hello, don't go to me, if you go...'

I: And because... with the family, with this family, the family of the elderly, how do you describe this relation?

R: Ah, with me? With all of them?

I: Yes.

R: Ah, good. Yes, right now I talk with all of them. Because there are always things that I don't understand, for example with documents, and therefore yes. For example, I told you about my husband who does another job, right? Because I understand everything of my job, I understand it. But for example with my husband, he asks for help, to them, they help me, we have a good relation. With all of the persons I worked with I have a good relationship.

I: Ah yes, so also now there is still contact?

R: Yes, yes. We go for example sometimes to a pizzeria, sometimes, you understand, because I talk about persons that live in Milan, with who I can meet. Because they live in Milan. So a coffee, or maybe I pass by: 'come, I offer you a coffee'. Yes, we do things like that. And the people who live far away, I call them or they call me: 'How are you?', or they send me a

message, yes, yes. We have a good relation. We never fight, with no one, no. I prefer, I always say it in the beginning, 'if you need to fight, I prefer to leave, to finish the work-relation'. Because the point of working, it is already heavy to work with the elderly, and then you fight with the children, with the family, that is not nice. I prefer leaving the job and end it. It did not happen to me, it did not happen so far. However, I think about it like that. Because you are not well, there are things that are cumulating. In the end, ending because of fighting, is ending the relation. I don't come if it goes like that. So..

I: Otherwise it is completely..

R: I don't come if it is like that. It is better to finish it and to leave that job. I prefer to wait, maybe I think like that, and other people do not, they think differently. I prefer staying without a job than to fight with people. I don't like it. No. Anyone that fights I don't like. Therefore - as I told you - with the persons I have worked with, right now, I have a good relationship with them. A good relationship right now. Yes, yes.

I: And that is important with the family, and also with the elderly or?

R: Certainly, certainly. Yes. Super important, super important. Yes. To repeat it, elderly are a bit heavy. And then, staying to fight, they look bad at you, I am saying no. I truly prefer it is the end of the job, the end of the relation and I search for another job. But, right now, as an answer to you, right now I tell you, I still call with them, they call me, you know, we go eating, drinking a coffee, right now we are good. With everyone.

I: Yes, it sounds good.

R: Also with the lady that I was with in 2007, also with her.

I: The first?

R: Yes, also with her, also with her. Many many things, she gave me many things, yes, yes.

I: So, when you do this job, at those moments, have you felt appreciated as well?

R: Yes, I have always felt good with a family, yes. Right now yes. Because I have heard, I have heard, you maybe as well from other persons, I have heard that other persons give it to you as a job and that's it, but for me it is not like that. No, no. For me always.. For example when I was alone, on my own still, they took me to their house for Christmas, for New Year's Eve, when I was alone, right? But now it is different, because I have my family, but they have always been good with me, always good. Yes. I have always felt good in the jobs that I did, yes.

I: And so it is a bit, I don't know, but is it a bit like family?

R: Yes, yes. Yes. It depends also a lot on the person, in this case I mean on the family assistant. It depends a lot. Because there are persons who, I don't know how to say it, because I am not like that, but I like to talk a lot as well. Instead I talk a lot.

I: Do you like that?

(laughing).

R: On one hand for example, I am someone who always smiles. But I don't do it because, not to.. how do I say that, to please other persons, no. I do it because I am happy, I always smile. I laugh with everyone, from the morning on or when I wake up. Yes, for example, I enter the bus, always smiling, greeting, smile, I am like that. There was someone who always said it, in the beginning, I didn't understand it yet, 'you are the sun'. And later, I understood what it means 'sun'. However, maybe it is a bit my character as well, that helps me. Because other persons are a bit.. for example my friends tell me: 'No, look, I don't like this and that'. But

maybe when you go and you do what I say.. Also if you have problems at home, you need to leave them at home, that's it. I do it the same way, there are problems at work? I leave them there. After I go to my house..

I: Is it possible to make, how do you say that, to make a switch like that? When work is difficult, you leave it there, and also other..

R: Certainly, I am a person that, I won't combine these things. I.. how do I say it to you.. for example, I have problems, because I am from Peru so my whole family is there. Well, it is not nice, to have your family far away. And many times my mother, as I said, my mother has cancer and my father has also problems because he is old. But they are not persons who tell me these things and cry, disturbing, thinking about what happens tomorrow, the day after tomorrow.. no! It is less bad that we don't do it like that, even with my family, I have done it like that. And therefore it is better to have a good relation with these persons, these persons that I work with, with the elderly, yes. Certainly, it is not easy, to care for the elderly it is a bit.. how to say it, a bit heavy because other people think more like you, on the contrary elderly are... (*laughs*). You say white, they say black.

I: Yes, yes. And this is.. I don't know because you said that also your character is a help in that sense?

R: Yes, I think so, yes, yes.

I: But what are the challenging moments for you?

R: When I work?

I: Yes.

R: Which moments are challenging?

I: Yes. You say it like that, right?

R: Yes.

I: Yes, when you need to do something but it is difficult.

R: Ah, okay, I understand, I understand yes.

(*laughing*).

R: You don't know with the different way of talking..

(*laughing*).

R: For example, the moment you wash them. That is something terrible (*with emphasis*).

They fight with you, they fight with you so much. I do it only when necessary, when they do it alone, there is no problem, if you leave them showering, if you leave them taking a shower. If you help them, they fight with you, they fight with you. Yes, and later with changing and doing the hygiene, the toilet, changing their pants, these are the critical moments. Also often with eating. Because they eat just a little bit, only a little bit.

I: Yes, you said that two were really thin?

R: Yes, yes. So small, so skinny. But the children want them to eat more. How do I make them eat more? Maybe she make them eat, yes, but this is not what they want after. No, what they want.. there are these, these... For example hygiene, and after eating. These are the moments that are more, more critical (*laughs*).

I: And how do you feel in those moments? You?

R: How I feel?

R: After you know what to do because of your experiences.. and you know what to say. In the beginning it is terrible for you, the things you do. You don't know what to do, what to say,

you don't know any.. However, when the years pass, you build up experience, well, you know how to compete them, for example when they fight with you, when they fight with me I say: 'but why do you fight with me?' 'Leave me', they start screaming. 'Well, some things you need to do', but if they are doing like this (*makes a wild gesture*), they put the water on you as well. And then they are.. they are making you wet as well, then they laugh at you. Yes, they are..

(*laughing*).

R: And after it passes, after it passes. Not always, not always, not always, no. They are very difficult. And eating is also a thing: 'No, I close my mouth and I don't eat..' They close their mouth, they just close their mouth.

I: It is impossible to..

R: Yes: 'Well, go eating!' 'No!' 'All right, then you don't eat'. I stay there sitting down, I eat, they look at me. 'Is it good?' 'Certainly it is good!' I am watching tv for example, but I always watch them as well, I see them looking at their plate, staying.. and then they at least eat a bit, right?

I: So, often it is better to not watch?

R: Yes, if you continue and they.. it is worse, if you continue, it gets worse. Because when they say no, it is no. And no, no, no. Or sometimes I would tell them for example, if you eat this, I will bring you an ice cream. Or something that they like. Well, then they eat, not always.. but it functions..

I: It is a good solution, yes.

(*laughing*).

R: You see that the world of the elderly is a world.. it is truly another world. Yes. After you know what they want because now I understand them because of my mother as well, right? And they cry because of their loneliness. They would want you are their actual daughter, like my mother. The more I hear from my mother, the more I understand of elderly every time. Why do they cry? They cry, cry like 'I want my children, but they don't want me'. Because for example, he, the son, is married, so he does not want to give the care. I understand their loneliness, it is a thing...

I: But is it the same how you sometimes feel or not?

R: I don't understand you.

I: Because you understand it is difficult for the elderly that their children are not here, is it the same for you? For your situation?

R: Ah, for my mother?

I: Yes, yes.

R: Yes, yes. In a sense that, for example, when I call my mother, sometimes I.. for one hour we talk, because she cries. 'Don't be afraid, I hear you', I tell her immediately. But it is different because while I work for these elderly, it is not that their children don't come. Because until now, I have worked with good people, because I know also that there are children that only come to give the salary to the family assistants. After: 'bye'. Instead of my experience, no. Honestly I have had luck because they always came and not only if they want to give the money, but during the whole day maybe, coming and living together. But the son, the daughter they never permitted themselves, that it was them giving the care. No. Because it is a bit heavy.

I: Yes, like what you explained earlier that the children who did it for one month during the weekend?

R: Also for example with the lady that I told you about.. I remember that one Christmas I worked and the daughter said to me, 'I come again around 12.00 and I bring you to my house, with my mother, and we eat together'. 'All right', I did not want to go, to tell you the truth, because the daughter was a bit.... Well, we stayed eating together there, and the elderly lady does not eat like we do. 'Eat, eat, oh come on, what things do you do? Well, I'll do it for you, everything is everywhere', the wife of the man was like: 'Aaah, how is this possible? Look at your mother! How is it possible she eats like that, that she eats that way?! Look at her! We are never at the same level', she was saying these things. And I, I just ate. 'But look how weird, this lady!'

I: But was there a lot of frustration?

R: Yes, yes. Because I know how to do it, I know what to say to her. However, sometimes there are persons who can not talk with elderly, and don't do the right things. The lady always eats like that. And truly, because an elderly does not eat like us. She just does not eat the same way as us. And I remember that after, when the dinner was finished, she brought a present. Sometimes you see things that will remain with you like this: 'this is for you'. I thought: 'mama mia'. When we were home, the elderly lady said: 'do you look the same at me? You think the same?' And I say: 'Nooo, maybe she had just a terrible day!' However it wasn't, I only said it because I know, I know that she was always like that. And, how to say, you need to understand a lot, a lot, but really a lot with the elderly, right? One is different from the other, the other differs from one.

I: And this.. because you said before that persons are different, completely different, also you do things a bit different, but is that something for example, that before you start, you talk about with the family? To make a contract about your responsibilities? Or how do you do it?

R: Well, normally, for example, when I did job interviews it was like: 'but how many years experience do you have?' 'Aah, a lot'. 'Okay, you know what you need to do?' 'Yes'. 'All right'. Mama mia, and for example when there is something I have never done before, then they explain: 'you need to this, you need to do these things, you know how to do this?' 'Yes'. 'Okay'. Only like that. Because the other things they put me on, I know that I need to do it. Yes, for example, I have to clean, I have to iron, I have to do the laundry, right? All of these things I need to do.

I: Yes, and so all these things are clear from the beginning?

R: Yes, from the beginning. Others tell you: 'you could clean the house, that is nice, but if you cannot do it, it is not important. At first, you care for my mother'. But not everyone. Others say: 'you need to do this, and also do the other things'. 'Okay, all right'.

I: Yes, okay. So it depends a bit as well?

R: Yes, yes. It depends on the family. Not everything is always the same. I worked with one, who lives in a villa. And I needed to clean the house. The elderly person walked. The elderly person walked. However, how to say, she walked with a walking stick.

I: With what?

R: With a walking stick (*makes a gesture of someone who leans on a stick*).

I: Ah, yes, yes.

R: She walked with a walking stick. And then she liked to always stay in bed. I knew that she was always a bit angry with me, but I needed to clean, because her daughter told me in the beginning: 'You need to clean, you need to cook'. From eight o'clock on I did all the things there were, there and here and there.

I: It was too much?

R: Yes, because it was a villa. It was not an apartment, that is smaller, right? Yes, not everyone is like that, I tell you. Not everyone. Others tell you: 'No. Yes, if you can, then it is all right, do it. If you can't, it is also all right, but put my mother first'. Yes. Others tell you nothing. Others tell you: 'All right, you know how to do it, because you have many years of experience, so you honestly know what to do'. Because there are some who told me, because I knew that these persons, the family, sometimes they have the job interviews with persons that say on the contrary, and maybe some pretend, but they say: 'I don't do anything of that matter'. Because they say: 'I come and get payed for caring for the elderly person, not for doing other things'. I am like: so strange, I do other things. I clean the house, I...

I: All the things?

R: Yes, I do everything. Why would you not do it? When it is an apartment. A villa would be terrible. Because she was not alone, the lady. She lives with a daughter, with a son, so it is different. If they ask, you do also things for the children, I need to iron. It was a bit different. However yes, I know that there are persons who pretend to only care for the elderly, but you can't. You can't, you need to organize the house. Others tell you 'all right', when I was living in, 'you can be here like it is your house, see how it is with my mother, and you can do everything you do in your house'. So you need to clean, but in reality you also are here and you live here.

I: Yes, it is bit more free in a sense? When they tell you, do as you would normally do in your house?

R: Yes, yes. I have had more or less good experiences, but one of them was, it was not..The son, the son - I remember that the payment was white - but he said to me (*she whispers*): 'also we could have something extra, my little one...' You see. That.

I: Ohhh terrible!

R: Yes, also I remember that the fridge was empty 'I don't know what has happened. I only stayed to eat a bit'. I don't know what he says, because yesterday I gave a snack to the elderly lady and it was full. And after, I don't know why I allowed, but he just stayed. He said to me: 'I won't disturb you'. However if you watch me, I can not do anything. 'It is not helping her, you see'. Yes, he was a complete fool. We stayed in a good relation though. Yes, it is with everyone good. However, thank the lord, I'll repeat it, that I have worked with families where the children were present, not just leaving their parents, thank the lord. Because there are persons that just leave you, honestly so sad. Yes.

I: That they are never there?

R: No, they are never at home. Never at home. But after I had an experience, I remember, that I worked on the Saturday and Sunday for an elderly person. The first time that I worked with elderly people, the beautiful elderly people I worked with (*laughs*). And I remember that when I opened the fridge, all the food was in boxes. And the lady ate Saturday pasta, Sunday pasta. I said it to the other girl, who was Bolivian, she said: 'the daughter just gives me €10 or €15 a week'. And so, they were eating pasta every day. There are more cases like that, I tell

you, it is everywhere like that. Thank the lord that in all the places I have worked, I did not see that. Only in that place where I did the Saturdays and Sundays, but for me it was just for two months. But, you see truly everything. Yes, you see all of it.

I: Yes, maybe that is also something I want to ask, what do you think is the difference between care and good care? With you.. for example what you have just told, the fridge is full with only pasta, it is also caring, but maybe not caring in a good way? So what is for you the difference between care and good care?

R: From my part and from the part of the family?

I: Yes, yes.

R: I think that.. wait, first one cares, because there are many people who do this only for the money. However I have learned that if you give affection to the elderly, you get affection after, how to say that, a lot of things that happen are coming back, also if you are feeling affected. But you feel it, I think, if someone cares only because of the money. But good care I think is different. I think that, for example, many persons don't know what to do, what they give them to eat. Sometimes yes, there is the family who says: 'You need to eat this, you need to eat that'. Like this lady I have stayed with, her fridge, how her fridge was. Instead of, Monday you eat this, Tuesday to Monday you eat the same, also Friday. The first week I said 'all right', but the second week she ate the same again, and the week after again. And I said to her: 'I am sorry, but you eat like this?' 'Yes', she told me, 'why?'. But according to me it is not good to eat like that. You have to eat divers, because all right, from Monday to Friday she eats differently. But she already knows that on Monday she eats rice for example. You need to eat that. 'And you, what do you think?' 'Well, according to me you need to make a good food supply. So all right, on monday we do this, but the next week we do something else'. Some people listen to you, others don't. 'No, that is not good. You eat like that, that is it'. I think that to give good care, also I don't know, you change the food. Because it is the same for us, if we eat pasta every day, we get tired of it. So for elderly persons it is the same.

I: Yes, yes. It is not a difference.

R: Certainly. And then, good care I think.. sorry, I think that for example to make a good cook, you have to involve them. Where you put them.. I need to do it like that, they discuss about everything, because they become like children. And then you need to have a lot of patience, a lot of patience (*laughs*). A lot, a lot, yes. There are elderly that are calm, relaxed. I know it because my friends told me. But until now I did not give care to a calm one (*laughs*). With the elderly women, with the men I do not work. No. No. Because a times, at times, not always, they are a bit.. how do you say that? Their hands.. (*makes a gesture of touching*). No. Because to wash them, how to say.. on Saturday, Sunday I worked with a man, you remember, right? When he washed himself he said: 'it is normal, if you stay when I wash myself'. Well, no. I said no. Only once, after that was enough. How to say that to you? I have worked with one, for two months, during the weekends, and after I prefer, also now, I have asked for women. I prefer women.

I: Yes, yes. And so also now you are looking for something new?

R: Yes, yes. I prefer women. No men, I don't wash them, no, no, no, no.

I: Okay.

R: Yes, but there are honestly many similar experiences. There are experiences of people who worked with men... They don't leave you alone. What if they really lose it? No, it is.. for me

it is a definite no. Then also, they tell you this already, imagine if they want to fight you in a way, they are stronger than we are. Also if they are small, they still have more strength.

Maybe a bit less.. but no, I say no.

I: Yes, I understand that you prefer women.

R: Yes, I truly prefer women. Because if they insult me, if they fight with me, because many women fight with me, but if they are fighting, maybe it does not make me feel so bad as when it would be a man.. I have said no, it is better to have women, the women. No men at all.

I: Yes, I understand. Wait, I'll have a look on my questions.

(silence).

I: Yes, I think that.. You have told a lot, many things that are so relevant to me.

R: Yes, yes. Okay, yes. To repeat it, the elderly are, one differs from the other, another is different from another one. In one week you need to understand what the person is like.

I: Yes, that is necessary?

R: Yes, yes. Because maybe, they have told you about a job, and she doesn't want anything. For example, when you arrive she tells you to call her: 'madame'. No grandmother, not by her name, but madame. Another one likes it if I say 'grandmother', and another one likes it if I call her by name. 'All who call me grandmother... my name is Maria! Maria is my name'. 'Okay, all right'. As I tell you, one is different from the other. But no one is the same.

I: Yes, so it truly depends on the person? So you also need to be flexible?

R: Yes, yes. And then, if you, sometimes, how to say that, the son tells you: 'She needs to eat'. 'All right', but the son who says it to you, or the daughter, they don't live with her. 'Well, you stay with my mother, and you make sure that she continues eating, tell her: 'you need to eat'', but they [the elderly] get even more angry. 'You, with the experience you have, you need to understand this, you need to understand *(with emphasis)*, you need to do these things'. And the children can tell you that, fine, she needs to eat, she needs to eat. If you do it like that, they get angry with you. You need to make them understand: 'okay, eat a bit'. Because you know that she is not going to eat everything. 'All right', you say after, 'this is how I like it'. And then... Because if you say: 'continue, continue, continue!' *(puts an angry voice on)*.

I: They are not eating?

R: Nooo.. They become bad with you. Truly bad. (..) And for example, when I was working on a live-in basis, there was this lady who said to me: 'Have you seen what I just decided with my husband?' And I: 'Your husband?'

(laughing).

R: 'Where?' 'But here, he was sitting with me'. 'Really?' And then I needed to put another bed there because he was in the same room. She talked with her husband. And she tells me: 'he is here, my husband'. I: 'He passed away, he is dead'. Then, another person told me that her mother was in the room, and when she still lived, she used to go to that room and talk with her mother. In the beginning it could scare me.

(interruption).

R: And then, how to say that, every one is divers, and you need to understand all of them, understanding the person. Don't always do what the son tells you to do, because the children can say many things. But, they are not staying with the elderly. So, how do I tell you that,

sometimes, it has happened that the elderly person says: 'I will go to my house, I will go to my home, I wait for my son with the luggage, I will go to the door'. If you don't go along with them, but say 'No, look, this is your house, this is your house'. 'No', they tell you, and then it gets worse because they become mad. So you need to say: 'Ah, yes, it is the house of your mother, so pretty!' But, if you continue saying no...

I: It is better to go along with them?

R: Yes, because at times when you say no, it gets worse. But when you call a doctor, because often, they take you there, because you stay a long period with them. And the doctor sees them: 'you should not..' I don't know how to say it, 'you should not tell them the opposite, don't contradict her. If she says that, then it is like that'. 'Okay, fine'. However sometimes the children don't understand that. At times not.

I: That is the difference?

R: Yes, there are many things you need to understand, and in that way the elderly do not become bad (*laughs*).

I: Yes, yes.

R: However..

I: Can I ask you a last thing?

R: Yes, tell me!

I: Can you put your signature and your name her because.. (*end of conversation*).

Appendix E - Transcripts Care managers 1-2 [English version]

Care manager 1

I: So that is my subject, it truly concentrates on experiences. Because so far I have seen and read in academic papers for example, that there is a focus on efficiency, costs and how it is possible that this happens, also because often the caregiver is someone who is a foreigner. So, there seems to be more a focus like that, while I am more interested in how the care functions, how everyone involved feels about it, what are the positive aspects, what is difficult, etc.

R: There are positive and negative aspects.

I: Exactly.

R: Fundamentally it depends on the person, like with all things. So I had an initial experience with a truly very good person. Very. Whereby I was very affectionate.

I: Yes, with her?

R: Yes, because she was truly a good person, a beautiful person, you see. And my mother on the contrary didn't accept initial family assistants. I have to say that my mother has been there, and my mother has a very strong character, not easy. Not easy. With nothing easy.

I: Excuse me to interrupt you, but did she always have had a difficult character or..

R: Always.

I: She was not.. Because that is also possible.

R: No, she was always like that. She has always been like that. A very authoritative person, a bit hmm, of a sureness, from the South, maybe also a little bit.. she did not accept this person in the house, you see. Not. Not. So therefore, it has not been easy, but we, this person and my

mother initially she was only staying with an elderly person, she was also very self-sufficient, and truly, she was quite a bully with this woman. But this woman was very intelligent, very, she did not want that I would intervene, for example she said: I have to stabilise a relationship with her, so you should not defend me, you don't have to. Not. It has to be a case between us two. You see, this person has stayed with mama for one year and a half. It is a very painful case, because she went back to Ukraine. She was a nurse, she has been a nurse for many years, also in Germany, a woman that has worked a lot. Strong, a lonely wolf they say, a beautiful person. And when she returned to Ukraine, she got sick.

I: She?

R: She got sick, and.. we spoke with each other on the phone, but she has had first a pneumonia, from a disastrous trip, she was sick. I do not know what kind of treatment that gave her, but after she got a type of jaundice, that is a problem with the liver. In short, she is dead.

I: Oh no, that is very sad.

R: Very sad. Very sad.

I: Yes..

R: Very (*with emphasis*). I have to say, after her, it has been very difficult. Very.

I: To find someone that is like.. like her?

R: (*nods*). Because, we had created such a real relationship of, oh well, maximum faith, also a bit of affection. Because I value a bit the transitive element, when you take care of my mother, I want to feel good with you.

I: Yes, certainly.

R: And when you do it, in a right way, I feel affection for you. After it has been difficult, it has been truly difficult because objectively, the work of a family assistant is a difficult job.

I: Yes? Why?

R: Because, because they are persons that, in any way, leave their family, very often they have a husband, they have children, and they live with sick persons, difficult persons. Difficult because of the elderly person, it depends eh, but often the character of the persons, but basically a elderly person is difficult. After, the health of my mother has been getting worse, so she ended up in a wheelchair. But also she stayed quite bright, she was more though in her head. Oh well, in the meantime, she was not alone, because they were two who returned, for the weekend, and so there were two family assistants who..

I: Who alternated each other?

R: Who alternated each other. It was a difficulty for long, for long. A lot of difficulty, you see, because I have passed from this true person. And after, my mother, and I repeat, she was not an easy person, but so these women tended to, how to say, they did not have an attachment with her.

I: Hmm, ok.

R: is it clear?

I: Yes, yes. They were not affected towards her like the first one?

R: Beh, she was... (*laughs scornfully and makes a gesture*).

I: Stronger or closed also?

R: Strong, strong. And also not loving. You see, so she did not inspire a lot. In short, I also had an experience a bit negative. You see.

I: Yes.

R: Yes.

I: Do you have an example of that?

R: An example, hmm. My mother called for example with a bell, and one time time it happened that, it was enervated this thing that there was to call. And thereby, the longer bell was removed. You see, these things.. It was more though.

I: But so it was not really possible for her to call?

R: (*nods no*). And so, in short, different things, different things. It arrived at a point that..

I: That it was, I don't know how to say it, but it was not easy, not fluent, it was more like (*makes a gesture of something that scours, wrings*).

R: Yes. There were many.. Yes. Therefore, partly that was, then my mother was quite bright, but she had a period of physical difficulty. For example she stayed at the hospital, and after the hospital she was not so bright anymore. After she recovered from the hospital. Whereby, there, in short, you can not always have a return, I worked and so I was not always there. They called me if there were problems but..

I: It is not possible to always..

R: No, you see, not always. So because of how the things went, you see, there was a bit less trust. In reality, you leave a person completely in the hands of someone else and..

I: How did that feel for you?

R: Yes, I have felt that. After there was this person that on the contrary, because we are with three siblings, and it was me who managed more than the others because I lived quite close. But my siblings.. hè?

I: I am sorry, three or two?

R: We are in three, with three children. You see, I was the person, I lived in a house quite close and on the contrary my sister lived outside of Milan, my brother worked a lot, so for these facts, I was the one who had contacts with these persons. So I have switched more than once a family assistant, because it did not go well. But you see, there was also the problem of having to mediate with my siblings because it is a decision you took together. And they did not see this difficulty because they did not go to visit mama. Once in a while they said: mama has a bad character, you see. However, yes, she had a bad character however.. In short, when you arrive at a contact of excessive attention, it is not good. Because you also need to be a bit like a professional, like a nurse. You need to see the person as sick, and therefore, also someone's character. You can not go into doing some of a kind of retaliation or spite. Maybe unavoidable, you see. We say, I repeat again, they are persons that in any case live with a big difficulty, because they have children far away, husband's far away, they live a difficult life you see.

I: Yes.

R: I changed several times the family assistants.

I: Yes. So, it is clear for you that it is a difficult job for them... I want to ask you, I don't know, if it depends for you if, for example the first family assistant was a nurse, studied and worked as a nurse. If this was also a difference with the others?

R: Yes, the others, yes.. They had basic notions like, I do not know, measure the blood pressure, do the medicines ... I have had a family assistant who was for example on a good level, she came on Saturday and Sunday. She was an engineer, and she was particularly

attentive to some things, there were, anyway, some things she knew how to do them. Which is unavoidable, you see, you have to, when you to take care of a sick person, see her symptomatology, determine things, do the nutrition and so..

I: Yes, there are many aspects in caring for someone.

R: Yes, to take care of an elderly person who needs to be cared for. You see,

I: Yes, yes. Hmm .. I did not completely understand before how you found the family assistants? And how did you decide?

R: You see, from mouth to mouth. Practically, you see, almost everyone was called Lara, like the first name, the first: Lara. And she was the sister of a family assistant of the mother-in-law of my sister. So it was like that, a bit like a circle.

I: A circle?

R: And the same with the others. Because it is important that someone gives you the guarantee, a person that has known the other that..

I: Yes, exactly.

R: Because you give your complete trust, the house, your mother, a person. And so you need to have a guarantee. Not being there and then.. so it was from mouth to mouth. Another name I always had from my colleague, I was a teacher at the time, and my colleague had also a mother with a family assistant, so he always had the resources that his family assistant knew another one. And another time it was my sister on the contrary who searched for a family assistant, because one time we were truly in difficulty in the summer because the family assistant suddenly went away. So we had to substitute her and her departure has not been foreseen, so therefore we had found someone through an agency that puts..

I: That connects?

R: And that August I also remained in Milan, I did not go away because.. she was new, and to insert a family assistant is not easy because in the beginning it takes a certain presence: you have to be there, you have to explain so many things, in any way you have to check if she needs something to do, so ..

I: It is not easy like: ok, this is the house and you can start!

R: No, no.. Probably it is different in an institute. I have asked myself if perhaps mama, especially in the last days, where she had a great deal of discomfort as well, would have been better at an institute but she would not have accepted it. And so the answer was no.

I: Ok.. But for her it was not..

R: For her it was not. She would have lived like, because in her mentality you die in your own house. If the children are busy and if the children are working someone is in charge, that can be a nurse, it can be a family assistant, but not... Because in the end she was a woman from the south. South Italy.

I: Yes, from Naples you said?

R: Exactly, from Naples. The south is a bit different than the north.

I: In what way?

R: You see, the family is a bit more important, oh well, therefore, for my mother it would not have been really, for her it would have been a terrible hypothesis.

I: It was not a possibility?

R: It was not a possibility. However, I have seen also with a friend, she also has lived in the Netherlands, but I do not know where, she has had a sick mother, with progressive

Alzheimer's, for seven years. And also she had made the choice for a family assistant. However, less like mama's Alzheimer's, in the end she did not recognize anyone.

I: Your mother or her's?

R: Her's. I am talking of someone else. No, no, my mother has always recognized everyone. She was bright, with moments of loss, of difficulty, but.. bright.

I: Ah ok, I am sorry, I have not understood it completely.

R: I have said this by making a 'logical salto', I have said that like my mother with her brightness she would have *never* accepted it, you see. But after, while thinking, I have said, one of my friends who had a mother with Alzheimer's, who in the end did not recognize anyone, my friend also has made the choice of keeping her at home with more family assistants, bottomline.

I: Ok, yes.

R: Therefore, yes. It can depend, also of the persons, if they can live with such a choice.

I: Yes, certainly. And for you, has it felt like a choice, was it possible to choose something or weren't several possibilities? I am sorry, I am not clear. For you, do you think that in your situation?

R: When I would be an elderly?

I: No, no. With your mother. Was there an alternative for the care, so not the care with the family assistant but something else or? Because you have said that for her it would have not been a possibility to go to a residence, but are there also other alternatives or? I do not know, because I do not know about all the alternatives in Italy.

R: Alternatives... maybe. You say for example a nurse? Well, it depends on when you need what. For example there was a period that she needed an infusion, and so a nurse came. For the infusion, or when there was a necessity of a more nursing intervention. I do not know, after a physiotherapist came to do gymnastics with her. This type of..

I: Ok, exactly. So, these types of care were only for a short time.

R: However, in the base there was the family assistant.

I: Ok, exactly.

(*silence*).

I: And was it always possible to find a new family assistant? Because you said that sometimes in the summer it was difficult because the family assistant left?

R: So, replacements. Look, for example, with one replacement, one year in July, I went away and there had been a replacement of the family assistant. You see, I found my mother, because this was something they did quite.. My mother is not an easy person, therefore they took the calming drops. And I was sure when I returned.. I have found my mother in a state that they have (*long silence*) abused her. Because of these drops she truly talked with difficulty.

I: But how? What has happened?

R: (*deep thought, emotional*). Because maybe I was away in July. And my siblings were here in Milan, but they live a lot less close. While I live close, so for this, there was, how to say, there was a control before. You see, I passed by every day. And when I returned, I saw.. hmm... (*disbelief*). However, she has recovered. This is, in fact, these were truly the calming drops. They had given her an excessive quantity of those. For this, when I returned, the dosage returned to a regular amount, and slowly, slowly, she recovered.

I: But with another family assistant in the house or not?

R: I did not connect these things immediately. This is a case whereby.. Because I thought the fact that I was not there, in fact, but later.. Subsequently.. I did not realise it immediately. I did not realise it immediately.

I: Ok, I understand

R: I did not realise it right away. Because the difficulties she had.. also with her way of speaking.. Because after she is recovered! And well.

I: Yes, exactly. And so it was slowly like.. (*makes a gesture of an upward line*).

R: It has been a bit like that, yes. They used a dosage way too high with these calming drops. And this is something I found out later that the family assistant did that. Indeed, it is a case of trust.. and also a bit of control maybe. I do not know.

(*long silence*).

R: I am talking about the negative aspects.

I: Yes, yes. But that is also very important I think. When it is not clear what are the difficult aspects it would not be the whole story.

R: Exactly.

I: So, it is important.. I have another question. What is the difference between care and good care? Can you explain a bit what that is for you or do you have an idea?

I: A lot, according to me, is a discourse of.. persons, where there is interaction. I repeat, there may be.. my mother was not an easy person, that did not help at all (*laughs scornfully*).

However, it is also a case of character. You want sweetness/softness.. it is very difficult! You want sweetness and firmness. Sweetness because for when she opposes you. Firmness because, however you need to have a minimum of authority, to be taken serious, these things you do, so with sweetness but with determination. You see. And professionalism.

I: And doing that in a professional way?

R: However, it is not easy, it is not easy, you understand? Because you are in front of a person, and after.. Yes, you have a curriculum and you know about the previous experience, however..

I: Also, I don't know.. I try to imagine, how it functions, how it is this care for you, for your family. And I don't know, it seems very difficult, because you want to decide, you want to make a good choice, but in the meanwhile it is not possible to control or check everything.

R: Exactly. Also because you, for example we, my sister and me, when they have been presented in front of your eyes, above all it is a matter of taste. And you see the persons, you meet the persons, but it is not easy. It is not easy. (*silence*). It is not easy, and after you have some feedback maybe, how they are giving care, how mama is doing, you see. However, you know, she is also a person that complained a lot, so in any way.. (*laughs*). You have to.. Hm.. It is not easy.

I: What did she say about this care? Because before you said that it was not something she wanted, but were there for also things that, you know about, were positive as well or it was all a bit negative according to her? I don't know.

R: Well, look. On one hand, maybe, it accelerated a bit the decline of my mother. Because first she was a very strong woman. As a matter of fact, in the beginning, a woman came but she was not 'fixed', not full time. And maybe, according to me, this sense of autonomy helped her a bit from a psychological point of view: the sensation of having a family

assistant, and after slowly, slowly, she let her coming a bit. Because during this beginning, she was better, you see, she was better. She [the family assistant] made something to eat, but she [her mother] was much more autonomous. And after this she lied down a bit, and this was not positive. For the rest, there are pro's and con's. And to know that she was alone during the night, that maybe was when the real problems started, we did not feel relaxed, you see. No, the first Lara, we call her, I don't know.. above everything for me, it has been.. Because this person was.. she was a bit special, she was valuable. You see, and I felt extremely calm. You understand? I knew it, also when my mother complained about everything during an evening. And I said: mama mama! But I saw it, I understood, I knew, that there was a person of so much value, so valuable with her. And after, clearly, it has not been like that anymore.

I: Maybe that is more difficult in a way, when you have experienced what is possible and..

R: A very very positive experience. You see how a relationship can be.. I remember Lara received a gift from a nephew who's grandmother she had given care, a small backpack, she (*Lara*) also made me read the letter of this girl, wherein she said how much she loved the way Lara cared for her grandmother until her death. She was so close.. And I understand that because it is truly the person who makes family members aware of the value of, of all the persons. And also she was professional, which is very important, she was a nurse, and very strong.

I: Yes. Maybe it was an experience of, how do you say that, of a lot of confidentiality. To me it sounds like that is very important, because you leave your mother..

R: ... in the hands of a person that you trust. Yes. And after I didn't have anymore.. There was another person, someone a bit less, but rather difficult.. You know, on one hand a residence is maybe.. I don't know, I don't have experience with a residence, but you have consentency with the elderly, mabe in a residence you live a more social life, with other persons, you don't live like... being abandoned, besides there are other positive aspects like have medical assistance, nursing, maybe you are not exclusively left to the mercy of one person, you see.

I: Hmm.. Ok, I see. But you also said that there was a moment where there were two family assistants, one for the weekend and one for the other days?

R: Yes, but it is not easy. I have seen, and also with others, because I have been confronted with other friends who had the same problems.. It is not easy, the relation between the two family assistants. That is very difficult.

I: Ahh, why?

R: It is very difficult because forms are created wherein, one buys the things to eat, the other one finds these things ridiculous. One did not do this, other one did not do that, you see.

I: Hmm.. the communication is more important when you have two?

R: Yes, yes. And maybe, you see, it is also dependent on.. However, they can get out of the difficulties, but they have to do what they have to do, because there are in any way two persons that are alternating, you see. And so with all the problems there are two persons..

I: Ok.. To be sure I understood it from before.. the responsibility of finding family assistants was completely your part? To do this?

R: (*nods*).

(*silence*).

I: I don't know but.. was this ok for you or was it sometimes also difficult? For example

when you couldn't find someone?

R: Yes, it was a situation... well, my mother has arrived at a point where she could not stay alone anymore, clearly there is the change no.. I wanted to say that you have to be able to provide a replacement immediately, because you could not leave her.. I worked and therefore I did not have the possibility of staying with her and so the search, you know, there was no margin.. The search became a bit problematic in a sense. And after, there is return made, you have to be able to evaluate well; the person, the things she does, what they do well, what they do not do well, here's all this.

I: Yes, there were many things, I think, for you to do. Also because you work, this care, all the organisation..

R: Yes, yes. It is difficult, it is quite difficult.. challenging. Yes. Challenging also because you have to be there. It is.. at least I could repeatedly, I passed by each day, and when I could, they stopped me.. A person also needs to have someone to be with. Besides, they called me, If they needed something, they called me, even at night... they called me.

I: Weren't there moments that it was too much?

R: Yes that it was truly.. Well.

(silence).

I: And with you brother and your sister? Your sister lives..

R: No, it is not very long. You see, at d'Arese, outside of Milan but not a very big distance. However, she works a lot, a work... well, I worked as a teacher. As a teacher you have the school, you have to correct homework, prepare the lessons, you have a lot of working hours right? To say, I corrected when I corrected homework, I corrected the homework at my mother's house (*laughs*). My sister, on the contrary, does not have working hours like that, she works full time, she has little possibility of coming.. Only sometimes in the weekend.

I: Ok, so she was here also?

R: Yes, in the weekend, yes. She stayed on Sunday, like my brother in the weekend.

I: Yes.. but only during the weekend?

R: Ehh, yes. There is someone who needs to manage the groceries, the money, everything.. The boiler was not functioning, if there is another problem ... with the work.. or once I had to broke through a wall, you see. You have to be there, because a house needs to be managed. So you have to be the reference person.

I: Because the whole house..

R: When you have a house yes.

I: Hmm. Ok. I want to ask if the first family assistant.. the relation with her was a bit like with family or not?

R: Yes, yes. I had a very big relation with her. We had created a real relation.. She was a very intelligent person.. very ironic.

I: Haa, ok with humor?

R: Yes! 'Hello prof. Don't worry! I know well, but you stay calm!' You see, you understand?

I: Yes, yes. It was an ideal relation for you?

R: Ideal. Yes. I have never lived, I don't know. It was truly a relation like I heard it when I called her that she felt bad. We called with each other, you see. There was a connection, you understand? Therefore is was a big pain, this loss. You see. Because of the person.. Not only.. And after.. In time it revolted always even more.

I: Yes.. it is a way of... Is it important for you to have this connection or not?

R: It is important this relation, very.

I: Hmm. I have a look on my questions I am sorry, to see if I asked everything. But also when you think I maybe forgot to ask you about something that is important to tell, then..

(silence).

I: It is a bit late to say this, but I hope it is ok I said the whole time 'you' and not the formal 'you'?

R: Noooo, no! Listen, these are things.. they are also for me not easy to talk about, because I am involved again, I feel affected by remember them, not everything is always easy. You see. So it is ok to say you. You are sweet.

I: Ok, thank you.

R: And I am talking with you, because you came to me.

I: Yes.. Maybe it is also not exactly a formal subject..

R: No, no..

I: It is not something to..

R: It is very intimate.. very deep.

I: Yes. yes. I just suddenly realised I did not ask you before if it was ok to say 'you'.

(silence).

I: Ah right, we have talked already about that the selection is a bit difficult.. because you read a curriculum, but you have not a complete idea of the real person?

R: Yes, I believe that always the most valuable thing is what happened for example with Lara, because she was the family assistant of the mother-in-law of my sister, that is worth a lot. Therefore, she had guaranteed, recommended Lara and therefore it was a certainty. However it is not really simple, you understand?

I: Yes. But so with her it was a bit of a guarantee?

R: Eh yes, it was an assurance.

I: And with the others? How did you make the choice?

R: With the others.. I was searching for.. Because after I had.. Also with them because, if it is for example in a discourse, how did it happen again? Hmm.. If they went away, they proposed someone as a substitution to you, a person they knew. However also with that, that have not always found me someone..

I: Hmm.. I want to ask.. because I don't how it exactly works if you make a choice like that, but ok, for example if you read a description..

R: ... a curriculum?

I: Yes, but..

R:.. About previous experience, normally they give you that, also they talk with you. You see, one says: I assisted that person a year. And so, there are the references, the references you call them.. therefor, normally you put yourself in contact via the phone, you call this person who's mother they gave care to. So, you have a call with the person who has an impression of this family assistant.

I: Yes ok, so it is not one moment to choose, but..

R: There are different steps, yes.

I: Yes, exactly.

R: It is a challenging choice. So, after you do also a try-out for some hours, for the activities.

It also asks this time because, to see if things actually function or not function. You want also a run-in period.

I: And the aspects you are looking at, what functions, what does not functions, were they the same aspects as the ones you said before?

R: Hmm?

I: Non.. Ehm, when you have made this choice, which aspects were important for you to look at? What works with this person or not?

R: Well, yes. In the meantime the capacity.. there have been various periods for my mother wherein the situation was different, however for example, if someone is able to do certain things in a correct way. The preciseness with the medicines, with the meals, with.. you see, these things, the attention. These things and after, there is also a characterial aspect for my mother that is very important.

I: Between your mother and the family assistant, or between the family assistant and you?

R: My mother and the family assistant. I do not know... I repeat, my mother did not have an easy character, however one time they were fighting, and that is something that should not happen. But after all, we are all persons and that is an aspect. However, one person was truly bittered, a little professional from that point of view, it happened one time dat the family assistant called me in the night, she started to me on the phone.. About my mother, she was probably bittered. However, I rushed it but in short ... when the person does not see her anymore as a sick person, but as .. then I repeat the thunderous are many because, they are people who have this work for necessity also, I repeat. their family is far away, so there are big discomforts. You see. It is also understandable that there are difficulties. However, in any way it is challenging and difficult.

I: Yes, it is difficult, maybe the situation is also difficult for them because of the things you just said, but it is also difficult if the care for your mother is not how you want it. Hmm, yes. It is also a job.

R: Yes, I know. It is a job... there was a period for example that mama did not sleep, which was more difficult because they had two rooms, a period that mama did not sleep, and there I had to take someone who was doing the night on fixed basis .. and besides we had a person during the daytime and then .. So it was just a pretty noisy time because we also had a nurse, and she slept in my room with my mom. She had pain, she went back to the hospital .. You see, even for this there are inevitable alternates, because at home you can pretend that we are persons that are mad. Anyway, the hours to go out. there was a time when I saw her going to do groceries, in any way, she was declining. Therefore, you have a job, so every day I had a break, of course, that I was not there for mama.

(silence).

I: Yes, I think..

R: Listen, well, if you have a relook at your questions or there were some things you did not understand, you call me right?

I: Yes ... a thousand thanks really, it was of so much value to me ..

R: I did not offer you anything. Do you want to drink something?

(laughing).

I: Aah, no thanks.

Care manager 2

I: Yes, so it is your mother who received care from a badante.

R: Yes, and I think we started about 15 years ago. Because my mother has a, it is not a real Alzheimer disease, but it something not very different..

I: It is similar?

R: Similar yes. And it started really 25 years ago to have some strange behavior, and ok.. in the beginning..

I: Like what kind of things?

R: She was strange because she had, how to say, she didn't care too much about other people, she started to close in a world. And also the behavior towards me or my brother was not the same. So she was very concerned about herself, but it was something different than from before. It was a different behavior. And so she started slightly to be different. So it has not been so quick as Alzheimer disease normally is. She never had aggressive behavior, which is proper of Alzheimer. She had completely different behavior, but at the end she was not able to live alone. Because she couldn't cook anymore, she couldn't.. So...

I: And was that because of physical things also or more just?

R: No no, physical she is still, she still has a good physics. It is only a question of the mind, and the behavior, that is no more self-sufficient. But she started very early not to be self-sufficient anymore.

I: Yes, because fifteen years ago, how old was she ten?

R: No, no fifteen, not fifty. Fifteen. So, we didn't feel good to let her at home alone, and so we started, in the beginning with women staying only in the morning. But at a certain point we needed someone who could sleep there.

I: Ok. Because then also something during the night could happen that she needed help?

R: Yes, but she never did particularly strange things you understand? She was also, another thing.. She never was confused.

I: Ah, ok.. Never?

R: No, never. She has been always very well oriented in the space, not in the time. So if you asked her, what day is today? She couldn't say. But, she perfectly know the way, where she was, the street around her home, she perfectly knew that. And when I was in the car with her, she told me: now you have to turn right here, and left here. So it is a strange form of dementia. A strange form, not the real Alzheimer.

I: And how was that for you? To see her change like that?

R: It is very difficult. Because, we are prepared for the physical diseases, not so much with the - how to say - psychological or psychic diseases. It is very strange to see a person which changes, and it is not anymore the person that you know. This is very heavy. Very sad. And we are not prepared I think, for that kind of diseases. No...

I: Because it was really her character that changed?

R: Yes, really. That was the change. And to she started to be - how to say - to repeat obsessively, always the same words (*with emphasis*). Always the same questions. This is the main feature of her disease, just repeating always the same phrase, the same. Repeating, and repeating and repeating, all day.

I: Day in, day out?

R: Yes.

I: And what kind of things were it then? Was it about the house, or about you?

R: Yes, yes! Or she asked, where are you living? Where are you living?

I: Where are *yóu* living?

R: Yes.

I: Ah okay.. And then what did you do? Did you explain every time or sometimes..

R: Well, I answered every time, but sometimes I told her: you know where I live, because you just told me where I am living. But she asked something that I cannot explain. She asked things, even if she knew the answer, you understand?

I: Hmmmm. That must be difficult also?

R: Yes.. yes. (*silence*)

I: And then with the care... because she was living close here?

R: Yes, yes. Relatively close to here. So my mother had also a second husband. But he was not living all the time with her. So he was living in Rome. Partly in Rome, partly here. So we had the period when he was with my mother, and the period when my mother was alone. And this is why we decided at a certain point to have - after ten year wait - one person living with her all the day. Alternating with other, but not to leave my mother anymore alone.

I: And that was for the periods that her husband was away or..?

R: No, always. Otherwise it was difficult.

I: And how long ago is it that it started? That she couldn't be alone anymore?

R: Well, I think 15 years ago..

I: Ah, ok, so almost immediately when her behavior changed.

R: No, it started 10 years before, to be a little bit strange. We noticed it, but it wasn't so serious. But in the last 15 years, 15, 17 years, we always had somebody staying with her.

I: That's a long time.

R: Yes, yes.

I: At first it was someone who came in the morning? And then at some point?

R: Yes, then we added somebody else who could stay also to sleep with her. And to go out with her. So just, my mother is now 91.

I: And the person was the same as during the day? So the same person during night and day or different persons?

R: No, we had always two people just to leave some hours free, to do the person who was staying to sleep. More or less, we had one in the morning, and then afternoon and night another person.

I: And that was a conscious choice for you? Like you prefer to have two persons instead of just one?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: And why?

R: Because in any case, you cannot, you have to let people some hours free. You understand? You cannot have somebody who for 7 days a week stays and works in a certain form. 7 days, 24 hours a day.. So you must in any case, have a change, or alternate.

I: Because it is not doable for the person otherwise?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And how.. Like I try to imagine, when something like that is necessary, where do you start if you want to have someone?

R: Well in the beginning you have friends, or somebody you know, they give you a name and you try the person. So I had also not very good experiences, and I also tried some agencies because there are agencies. And it is always a question of being lucky, you understand? Because sometimes you get the right name and sometimes not, or maybe there are some situations where some people fit well, and other people, maybe they are good people, prepared people, but don't suit the situation, so it is not very easy. To find the right person in a certain situation. So for instance, the last badante that we have, is with us, I think since 10 years. So I have some problems with her, because it is not an easy person. But my mother loves her, and she loves my mother. Which is important, and they have a very strong relationship.

I: And is that why, even if you didn't have a good relationship, that she still stayed 10 years?

R: Yes, yes, yes. So it is sometimes difficult, sometimes.. It is not a easy person, but it is true that it is very good with my mother, and my mother loves her, and she loves my mother (*laughs*). So that is important. And that is why we continued to keep her.

I: Just to have it clear, now your mother is in a residence..

R: Yes.

I: So the care of this badante stopped?

R: No, we are keeping the badante. Because my mother cannot, it is very difficult for her to eat. She is sleeping all the day, because she fell down, and as a consequence, about three/four weeks after she fell down, she developed a subdural, blood..

I: Ah ok, in her brain?

R: Yes, in her brain. And as a consequence, she is sleeping. She can talk something, but not very much. And so we, at the present, we are keeping the badante, to go and to help her eating. Because it is very difficult now for her to eat. So for the moment it is still so. Because I say that, this badante is - how to say - the legame, the linkage between my mother and the life.

I: Ah, ok.. If she wouldn't be there..

R: Yes, so it is not strictly necessary, because of course she is in a structure, where people could feed her, but there are a lot of old people there and the personal is not sufficient I think for caring, for everybody with the due time. You understand? And that is why the badante is still going there, every day.

I: Every day.

R: Yes, every day..

I: And how long ago did your mother move there?

R: One year ago, more or less. A little bit less, in July last year.

I: And that was also the time she fell?

R: Yes, she fell in June, end of June more or less, and by mid July she was in the hospital, and we discovered this problem.

(*silence*).

I: And could you describe what is the kind of care the badante gives that she wouldn't have in the residence?

R: Ohh, of course the badante is dedicated to her, so she has only her to care, so she can spend a lot of time in trying to let her eat and to let her drink. But the other personnel has not so much time, you understand? So they feed all the people that cannot eat by themselves, but they cannot spend so much time for everybody.

I: No.. That is the lack of money in a way. Like how it is arranged (*refers to conversation we had before the interview started*).

R: Yes, yes.

I: So the badante makes it possible to have one-on-one caring?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And what were the difficult experiences? You said before sometimes it was difficult?

R: Because - how to say - she, in some way, asked a lot, a lot of money.. and she, the badante, knows she is necessary, and for this reason she is pressing you. To obtain what she wants, but she is not always from the right sight. Because sometimes, she asked too much. You understand?

I: Too much for what she is giving even though?

R: Yes, this is sometimes.. Well, she is difficult. She does not accept observations, if you are not of the same. It is a little bit difficult to let her accept if you have a different, if I have a different opinion from her. That is difficult for her to accept, so it is a very difficult person.

I: Do you have an example of that? Like when you try to give a suggestion?

R: No, I don't remember. Sometimes concerning medicines.. sometimes... But I don't remember a specific case to tell you, at the present.

I: Hmm.. But several times it happened?

R: Yes, several.. several. And every time that I answered 'no' to one request from her, she said: aah ok, I am looking for another job. I replied: Ok, but if you go, you tell me, but I look for somebody else. Just to stop her. You understand? She was, you know... of that kind (makes a gesture).

I: Hmm.. I am not sure if it is what you mean and if I should say it, but manipulating?

R: Yes, yes, manipulating..

I: And, how.. because in the end she stayed, so how did you come closer again?

R: Sometimes by saying yes, sometimes by saying no. No, if you are not satisfied... Because always she said, I am very good. Yes, I told her, yes you are very good, but you are not the only one.. (*laughs*). For sure there are other people as good as you.

I: Ok. And how did you find her for example?

R: I don't remember. I think through names but I don't remember exactly how I reached her.

I: Oh, because also during the years also many different badanti came?

R: Yes, yes. The previous one left with one day notice, while my mother went to the hospital because she fell and she had an arm broken. And she, the same day, she phoned me and she told me: tomorrow I am going to Peru. That was terrible.

I: But how?

R: It was terrible. But it is normal it happens like that. Another at a certain point, I called my mother's house and the person answering I didn't know, it was not the same person I had, and this woman left my mother to another person without saying me anything. So it is a lot of stories..

I: Yes! But yes, that is what I am looking for in a way. I want to know what are the good and the bad sides. But yes, that is unbelievable, what do you do in such in a situation?

R: Yes, it is terrible. So I have so many stories to tell people. But I have the impression, I don't know if it is right, that for instance, in the beginning there were less people available. Now there are also a lot of people coming from East-countries, and I have the impression that now there are more badanti available. It is right that in the last years the economic situation in Italy of everybody were descending. Maybe that also a lot people decided not to have a badante anymore. I don't know, but my impression is that now there are much more opportunities than 15 years ago.

I: And what is the consequence for that for you?

R: The consequence is that the salary today is.. remain the same in the last 15 years, but 15 years ago the salaries were very high for the badanti. Now it is lowering. And there are also more people available. It is not.. so once it was very difficult to find one, the right people and ok.. And now I don't think it not so difficult anymore.

I: Because there is more choice?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: But also I can imagine in a way, like, where do you start, if there are so many people available?

R: Yes..

I: Is that also why you tried with an agency or..?

R: No, I tried the agency when I was in emergency. Because, ok, the one who left me from one day to another, or the other that left my mother with another person and that went away. I don't know where, if I remember she went to Peru as well, without saying me nothing. So then, in time of emergency, I went to an agency, or I went to an agency when the bandante, the regular badante I had, wanted to go home for one or two months, so I need substitutions for that.

I: Ah ok, so it was more as an alternative?

R: Yes, yes.

(silence).

I: And you always found someone in time via an agency or?

R: Yes, they always, more or less, always have people. It is true that if you need for one month, or two months, ok, it is also.. your requirements are also only for one or two months, so also if it is not the perfect person, ok, you accept it. Yes. You understand? But through agency, I always found someone in such cases.

I: So for the emergencies it is good something like that exists?

R: Yes, yes.

I: Because, where did you select on when it was via someone? What do you search for in someone?

R: Well, if some friend recommends.. Because the badante is known by somebody else, ok, you trust what you are been told. If you get a badante through the agency, you meet this person before, or you can also call the references, she must have references, and to call the families who the woman worked before, just for references. Yes.

I: So it is depending also on how you find someone?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: But for example, did it happen that you found someone through a friend but that you said, ok it is not working?

R: I never tried a badante, that works with my friends, directly. But for instance, I tried a woman who was recommended by the portinaia (*doorman of the building*). And it was terrible, because this woman was ill.

I: She was ill?

R: She was ill! And ok, she didn't tell me. And then after one week, or two weeks, she told me: Aah, no I cannot because... I am ill. Ok, but you came to me.. You understand? Why???

I: But then there was already a contract or something or?

R: No, not yet. Not yet.

I: But you know what happened or why she didn't tell you?

R: People are very strange...

(*laughing*)

(*silence*)

I: So, that was not working with her I assume?

R: No, absolutely not. Absolutely not.

I: And in other cases, things that happened that you said, ok, this is not what we agreed on, or it was not the care you expected for your mother?

R: Hmmmmm... No. Because.. No. Really not. Not this is this. This was the worst case. The other case were the women that left without telling me anything and leaving my mother with.. I cannot remember with whom.. But, that was the worst situation I found. In other cases, no, I never had disputes of that kind. No. Only in emergencies, or in this period this people, but otherwise no.

I: In a way, if the person who gives care to your mother suddenly leaves, it is also... It is not what you expected from someone.

R: Absolutely, absolutely.. Yes. Absolutely yes.

(*silence*)

I: Do you actually have brothers or sisters?

R: Yes, one brother.

I: One brother?

R: Yes.

I: But are you taking, or you organising the care for your mother yourself or?

R: Yes. Well, of course we share the information but all the badanti were on my - how to say - my brother cared about other things. But not the badanti itself. Very often he told me, ok we take mum and we bring in a special structure, but it was not easy for me and then also I think also for my mother. Because old people love to stay at home, when they understand to be at home. And when they are moved to another place, then they suddenly fall down and the whole psychological, also mentally it... So I had the impression that for my mother it would have been, not a good thing. Because she was very anxious, this repeating and repeating and repeating. So I had the impression that in a structure, at least the structure that we have in Italy, so to manage a case like my mother, that they would have give her a lot of medicines. To.. ok.. (*makes a gesture*).

I: To stay calm?

R: Yes, to stay calm!

I: Ah, so ok, sometimes she spoke about it but..

R: She took medicines at home, but she was still.. she was not slowed down.

I: She was energetic?

R: Yes, ok. So I had the impression that it was not good for my mother, also because she perfectly knew where she was.

I: Did you speak about it? With her also?

R: No.. no. She never realised her situation, and so I never spoke to her about this.

I: Did she realise for example, because there was someone taking care, but in a way she was not consciously thinking about?

R: No, absolutely not.. absolutely not. absolutely not.

I: Hm, so it is difficult to talk about it.. So then it was to your and your brother's observation what would be the best for her?

R: Yes, yes. yes.

I: Was it difficult sometimes to decide what is best to do?

R: Ehmm.. no. I know that the best was, at that time, to keep her at home.

I: How did you know?

R: It is something.. a feeling, that you have. But for instance, last July, when she fell down and she couldn't do anything and when she was sleeping all the day, I thought that at that moment, it was not different being in a structure or being at home. Because she doesn't realise anymore, she sleeps all the day.

I: So it was really also changing in the last year? Of how she is?

R: Yes, yes. Yes. This changed completely.

I: And all the years before she was more aware?

R: Yes. Absolutely yes.

(silence).

I: Just to know.. do you have a contract with the tasks or responsibilities? Or how does it work?

R: No, no, no, no. In my cases not. I don't know if in other cases.. No, I just have a contract because this people need a, for their documents, they need to have a regular contract and contributes, and social securities and everything. So you just have a contract for that purpose, but not a contract describing their tasks... No, I never had it.

I: It was not necessary or?

R: Well, it could be necessary *(laughs)*, but.. it is not used, or it was not used. I don't know if now for present contracts, or if you go to an agency if you get such a written contract with all the tasks.. I never had it. It was just on oral agreement of what they had to do.

I: So that was always clear between you two at least? Like what was to be expected?

R: Yes, sometimes of course, not everybody.. Also the house needs to be kept clean, and it was not always not so clean, and so we discussed about that, but just as in a normal contract I think..

(silence).

R: Or for instance, what my mother had to eat, because ok, sometimes it is very easy to buy ham, already prepared ham.. Sometimes we had to discuss it, but... not to discuss, just to clear. Clarification I would say.

I: Because was it sometimes.. I can imagine for example you don't want your mother to eat

the same thing every evening for example...

R: Yes, yes.

I: But didn't happen like that? That you had to discuss the food like that?

R: No, not really. It happened more with the people staying always, for instance, in the morning who stayed less hours and so they cared a little bit less. You understand? This happens more with the people staying less.

I: Yes? You could see a difference between that?

R: Yes.. yes.

I: But because they were working less or?

R: No, I don't know if this was because they were working less or because they were less good..

(silence).

I: It is both possible?

R: Yes.

I: And what would you say are the aspects you experienced as positive about this kind of care? About the badante-care?

R: Ehm.. I didn't experience very positive. It is very difficult, it is very heavy..

I: What makes it so difficult or heavy?

R: Ehm, heavy is because you have to psychologically to manage the whole situation, ok? So very often I had two persons, and very often they didn't match very well together. So I had very often to solve the problem between these two.

I: What happened then? They were fighting?

R: Yes, they were fighting! One wanted that the other, was saying that the other was not working well. And so, it is terrible..

I: Oh wauw, I didn't even think of that as an option..

R: No, no. It is an option. If you have two people in the same house, it is very strong, and also the badante as I told you, which always was asking something or wanting something, is difficult psychologically for her. So, such a long period of time to manage everything.

I: Because you also work?

R: Yes, of course, yes of course.

I: So you have other things to manage also?

R: Yes. yes.

I: So sometimes it was a bit much all together?

R: Yes, yes, that is why.

I: And what did you do then?

R: Well, you accept, but you ask me for positive but there is nothing really positive in this experience. Because from one side you have a parent who is getting older and older and older, and is changing, is no more the same mother you can remember. And on the other side you always have external people to manage, to handle, to go along with. So I don't see any positive.

I: Well, that is also a very clear answer. There doesn't need to be always a positive thing. Sometimes it is just difficult.

R: Yes, yes. Exactly.

I: And now, because the situation with your mother didn't change, but the type of care

changed a bit.. Is it for you a bit more..

R: A bit more relaxing, yes. Yes it is a little bit more relaxing now, because from one side, ok, I know from a medical point of view, if anything happens, the structure where she is will take adequate care.. There is a doctor every day. They are checked under control, so it is not under my responsibility.. Ok? So that is one. And the badante is no more so necessary so she is behaving quite differently.

I: Ah, yes? Is it a change?

R: Yes.

I: In what way is it a change?

R: So she is not asking.. In the beginning she was pressing to keep my mother at home. But, we are not helped at home in such a situation, so we need a lot to organise.. So I decided to not do that, because it is complicated to.. very heavy for me. And also, I know the badante. As soon as she is necessary, she start to press me, to want and to ask. And also, she is difficult to go along with other people, I know her, so I said; no, my mother is staying there (*in the structure red.*). She doesn't know anymore where she is, so it is not important for her to come back home.

I: Like how it was in the beginning?

R: Yes. So now, honestly, I am a little bit more relaxed.

I: Yes. Well that sounds good after a period of 15 years?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: And with this badante, the one that still comes to your mother, she is also from Peru?

R: Peru, yes.

I: And you said, she is also difficult with other people?

R: Yes, she is, how to say, an open character. She is not opened to other people. She is very closed.

I: Closed from character? But also not flexible you mean?

R: Yes, absolutely not flexible.

I: And what is it in the relationship with your mother that is goes well?

R: She is different with my mother. They build a strong relationship. She is very, the badante is very sweet (*almost spits out the word 'sweet'*) with my mother. But only with my mother.

I: Hmm.. so she changes a bit in how she behaves?

R: Yes, yes.

I: So with your mother she is sweet?

R: Yes, yes. Very sweet.

I: From the beginning also?

R: Yes, from the beginning. Always. She really treats my mother very well. She always treated my mother very well. With a lot of respect. Not everyone that I had, had the same respect for my mother. At the end. ok, she was old and ill and not very.. Which I like, because it is ok (*the way the badante treats her mother red.*).

I: And how can you see the respect?

R: Ehm, in the way she talks to her. Also she is still calling her Signora Emma, Emma is the name of my mother, so Miss. Emma. And other people that never saw my mother, they called her nonna, nonna is grandmother, that is too confidential I think.

I: It is too much being part of the family?

R: Yes, yes. Which I don't like.

I: And why?

R: And also in the way, the way she put.. clothes, how she dresses my mother. So she dresses well in a proper way, and not just something.

I: Ah, so in a way small things that are actually big things?

R: Yes, yes.

I: And.. I had a question but now I forgot. Ah yes, you said, she treats my mother with respect, which aspects are important for you, in the care for your mother? In this caring relation between your mother and a badante, which aspects are important?

R: Well the first aspect is of course, the hygienic-aspects. Very important of course. Alimentation, of course is important. And after all that, of course, is the way my mother is treated, with respect or with no respect. If she, as I told you, these little things that are not so little.

I: Yeah, yes. And what is good caring in comparison to caring for you? Like what makes care good care?

R: (*laughs*). It depends from the case I think, and from the disease.. and the illness. For instance my cousin was seeking for a badante for my uncle, and she had the same badante that she had for her mother that died the last year, and this badante was perfect for her mother. But it was not working for the husband. Because the husband is still self-sufficient for instance, and he needs also somebody to talk to. Or somebody that can watch at the tv just together with him, just to have a speech or to say something. While the girl they had, was not staying with him.

I: What was she doing then?

R: Yes.. well so. The mother of my cousin was very ill and she was partially in bed, and partially on the couch, and all the day it was difficult to handle her. And this girl was very, extremely good with her. And she was doing everything alone, she was perfect. But, it was not good for her husband, when he remained alone. Because she was not.. We say *compania*.

I: Ah, ok, company?

R: Company!

I: Being with him?

R: Yes, being with him!

I: So in that sense it is depending on the situation you say?

R: So the good caring depends from the requirement, because not all cases are the same.

I: Hmm.. So in that way that also applies to your mother you would say? Like the care she received 15 years ago is different from what is now.

R: Yes, of course. Because her situation changed.

I: And now.. for your mother, if we would talk about good care for you mother? Is she receiving good care now?

R: Well I think yes. Yes. There is nothing more, that nobody can do.

I: And the structure is in Milan?

R: Yes.

I: And how often can you see her now that she moved?

R: Twice a week.. it is depending of my working. So two or three times after work I am going there. At the end of the day.

I: And, you said she is almost always sleeping now?

R: Yes, always, always sleeping. You never see her with open eyes.

I: And can you talk with her, if she is awake?

R: I try, I try to say, hello. And then she.. (*laughs scornfully*), the phrase that she is repeating now is: I love you Gabrielle. Gabrielle is the badante. Everything that she says: I love you Gabrielle. And I say: no, I am your daughter (*laughs loud*). So yes, in a very difficult way she says, ok, yes you are Martha. Yes I am Martha. (*laughs*).

I: Finally she understands?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: But how does it feel for you when she says that the whole time?

R: Hm.. it is not a problem. I know that, ok, I know that, of course the badante lived with her in the last years, she was always with her. So it is normal then.

I: You can think it is ok?

R: Yes, it is ok.

(*silence*)

I: And ehm.. there was something I wanted to ask, because you said sometimes it was also very difficult because you had two badanti fighting with each other. There were both living with your mother then?

R: No, only one.

I: Only the one for the evening?

R: Yes..

I: But they also had hours sometimes together?

R: One came and the other left but, they had to.. they argued. And sometimes very.. Well I think, I was not there, but I know that they also.. One hit the other, you understand? And one also went to the police. So yes, it was difficult.

I: Wauw, pff. But what did you do? You could continue with both or?

R: Well, I tried to talk to both. But, then my mother fell, so it was some months before my mother fell and that this happened. Also, I think, when the other went to the police, the present one stopped with her behavior, with her aggressive behavior.

I: Because she could be aggressive?

R: Yes. Yes.

I: Also to you?

R: No. no. Never to me. Better not.

(*laughing*).

R: That is why I am saying that she is very difficult, this person.

I: Pff, no that doesn't sound easy. Already the situation on itself is quite difficult, this seemed to make it even more difficult.

R: Yes, yes.

I: Are there also.. Because I made a list of questions, but maybe there are also things I didn't ask.. but of what you think it is important to tell.

R: Well I don't know what in particular you are interested in. And I don't know if what I just told you is important, or interesting to you. What in reality you need to fix your work?

I: Well, this is really all relevant to me. Because it is really personal experience I am looking for. So I am not looking for a nice story or for something particular in an experience, but just

the experience itself. So also partly because it seems, a lot is focused on efficiency, or for the government the regularisation part, but for me, from what I read, it seemed the part was missing of how it is for the people that are involved with it every day, how it is for them. So this is for me important, so in that sense, any aspect of your experience in this case is relevant to me.

R: Yes, ok.

I: So yes, also if it is from long ago, positive or negative, it doesn't matter.

R: Yes.

I: Maybe, is there something for example, if you think about all the past years, that is most clear in your mind about this kind of care?

R: No, the only idea I have is that it is a question of being lucky, with the people that one has the opportunity to meet. At the present situation at least how it was in the first years when I started to look for somebody. Now I don't know, for instance, the association making all the calculation for the security and so on of the badante, is also keeping some courses, free courses, for the personnel, to train them, badanti or housekeeping. So, there is something that is changing over the years. Maybe there is more people also a little bit more prepared, and this is my impression, but it is only an impression. Something is changing.

I: And how or why? Do you have any idea it is changing?

R: No, I don't know.

I: But there is at least.. also from the government, they are the ones who offer the courses?

R: No, no! No, no! It is a private organisation.

I: Ah ok, they offer the trainings.

R: Yes, and they offer free trainings.

I: Because, the most badanti you had, did they have any education in caring from before?

R: No, the present one says to be, to have in Peru, a special... I don't know it is true, I never saw a paper, no. Some other people who came just during the weekend for a very short period, were attending some special courses.. But honestly, they were not better than the others..

I: Ah ok.. And did they always had previous experience?

R: Yes. More or less yes. In one case no, it was a younger coming from Ecuador, who was known by the other ladies, making the housekeeping in the morning. She had no previous experience, well she was a nice girl, but she was too young to stay with an old person you understand?

I: In what way?

R: Because she.. of course she wanted to go out, she had a boyfriend, so of course, people taking care of old people, in the evening they are at home and they are not going out. So, it is not a job for everybody.

I: No..

R: Too young people have to live before, making a choice like that.

I: Did she say that? Or you thought and said it is not..?

R: No I thought.. And I saw she was not happy so I saw she was not for that job.. When she changed, she worked with children after, which was for her better.

I: Ah, ok. So you heard after where she?

R: Yes.. yes yes.

I: So in that sense, who would you describe as suitable for a job like this?

R: Well, I describe suitable for a job like this, people not too young, maybe that they already have family, son or children in their country, and.. maybe they want a sacrifice for a certain period of years. For money of course, and then ok, it can work. Otherwise it is difficult to renounce, to completely to that life you understand? it is just for a period, and for people not too young.

I: Ok.. And, the badante that is still there, she has children for example?

R: Yes, one son in Peru.

I: One son in Peru, yeah.

(silence).

I: So it should be in a way for a certain period, you think?

R: Yes, I think that as soon as my mother dies she will go back to Peru.

I: You talked about it with her also?

R: Yes, no. The problem is that she had a cancer in her breast some years ago, and everything went ok, but she is still.. she still needs to take a medicine, and she told me that in Peru they, the medicine.. I don't know if she cannot get them, or they are extremely expensive, and here she can get them from the government, free of charge. And I think she is now at the end of that period.. So she is ready to fly back to Peru, more or less she is waiting until my mother dies. And then she will go back.

I: How..? Is that a strange thought for you?

R: No, no. I can understand, because she came here just to collect enough money for some project in her country, you understand?

I: Hm.. So it is really for a certain purpose you say? And not to make this her home country?

R: No, no.

I: Let me check my questions, if that is ok...

I: I think you told me so many things that are really usefull.

R: But if you need or have questions after, you can also contact me..

Appendix F - Transcripts Family assistants 1-5, 7-8 [Original Italian version]

Family assistant 1 & family assistant 2 [Double interview]

I: Forse anche è bene per sapere che tutti gli informazioni uso solo per la mia tesi.

R: Sì, sì.

I: Bene. Primo voglio chiedere per presentarsi, chi è, quanti anni ha, dove è crescita, nata..

R: Mio nome è Laura, io sono dell'Ecuador.

I: E sei nata in Ecuador?

R: Sì, sì in Ecuador. Di qua sono da, più meno, 16 anni, che sono qui a Italia.

I: E sempre a Milano o?

R: Sempre a Milano. Sì, sì.

I: E hai, anche, un marito, i bambini?

R: Giorgio è mio marito, lui è di qua. E mie figli sono ad Equador. Tre figli.

I: Piccoli o grandi?

R: No, grandi. Mio primo figlio ha 28 anni, ecco. Mio altro figlio 27, loro sono un po più vicini e mia figlia 22. La femmina.

I: Ok.. quindi.. Posso dire te?

R: Sì sì sì!

I: Ok, tu lavori come una badante?

R: Adesso sto lavorando come una badante, per dire la verità, in questa casa io faccio da tutto.

I: Da tutto?

R: Per tutto. Perché ci sono due persone anziani. Signore è una persona che ce la - come si chiama - quando c'è qualcosa con la testa colpito? Che lui ormai non parla. Se tu lo alzi lui cammina, ma se tu poi va al suo letto, si muovi per.. sta sempre con un bastone

I: Quindi lui non parla, e anche per muovere è..

R: Movimento no. Quando tu lo alzi, siamo in due persone, quando lo siamo, una ce scol, he.. Cammina, perché quando tieni un braccio, cammina, ma da solo no. E poi, c'è la moglie, che anche lei ha questa malata. Questa dementia senile, non lo so come si chiama..

I: Ok, quindi qualcosa con le mente?

R: Sì, ecco. A volte sempre lei è lucida, che sta benissimo, ti parla come sto parlando adesso con te, ma dopo un secondo lei si non ricorda che cosa ha detto.. Chiede tante cose e per lavorare con loro devi avere una pazienza veramente enorme per loro... Perché, se loro sono così, noi dobbiamo... perché veramente è dura. È difficile. Pero, se tu tra queste persone con gentilisa, tu hai un po di affeto, loro stanno benissimo. Ma si tu sei schivi, tu dici quello no va bene, loro sono arrabbiati, ti ne vuole..

I: È un cambio veloce?

R: Ecco, è un cambio totale.

I: Io lo detto, anche sua famiglia, perché lo dico, non è facile sta con loro al tempo... una volta viene con la pazienza, devi avere - come si dice - queste cose così, per stare loro danno tanti affeto, loro stanno bene. Tu li trovi bene, loro stanno bene, ma se tu non li tratto bene, loro stanno.. un po difficile.

I: Ohh oke, quindi dipende anche..

R: Della persona sì, dico che loro sono portata per quello, perché la prima intervista che ho fatto con loro, per conosca questa signora, lei subito, siamo - come si dice - piaciuto tutti e due. Lei a me, io a lei, subito ha detto sì. Perché già avevano fatto tanti con gli occhi di persone, e non volevano nessuno. Sono partiti tutti no, no gli voglio, non gli voglio. Come io ho venuto, sì, c'è sto. Lei sempre adesso che io, a volte, per a valo un po sì, a volte si dice 'ma io non voglio mangiare' o... e io le dico, ecco, vede adesso ciò, a domani non torno, ne vado e si tu non mangi, che cosa vengo fare di qua? E lei si dice: ahh, adesso mangio tutto, vedi.. Cio so...come andare avanti con lei, con la signora perché lui è benissimo, mangia tutto.

I: Lui mangia tutto?

R: Quello, che ti lo dai, lui apra la bocca. Basta che tu lo senti qui, lui subito apra la bocca e mangia, e mangia, mangia

I: Ok, non è un problema con lui? Ma con lei?

R: Con lei un po' di più. Per è passo il tempo lei va un po' più peggiora. A volte, a volte ci sono i momenti che è lucida, parla come noi, come una persona normale.

I: Sì, ok. Questo sente per me, più difficile, perché veramente dipende ogni giorno.

R: sì, poi, ci questo per esempio, noi abbiamo anche una infermiera, che lavora lì. Lei arriva al dieci di mattina, lei prende materialmente a non, al nonno, e lo alza, gli anziani e noi due, vede, se lei è sporco, lo lava letto, se non, lo portiamo tutti giorni e facciamo la doccia. Se lei fa la doccia, Cio la dà un mano, ho, perché lei è la che deve fare tutti quatto. Anche con la signora e lei così, alla sera se la fa con la signora, a andarle a fare queste con lei a questi problemi grosso. Che lei, lei urla, sia, urla quando si ha arrabbia alla infermiera, e lei urla di più. Capisci?

I: Aah, quindi è così... (*makes a gesture of something that piles up*).

R: Ecco, lo dico. E no si fa così, tu devi di portare la nonna, così, dai un po di affetto, un po di carità, tu l'abbraccia, lei è buona, è buona come uguale.. per ò se tu fai schifo, lei teneva dosso, e lei dice; 'heey, venuto matta, perché lei mi chiude tutto, mi lascia al buio.. e subito dice, 'voglio andare... via' (*claps her hands*). Invece con mi, no lo dico, con me non è così, lei dice: 'adesso, devo andare via sì. Però, lo dico 'torni domani, adesso ti mette, ti rispose, ti lascia e tutto a posto, e lei dice: 'va bene'.

(*silenzio*)

R: Sono due cose diversi, con queste persone veramente.. picchiono. Non tutti abbiamo questo per - come si dice- per lavorare con loro. Questa modo di trasmettere la tua affetto queste persone.

I: Sì.. ok. È molto sensibile? Per altri persone?

R: Sì, sì, sì.

I: Ok, e perché.. Che ora tu lavori?

R: Giorno lavoro dell 7.30 della mattina, fino alle 1.30.

I: Sette giorni? O quanto?

R: Dal lunedì a sabato.

I: Ok, e quindi, c'è un'altra persona?

R: Sì, lei viene solo alle diece dalle undici, lei è un'infermiera. E pomeriggio loro rimangono da soli. Sia, una ora, mi anche, perché i suoi parenti lavorano arrivano quella ora, all'esempio all'uno e mezza, alle due sono a casa tutti. Quindi loro non stanno da soli, però già noi, per esempio, ciò hanno turno fine a l'altro giorno, invece l'infermiera torna alle sei del pomeriggio, fine alle 7 e mezza, o alle 8 per dire, alle sera.

I: Sì, quindi loro non sono di soli. Sempre.

R: Sì..

I: Perché non è possibile.

R: Non è possibile, no. Perché quando uno è dimentica porta una pastiglia per dire, quello che lei prende per sta calma, tranquilla, lei probabilmente va fuori. Ha capitato un giorno.. che dopo non aveva la pastilla, del non aveva darlo la pastiglia, e quindi hanno trovato che lei era fuori, voleva uscire, e poi ha detto, mi ha detto l'altro giorno la sua nora, no, io sono rimasto un po', ho detto 'no' e aveva ragione, non gli aveva la sua medicamento. Se ha la sua medicina, vedi.

E lei propriamente andato fuori, fuori della testa. Non si ricordava quello che faceva. E quindi... bisogno stare anche lì, attenti a tutte quelle cose.

I: Aaah, sì sì... E quando è passato questo..?

R: C'è stato magari una settimana, questa cosa.

I: E quindi anche dipende dal un periodo?

R: No, a sta sì. Poi le dai alla sera la medicamente lei si rimeti. C'è quello che la tiene calma sicuramente.

I: Sì.. E tu hai detto che tu fai tutto alla casa, ma... puoi spiegare un po' di più?

R: Allora, finché l'uomo dorme, lui ha letto fino alle dieci della mattina. Allora, io come arrivo alle 7.30 che io arrivo. Prima cosa che io faccio è fare lavare i denti alla nonna, e il viso, la pedino, e poi le dico: adesso dobbiamo fare la colazione. Però lei dice; no, io devo andare su, a dove la sua nora, allora io dico, va bene, perché lei ha queste abitudine, non lo so, una di tu, lei deve andare del su, a guardare la garderobe, a fare le cose non lo so.

I: Ok.. E qualcosa che..

R: Che lei ha fisso. Perché lei quando ha queste cose è fissa, no? E poi lo dico io, no nonna, prima cosa la tua colazione e la tua medicine. Poi devi andare su, e stai tutto lo tempo che tu vuoi. Vedi, lei dice, ah va bene. Va bene, va bene mi dice. Faccio, no? Allora io faccio prima colazione, detto, faccio la colazione e lei dice dopo, devo andare su, vai nonna, vai. Quando lei va su, io riesco a fare delle cose a casa. Piegare per esempio i vestiti della roba del loro, che lì si ha fatto del giorno prima no? Poi devo fare il bagno del nonno, sia, devo sbrigare me, devo fare anche, come si dice, cucinare, io me sbrigo, Però se lei non mi fa fastidio, per niente, quando lei torna già, che stata una ora per dirlo su, torna e dice, allora cosa me devi dare? 'E niente' me dico, cosa devo dare? E nonno mangiato niente, non mi lo ha dato niente, su.. ne anche di qua. 'No', ho detto, tu hai fatto tutto con me. quindi, va di la, ti ripose, c'è un divano dove lei se riposa, lei ha sua coperta che lei mette li. Dorme, non dorme, lei non dorme, perché mi guarda, lei mi stava di guarda qui, ma va vinto di dormire. (*laughing*).

I: Scusi, ma dove è la stanza per dormire?

R: No, no. La stanza non c'è niente, solo un divano grande, dove lei deve stare, deve avere la luce. La luce passa, c'è qua tutto il giorno, perché lei ha paura. Quindi la luce c'è sia tutto d'essere chiare. Però lei si mette lì a riposare, a volte lei prende se, e suono dorme hè? Dorme fine alle undici. Per me è un vantaggio perché io esco fare tutto. Pulire la casa, fare da mangiare, quando sono è la undici, lei dico: nonna, a sei te chiare, subito dobbiamo preparare il tavolo. Prima che se non ricordava lei tutto. Adesso è cominciato, lei non ricorda già delle cose io dico: ave, tiene una mano, fai questo, mette così, mette cosa. Lei ti chiede, dice mille volte la stessa cosa. Quindi devo venire con lei avere la pazienza. Però, la faccia fa qualcosa perché se ne lei probabilmente non si ricorda, neanche come devi mangiare con una forchetta. Però quando comincia, si deve dire: mangia con quello, mangia.. mangia. Mangia normale.

I: E adesso non è..

R: No, mangia, mangia. Però adesso devi ricordare di più che cosa deve fare.

I: E, penso non ho chiesto già. Quando sei cominciata a lavorare in questa famiglia?

R: Sì. Ah quando.. Mese di giuglio.

I: Sì, ok. E quindi è già una differenza. Ora, come giulio.

R: Sì, sì, sì. C'è una bella differenza. Perché lei era prima più nervosa, più... Adesso è un po, perché mangia tanto allora, non si può lasciare anche la frutta, perché lei mangia tutto quello che trova. Dobbiamo nascondere nuovo cibo, sempre che lei non le deve si trova qualcosa in frigorifero, lo mangia. Sempre c'è una questa cosa della fame. Lancia di mangiare.

I: Sì, ma anche perché dimentica che ha mangiato.

R: Che ha mangiato.. No perché dice

R2: È di Alzheimer.

R: Sì, l'era un'infermiera dice che queste persone di Alzheimer non propriamente, non hanno assiacato mai del cibo. Deve sempre mangiare, mangiare, mangiare. Quindi con lei se deve stare attenta perché è ingrassata un po. Dice l'infermiera: non vorrei che si diventa perché era magrolina, sì, è ingrassata un po... S'avrà messe un quattro chili anche. Però, non va bene. Perché si tu dai un piatto di pasta, se mangia.

I: Quindi devi guardare che lei non mangia troppo.

R: Sì. Misurante tutto. Sì, da le poco, più insalata, più verdura, perché lei per la pasta.. Se non do la pasta, sta male. Sono abitate così (*ride*). Sì, non lo so. Mi trovo bene con loro e fine adesso ci stiamo ancora. Non so più avanti.

I: Ok. È dipende che loro diventano o?

R: È dipende anche di lei perché - come dico - lei peggiorano. Non sappiamo con un giorno diventerà. Magari più aggressiva..

I: Anche con te?

R: Non, con me non è aggressiva. È quello che io sempre dico; lei.. queste persone hanno bisogno di affetto. L'ho detto un giorno al figlio, c'è un figlio che non lo vedo mai, non abita anche lì, abita lontano. È venuto per il giorno della mamma no?

I: Ah, sì. La festa?

R: Sì.. È venuto per salutarlo. E lei ha fatto: wauw, di se tanto che non ti vedo, lei dice così. Ma sei mio figlio, no? E lui viene: Ciao mama, e da un bacio. Lei era contenta e se commosso, anche pianto un po. Io lo ho detto: guarda, le dico, guarda che vere la mamma, ha bisogno un po di affetto no? Deve essere un po più vicino.. Sta più un po con lei. E lui mi ha detto: non c'ho tempo. Male.. Ho detto, non ci vuole tanto, cinque minuti. Per dare una umbracia alla mamma, un bacio. C'è una cosa così, no? E lui mi ha detto; per troppo hai ragione, Laura però non possiamo fare di più.

I: E che cosa hai sentito a quel momento?

R: Io mi ho sento male per quello. E tu, sei la tua mamma. È la tua mamma. Anche quel figlio che c'è lì, in casa che abita sopra, anche lui non è tanto portato per questo. Lui è anche un po di fastidio perché lei va ogni volta sempre alla sera, prende un gelato, dalle gelato, qualcosa di dolce. Lei dice: devo andare su. Devo andare su. E le nipote non la vogliono vicino a loro, le nipote sono piccoli, dodici anni. Nonna, tu sei, come ha detto, sei cattiva. Sì. Tu, quando parli, fai schifo. Perché lei c'è un po, sempre alle di lei un po cattivo no? Anche io lavavo alla mattina, se voglio dire, ma lei poi di viene, e loro la respingono perché vuole magari abbraccia di nipoti, e nipoti dice no. No, nonna, vai via, vai via. Vai a tua casa. Nonna, vai a tua casa, non ti vogliono (*shouting*). Di qua!

I: Pfff, oh nooo, che triste.

R: E io mi penso; mamma mia.. che male. Invece loro hanno affetto per lei, la nonna, e per quello che lei, ce hanno queste problemi anche con i bambini perché i bambini sono geloso della mamma.

I: Ah ok, vero?

R: Geloso perché la mamma lavora, e il tempo che sono per loro, questo tempo è.. l'arriva alle 7 di sera, la nonna è su con lei. Per dirle, vieni nonna questo, no? Lascia i bambini che invece lei deve stare con i suoi figli che sono piccoli. Da le di mangiare, più dai un po d'attenzione e loro mi hanno detto: No, va bene, mamma. Tu sei nostra mama. Lei cosa centra, deve andare via la sua casa. Sia, è una attenzione..

I: Quindi questa situazione influenza tutta la famiglia?

R2: La sua famiglia non se vuole, quindi mettono la badante così..

R: Lei stava meglio. Cio lo dico: Per esempio, non è giorno torno domani, lei se mette male. Le viene di piangere. Ma si dice: ma tu sei l'unica persona che ci vuole viene di qua. Sia, me lo dice, e lei piange. Io do un abbraccio, tranquilla nonna, vai bene, vai bene, lo dico. Viene, rimango con te. E lei, piange. Ride, è contenta. Perché veramente mi sembra che tutti anche la sua sorella, non so che cosa c'è con loro.. che quando è la domenica con loro, c'è questo anche che, ci sono dei problemi.

I: Pensi che questi problemi erano qua sempre? O qualcosa che succede quando i nonni erano..

R: Prima. Dicono che quando lei era una persona, era una persona bravissima. Però, come era brava, anche con la gente, quindi lei comandava. Comandava tutti. E quello che lo dicono sempre la sua suocera. 'Questa qua, fa mi ride tutti (*ride*). La parola di lei. Perché dice che lei furba, che lei sta bene, che solo fa finta . Ma non è vero. Che lei fa finta, lei è malata, Alzheimer. Non so perché dice questo, c'è una cattiva vera di lei. La vogliono a ricovero.

I: Ma non è possibile?

R: Non è possibile perché c'è un figlio che diceva: no. Finché io sarò, mia mamma non va a ricovero. Che altro c'è va. La vianno qua una persona, ma non va al ricovero. Però per l'influenza della soggia vogliono che lei va a ricovero e rimane solo con il nonno a casa, perché nonno non da fastidio. Tu poi a nonno, dopo che fa la doccia, lui siede in una sedia, e lui è lì, che non dice niente. Tu le dai un succo, un succo di arancio, alle undici, è lui seduto lì, le dai una frutta, lui mangia, lui non te fa fastidio per niente. E la nonna che gira.

I: È una differenza grande tra tutte le due?

R2: Nonno è un vegetale, seduto.. nonno, un vegetale, per tu solo apre la bocca per mangiare, ma la nonna, la sua moglie girata per tutto. C'è l'Alzheimer, però..

I: È molto attiva?

R: Molto attiva. Lei non mi può vedere, per esempio io vado stendere i panni e lei dice: no, vengo con te. No, nonna, guarda fa freddo. No, io vengo con te. Devo darti un mano. Quindi, cominciamo. Sia a stendere i panni: no guarda che questo, dove vai tu? Dove va? Ciò, mi fa perder tempo, io: nonna, tu mi fai, perdere tempo, guarda che io da sola faccio veloce no? E no, devo stare con te sempre.

(*ridono*).

R: Quindi, sempre lei guarda, viene, ecco. Però, non è una persona cattiva. Almeno, a fine adesso no. L'infermiera dice che lei una volta ha da una svivasso (a smash), ma non lo so che è vero.

I: Chi ha detto? Scusa

R: L'infermiera.

I: Ok.

R: Però, dico magari sì, perché quando l'ho detto, che se lei urla, lei urla di più. Sono propriamente, non vanno d'accordo. Perché l'infermiera vuole comandarla. Invece, che lei vuole comandare. Non vuole essere comandata vedi? C'è una differenza. E dice: no, questa è casa mia, e qui se va quello che dico io. Quindi...

I: Sì, ma anche quindi lei ha con la mente veramente qua.. (*makes a gesture to the head*): io decido, io..

R: Sì, sì. Se deve farlo che.. Però, se tu le dice: 'no'. Lei diventa propriamente... Però se viene, vieni nonna, vieni qua. Ti faccio le spiegazione. La prendo, la braccia, lei vieni qua nonna, dai. Queste cose sono.. Guarda che io mai ti faccio le cose sbagliate. Io te faccio sempre le cose giuste. E vero o no? Hai ragione, dice lei. Hai ragione. Tu sempre fai tutte le cose giusta. Vedi, se siamo noi, - come si dice - non andiamo mai d'accordo. No, anzi! Andiamo d'accordo. Sempre.

I: Anche alla comincio? All'inizio?

R: Sì, all'inizio. Sì, sì.

R2: Sono trovato tutte due.

R: Tutte e due siamo trovati bene, veramente. Che mi ricordo che mi ha detto la sua nipote: 'tu sai ballare salsa, merengue?' Perché quella musica nostra no? Lo detto: 'sì'. Ma guarda che l'ho portato per quello. Ah sì. Adesso, ti faccio vedere. Infatti, lei è come si forse la nostra musica per ballare. È una cosa che non lo fa nessuno italiano. Lei ha portato per ballo, fatti a volte mette la musica e dico, la faccio ridere un po, 'ci andiamo ballare e lei si porta di simila per ballo. Sia questo dicono loro, tu sei propriamente per portare avanti una persona perché la dico anche io volte, ci sono dei mie problemi, quando la nonna mi vede che sono un po giù: che cosa? Le dico, mi fa male la testa. Oooh, dice lei: sei stanca? Vieni qua, sedete con me, riposate un po. Sei stanca. Sì, sono un po stanca. Sia parliamo delle queste cose noi due, e come siamo amiche di una vita. E sì. (*ride*). Da vero.

I: Sì, quando ti descrivi il rapporto, la relazione è come amici?

R: Sì, sì.

I: E con il nonno? Come descrivi questo rapporto?

R: Con il nonno, sono, sia lei le dice a lui: ma guarda che questa qui ti vuole bene. Lei parla, perché nonno sembra non capire, ma capisci a volte sai. Io a volte dico, capisci? Perché a volte le dico, nonno, sei a posto? Quando lo metto a letto. E lui mi dice: Sì. sì. Però, non è tutte le volte. È uniche tanto. Anche ride, quando le dice qualcosa carina, lui come che ride. Ma non è tanto, come si dice, mandato. Ma c'è qualcosa. Però lui ormai, non da fastidio nessuno. Io mi trovo bene con tutti due.

I: Sì, ok. Ma quindi non è.. lui non veramente parla, ma anche non è come lui non sente niente?

R: Sì, lui magari sente qualcosa capisce, perché a volte se andare rilassata, che fa, che noi c'e... con l'infermiera, ci rimaniamo un po così. Perché lei dice: 'tranquilla, ecco, bella tua moglie come lì'. (*ride*). E lui ride. Ride veramente come sente che la sua moglie è lì, dice l'infermiera a rompere, vedi (*ride*). Le dice così. Non lo so perché tu fa ridere a nonno però, lui dice e ride a volte, e a volte non dice niente.

I: E quindi.. come è il rapporto con il nonno e la nonna?

R: Sì, lei lui abbraccia, le dice: tu sei il mio amore della mia vita, guarda, tu sei il mio marito. Bellissimo. No, vero c'è un bello, certo un bell'uomo, no? È stato un bell'uomo. Perché ha rida, lo è ancora. Solo che lui non parla, ma però ci tiene veramente perché lui curatissimo hè? Tutti giorni si fa la doccia, si lavarla, tutto profumato, bello meso. Peccato che non parla devo io. Peccato che non parla. Però, sta benissimo.

I: Sì, quindi è un peccato?

R: Sì. E lei parla della sua vita ogni volta. Come se sono conosciuti, erano ragazzini, come lo aveva visto; wauw, si dice. Quello è stato mio, e di nessuno da me. (*ride*). Sia sempre ta

racconta della sua vita, della sua.. infanzia. Di quando erano ragazzini. Proprio sono sposati come ragazzo e ragazza h ?

I: Ok!

R: Belli tutte e due, perch  anche lei   piccola, carina, c'  gli occhi scuri.   una bella donna. Peccato che anche divo.. Lei dicano se sia malata per dispiacere del suo marito.

I: Mi scusi?

R: Lei se ammalata per dispiacere del vedere del suo marito cos  ammalato. Perch    lui se andato, saranno 16 anni pi  meno, che lui ha questa malattia.

I: 10 anni?

R: 16 anni.

I: 16 s .

R: Che lui   cominciato piano piano a.. lascia s'andare.. (?) Sia, non c'era niente da fare per lui. Le colpita della testa, questa malattia..

R2: La malattia di Alzheimer. Che piano distrugge.

R: La colpito propriamente, la colpito la testa lui. Invece no. Lei cominciava con la sua - come si dice - mentalit  andare un po fuori di testa. Perch  dispiacere vedere la sua marito cos . Lei non voleva che nessuno lo vedeva. Che nessuno, infatti, loro hanno fatto anche un come si dice - un scivolo per loro. Per lui, per portarlo quelle parte dietro, perch  non voleva che le gente sapesse che lui era malata. S  ha propriamente chiuso dentro, non voleva che lo veda neanche sui fratelli, la sua famiglia, niente, nessuno. Per quello che dicono che lei ha troppo cattiva. In un senso, lei non da permesso a nessuno di vederla trovare suo marito.

I:   molto.. come si dice, protettivo?

R: Ecco, troppo protettivo. E troppo.. dicono loro cattivo, non lo so.

I: S .. Hm. S . In generale, che cosa, come senti del questo lavoro? Ti piace, non piace?

R: Mi piace, s , s .   un lavoro che sia, dico se lavorarsi notte e giorno, chiss , non me la sentirei guarda. Perch    dura, e pesante. Per , come una giornata, c'  una mezza giornata, ci sto. Perch  so che io arrivo quella ora, e so che devo uscire quella ora. Quindi, ho tempo per.. perch  gi  ho lavorato una volta per conto, quando sono venuta il primo anno che sono andata qua, mi sono lavorato come badante con una persona c'era, che aveva avuto uno parazzalato questa lato met . Quindi questa bracia era morto. Anche la gambo.

I: A, s ... Un lato?

R: Ecco. Lei camminava, per  una persona troppo cattiva. Sia cattiva in un senso di... Anche lei in giorno, sapendo parlano italiano, perch  la pen arrivata di qua (?). Sono stata quattro mese con lei.

I: Quattro mese? Ok. E questa era la prima posto?

R: La prima, s .

I: Quanti famiglie, quanti nonni?

R: No, no. Io ho di badante sono lavorato quella volta, e poi stato un periodo anche nel, dopo di 2008-2009.. anche lavorato come badante, lo stesso come persona di scoliosi a multipli (MS). E quelle che si muore piano piano, alle fine rimane senza, non riescono neanche a mangiare. Ho lavorato anche in quel periodo, sono stata.. quasi due anni con lei.

I: Due anni?

R: Eravamo in tre persone per curare questa persona, perch  ha troppa malattia.

I: Perch  al fine non..

R: Poi arrivato che un periodo, sia mi hanno detto prima per dare la mangiare a lei, un'ora, poi cominciato con due ore, poi cominciato con tutti il pomeriggio... Alle fine la signora mi ha detto che se volevo lavorare al notte. Io facevo la notte guarda, perché lei aveva bisogno di girarla ogni 5 minuti. Perché se no, lei faceva male. Tu la mette vede questa lato, lei ogni 5 minuti: aaahhh ahhh. Faceva le urla, dovevo anche girarla dall'altro lato.

I: Ogni 5 minuti??

R: Ogni 5 minuti. E quindi, è stato un po più dura.

I: Ma anche tu hai fatto questa?

R: Quando l'ho detto al signora, guardi, ciò faccio le notte, no, non ce lo faccio. Ho cercato una persona e questa persona faceva la notte. C'era una che faceva la mattina, e io facevo pomeriggio.

I: Sì. E quindi è, quando io sento questo è molto dipende delle persone che lavorano, che tu da la cura? Quando questa persona è carina, e non lo so.. il rapporto è bene, anche per te, è meglio, ma...

R: Sì, sì. Certo. Io per esempio adesso con loro me trovo bene, perché c'è un rapporto con tutti, tutti. Sono bravi. Sono bravi. Almeno con me sono bravi. No di per proteggere la nonna, sia c'è con la, questa la, con la mama, c'erano questo perché la vedano tutti giorni, vedano, anche mi dispiacere vedere che la mamma standando un po... Però, no, con loro c'è una bella cosa. Con tutti, i figli, con la sua sorella, con le sue nipote.

I: Con tutti della famiglia, sì?

R: (*nods*).

I: E quali aspetti sono importanti per te (*with emphasis*), in questo lavoro?

R: Sì, sì. Trovare mi bene. Sì. Perché se tu, per esempio, vai un lavoro, pitatano male, non stai bene, ti dico: neanche uno ci stare, neanche io sto così, si mettratano male e io non sto, anche io sto male. Invece con loro sto bene.

I: Sì, ma perché.. Che cosa pensi?

R: Perché sempre quando arrivo io rido, è difficile che mi vedano un po giù di morale. Però, se vedi, anche loro mi: cosa Laura, per esempio mi dicono, cosa c'è? Piano va? E io dico me c'è qualcosa che non va.. sono io, sto così. Allora, loro me danno anche un - per dire - un consiglio.

R2: un stimolo.

R: Con un stimolo sì. Dai, mi dice, guarda che se, vuoi qualcosa, ti faccio questo. Tu faccio l'altro. E sì.. va, ci sono anche le ricambio d'affetto no? Quindi io mi trovo bene.

Mi fanno sentire come della famiglia.

I: Sì, ok. E.. non lo so è giusto ma sente un po come.. tu da molto, molto, ma anche riceve..

R: Ricevo... sì sì, sì. Ho detto, ricevo con queste, con loro rapporto. Giotto di più, anche. Anche con il mio marito! Sì, guarda quando mio marito è di là, che lavorata della sorella della mia nonna, che io curo, dal loro. E giorni che c'è sono la nonna e un'altra. Come mio marito parla come se fosse una persona in gamba.

I: Veramente?

R: Veramente. A volte con mio marito, ma guarda la nonna, veramente furba lei c'è niente. Però, quando mio marito d'accordo quando lei comincia. Te, Ninni, mi dice a ninni: Ninni, dove va questo? Nonna, vali, dove? Quello che non li vedo. Sei comincia, sa cose che lei vede le dicono, perché lui mi dice, ma la nonna non c'è niente.. Le goste. E io ho detto, ci

sono le momente che lei quando si trova questa persona, lei è una altra persona. Con lui le dice, a me mi dice: guarda, ti voglio andare mangiare. Devi mangiare con noi. No, no, aspetta che lui viene dopo, noi mangiamo prima, lui mangia dopo. Infatti, come senti il citovo e lei è subito: è tuo marito! Va aprire la porta! Vieni cara, vieni, vieni! Adesso, cosa mi dai quel tuo marito? Lei mi dice.. Dai vieni, seduti, mettetli li. Farle tutto. Ma guarda, li porta, anche la frutta, se lei può sedere se la tutto, tutto il gesto del frutta che lui si mangia dopo, lo metterli per lui. No, nonna, lui non vuole mangia la frutta! Ma dai, perché non deve mangiare? Dai, dai, lascia mangiare! E lui le dice, no, nonna, guarda che io ho mangiato, non li voglio... (*ride*). Però.

I: Che divertente.

R: Lei se vedi, e noi, come lei con il suo marito, quando erano ragazzi dice; ecco lì, c'è dura così con mio marito, ma sei con tuo marito: voi siete delle persone bravissime, lei dice così. Io mi trovo con voi benissimo. Lo detto: lei ride, lei è scherza, è scherza da una maniera che non le dico. In quello che è stata, lei è un altra persona. Poi quando siamo noi, non lo so come sarà il pomeriggio noi sono stata ma.. Poi l'infermiera l'altro giorno quando arriva, mi dice: 'ma guarda, la nonna mi ha fatto in pazzie la, nonna ha fatto questo, fatto l'altro, tutte le cattive vede contra lei. Io dico: sara vero, io vorrei provare un pomeriggio. E stare con lei per vedere con me, veramente. Perché lei dice un'altra cosa.

I: Sì, quindi forse quando io parlerei con lei, è un diversa storia o no?

R: Eh sì. Non lo so. Perché lei dice anche quando lei fa la doccia, lei non vuole. Urla. Non vuole certe calda, ha paura dell'acqua. Però, c'è un'altra infermiera, che lei è tedesca, di Germania, no? Un'infermiera bravissima, infatti mi trovo con lei, e con lei anche lei si trova bene. Dice: 'guarda, io le faccio il bagno', lei non dice una parola. Lei se fa, è vero dice, io lo faccio la schiena, dopo io, lei lava tutto. Se fare uguale. Se fai bagno, non dice niente. Invece con l'altra infermiera, sempre sono a urlare. Perché lei dico: non se neanche tu. non è che le mette l'acqua calda (*hits the table with her fist*) troppo calda, o lei mette troppo fredda. Io penso, dico.

I: Sì. Questa è... che è la differenza tra cura e buona cura?

R: Sì.

R2: L'infermiera è l'infermiera, la cura perché è un'infermiera. Ciò ha bisogno di cure, ma non vada d'accordo con l'infermiera, e lei va come badante, ma vada condissimo con lei. Perché lei, la cura, la tenie meglio, c'è vanno tutte due d'accordo. Invece l'infermiera, no, l'infermiera va per pulirle, per queste cose. Però l'infermiera non li dà amore, questo penso. Non da amore alla nonna. Ma per questo che la nonna se rifiuta sempre. E se diventa cattiva con l'infermiera. Però con la badante...

I: Sì. Perché?

R: È carattere di lei. Lei vuole comandare. È il carattere di infermiera, è un po tosto hè? Rigida, troppo rigida. Perché mi sembra che anche lei con tanti malati, l'infermiera perché gira; una ora di qua, una ora di un altro, un altro.. Allora, lei come che si trova con questo dosso no? È l'uno , l'altra cosa.. quindi arriva anche tutta nervosa. E vuole fare tutte. E no, no, non va bene per loro, per niente. No. Devi avere una pazienza enorme. L'ho detto già, Anastasia, tu devi avere pazienza con lei. Le dico: sente queste che ti dico, da un po di affetto a lei. E lei ci sta, e dolce come un pane. Ma tu le gridi, lei te grida di più.

I: No, questo non è buon effetto. Ok, sente anche un po come l'infermiera, lei non è molte personale con loro? Un po distanziata, io dico che...

R: Lei comanda sempre. Invece l'altra infermiera non è così.

I: Sì, la tedesca?

R: La tedesca. Sì, come lo dico, lei è.. non litigano mai. No, vanno d'accordo. Solo che lei viene, quando manca questo qua, questa infermiera, lei viene. Come dice, sono una tappabuchi, dice lei.

I: Una tappabuchi?

R: Una tappabuchi. Perché quando non c'è un'infermiera, o è ammalata, o deve fare visita anche lei non viene, viene l'altra infermiera.

I: Ah, ok. Sì, capisco.

R: Graduale lei, se quella che sta regula con loro.

I: Sì. E.. quali sono aspetti che sono difficile o ti non piace con lavorare come badante? Cose sono, non lo so, difficile o..

R: Fine adesso?

I: Sì.

R: Adesso, per me mai è state una cosa difficile. Anche sì, come ti dice, con quella persona che era in uno stato terminale, per esempio il medico dice; hai tre anni, muori no. Ecco, anche con queste persone vedi come che avevo un buon rapporto che non lei aveva con gli altri. Sai che io sono riuscita per dire te. Che nessuna poteva parlare con lei, perché lei.. piano piano muore le sue.. come si dice.

I: Le sente?

R: Ecco, difficile. Per parlare tutto. Allora lei faceva: aah. Quando voleva qualcosa per decide che voleva una tassa. Lei faceva: aaah, aah. Nessuna le capiva che lei voleva, allora io.. e la mia.. ho preso una..

I: Quaderno?

R: Sì, e una matita. E cominciato con la A, con la B, con tutta. A farle dire che cosa voleva lei, allora, io se lei voleva la tassa, lei scriveva la T, la A. aah, aah. Lei mi faceva: aah, aah. Vedi. Come la diceva al marito, aah aah, come dice, vedi, lei mi capisce, e voi mi non capite. Vede. Ho avuto questo con loro. Trasmettere queste.. mi, come si dice, mi bisogno del trasmettere a loro, queste che io sento per loro. Infatti, lei dice ogni volta, che lei voleva qualcosa era io sembra che.. Poi loro hanno preso qualcosa già un po che era meglio, però pochi giorni avevo suggesti; ma no perché loro, ne marito, ne figli, ne nessuno l'aveva detto che fai così. Era iniziativa mia. Infatti, lei, ogni volta che mi vedeva, quando arriva, lei era così; era contenta, era come che voleva..lei se chiamava Paulina, e io dico: Ciao Paulina, e abbracciava. E lei era contenta, rideva, poverina, le lacrime lasciavano, perché diceva: per fine, viene qualcuno che mi capisce. Vedi. Lo so questo.

I: Ma, hm, non lo so..

R: In nessun lavoro mi sono trovato male. In nessun lavoro.

I: Perché.. in un modo è molto bello che tu capisci lei, ma l'altro modo è un po triste che c'è sola una che capisce.

R: Perché non tutti le badanti sono bravi. Se vedi tanti casi che anche in le televisione che le picchiano i nonni. Vedi, perché se tu non sai portare questa persona, diventano propriamente le stress. Alla persona viene stress.

I: Sì. E, tu hai detto che tutte le badanti sono..

R: Non (*with emphasis*) sono qua.

I: Non? Ah ok.

R2: gli sono portati per essere badanti. Perché lavorando tutti il giorno, penso.. notte e giorno le stress te viene.. e quindi diventa anche..

R: Infatti, con quella che io sono cominciata prima, lei mi diceva: perché non avevi i documenti, guarda, io ti faccio documenti, ma quando lei s'arrabiava, mi diceva: vai via! vai via, mi non ti voglio. Infatti, lei, ogni 15 giorni cambiava una badante. Una settimana, perché mi ha detto la portinaia. 'Io non so come tu l'hai portato quattro mesi, mi ha detto così. Veramente, quattro. Che quando lei non l'ho detto che lei mi esce di dame, diceva: vai via, non ti voglio, c'è lotte. Ok dicevo io: va bene, io l'ha bisogno, mi aveva bisogno di lavoro, mi trovate in difficoltà. Quindi io piangevo, diceva 'signore, vai mi trovare un altro lavoro, io voglio andare meno di qua', pregava signore tante così. Perché io sto diventando, come si dice, stressata. Mi figli lontani, erano piccoli, mio marito di là con miei figli. Io di qua, da sola. È stato pure.

I: Ah ok, il tuo marito non era qua.

R: No, no. Lui è venuto dopo. Poco tempo.

I: Quindi, eri da sola?

R: Da sola. E quindi questo mi stava portando propriamente alle stress. Lei che mi diceva questo. Io dicevo; ma se lei non mi assume, io rimango senza i documenti infatti. Mi sono propriamente fine in qua che l'avevo già. Che quando lei mi aveva dato miei stipendi all'ultimo, l'ultimo stipendio che lei ha dato, perché lei era puntuale. Già avevo fatto la mia valigia, ha detto; va bene. Come lei metto; vai via. Ah sì, adesso mi non vado. Guarda, te lo dico su serio, me non vado. Ciò vado di qua notte supporto più l'ho detto. Cerco ti un'altra persona, perché io non ciò sto. Neanche un minuto. E anche io dico quello, lo faccio. Infatti, ho preso la mia valigia e mi sono andata. Lei ha chiamato l'agenzia e si ha fatto venire, non so chi è, io non sono tornata mai più. Non la sono chiamata, non la sono cercata neanche lei. Guarda. Aveva fatto propriamente così. Perché tu arrivi in un momento che va bene tutto. Se tu sei buona, sei cara, però.. Tutto c'è un limite, no?

I: Sì, sì. Certo. Certo. E questa era tuo limit?

R: Questa mi aveva d'arrivato fine di qua. Ho detto: basta.

I: E scusi, quanti anni fa è questo?

R: Saranno quindici anni.

I: Era la prima?

R: Sì. Il primo anno sì. Sedici anni più meno. Sì, sì. È stato un'esperienza un po brutta hè? Quella lì è stato brutta, in un senso che..

I: Era brutta perché lei.. Perché, lei?

R: Lei! Era lei che cattiva. In un senso che hai cattiva, poi che non lo so, lasciava neanche fare il bagno. Io sono stata quattro mese che lei non se fatto mai il bagno. La doccia.

I: Ah wauw.

R: No, lei se faceva, perché lei questa mano era autonoma, tutto. Se faceva lavadi qua, ogni quindici o quando lei non diceva, no io dove fare lo vedi, non mi lasciava fare mai. Non voleva neanche che pulisce la casa. Non voleva. Io lo facevo quando lei andava a riposarsi. Però sentiva il profumo del.. detersivo (cleaner), e lei siasavo (smiled) e mi diceva: ma che

cosa stai facendo? io lo dicevo; sto dormendo, e non era vero. Io puliva, mentre che lei era a letto. Perché, perché io dicevo, magari arriva qualcuno parenti di Lei. Mi diceva; io vengo ovunque (?) che questa qua cosa fa? Però non perché io non volevo, lei voleva che stesse vicina a lei. Ma che fa che cosa? (*angry voice*). Io mi annoiava, sia voleva a propriamente mi sentivo come un ammalatia anche io. Sì, perché una volta lei era un po aggressiva.

I: Sì? Che cosa è successo?

R: Aggressiva. Cattiva. E.. un giorno a li, e lei pure mi ha - come si dice - c'aveva il bastone (stick), lei aveva un bastone per camminare.

I: Aaah, ok per camminare sì.

R: Un bastone, un bastone. Quello che..

I: Sì.

R: Lei mi ha voluto picchia con quel bastone. Così mi ha fatto (*makes a smashing gesture*).

I: Pfff.

R: E io mi lo ho detto: che sia la prima e l'ultima volta che tu fai questo scherzo. Perché la prossima volta con quel bastone, io lo tirò alla strada, perché l'abbiamo a quattro piano no? Guarda, le dico, io prendo questo bastone, e ti lo butto. E lei se rimasto così no? Mai più l'ha fatto (*with emphasis*). Però mi aveva detto la sua portinaia che lei era cattiva, piaccava alle donne. A mi no, mi ha piacca. Però è stata al punto di farlo, vedi.

I: Incredibile. Questo modo cattivo.

R: Noi abbiamo queste, ci abbiamo trovato a volte bene, a volte male.
(*silenzio*).

I: E qualcosa come questo è successo dopo o no? Con gli altri?

R: Quello che ho detto? No, no, no. La è stata l'unica volta. Per quello che ho detto io mai lavorare di badante.

I: Ah, a questo?

R: Infatti, poi cominciato lavorare mezza giornata, pulizia, alla case, ma non di badante. Poi questo lavoro che l'ho preso, dico a me: mi sento badante, non mi sento badante, no, mi sento.. come si dice.. lavoratrice domestica. Come alla famiglia, tu vai, vai quello, io faccio che io devo, quello che io voglio in casa, nessuna mi comanda. Ciò tutto, e io comando li. Mangiare, tutto faccio io. Nessuna mi dice: eeh, cosa hai fatto, cosa hai mangiato? No, no, no, loro mi portano tutto, tutto.

I: E senti, adesso con questo lavoro, apprezzata?

R: Sì, sì, sì. Io mi sento così. Voluta di tutti.

I: È importante?

R: È importante sì.

I: Perché la prima esperienza non era..

R: Quella prima non è stata così. Quelle altra con questa donna che, con scoliosi a multipli (MS), mi sono trovata benissimo, pure che aveva il marito, aveva i figli. Anche con loro sono stata bene, un rapporto benissimo infatti.

I: E che cosa.. hanno detto che, anche vedi sul tv, cosa pensi delle cose sono scritto sul badante adesso? È negativo/positivo o?

R2: ognuno fa la sua versione a queste cose perché ognuno, non tutti sono bravi, non tutti sono buoni, non tutti...

I: Con tutti lavoro?

R: Ah, sia lo dico lo quello, delle televisione, quelle cose sono brutti alle televisione tu dici?

I: Sì, ma..

R: Aaah, anche io dico: vedi.. scusa hè? Scusa. Se non sai portata persone badanti, non farlo. Se tu non l'hai queste spirite, questo.. come si dice.. di trasmettere queste amore a queste persone, non farlo. Meglio fare un altro lavoro.

R2: Badanti che fanno per un stipendio. Non perché ti piace lavoro.

R: Ecco, non perché ti piace. Perché sia farlo, no!

R2: Magari si trova la nonna sola abbandonata, e ti pagano gli stipendi i figli, che avevano. Prendo no? E poi i figli se vanno, e rimane solo la nonna, e la badante. Allora, se questa badante è cattiva, povera nonna. Ma se questa badante è buona, è meglio. Però, tu non sai. Perché figli, tanti figli ti lasciano la mamma, la nonna sola. Abbandonato, se vanno via. E tu non sai, allora, quando è scoprì che la badante ha picchiato la nonna, e la fatto di tutto, è tardi. Perché tante, tante gente non prende lavoro perché gli piace.

I: Perché bisogno?

R: Perché ha bisogno, queste cose. Se prende per un stipendio, per questo, non le interessa se la nonna sta bene, si sente bene, niente. Poi se una nonna che non è in gamba, questa nonna è soffre. Piano, piano, si lascia morire. Piano, piano, va via.

I: E anche.. Non lo so come si dice, ma forse.. la responsabilità non è diviso, un po i figli, un po un badante, un po.. ma è solo..?

R: Sì, ti lasciano solo le badanti. Questa responsabilità. Sì, in un senso sì. Io avevo un'amica che avevo due nonni, che curava.. non è una amica, io conoscevo questi nonni. Erano vicini di casa. Ma prima, la nonna era in gamba, c'è due anziani, anzianissima, 85 anni, ma erano forte, ancora in gamba, tutte due insieme. Non avevano un figlio o qualcosa, sempre abbandonati questi nonni. E la nonna è ricade, comincia amalarte, però il marito sempre va a farmacia, di porta, così. Si fa un po forte, perché tutte due anziani. La nonna

I: Lui era forte?

R2: Sì. La nonna muore.. Allora, il marito si lascia andare, poi per non lascia solo il nonno, il figlio mette in casa - come si chiama - sì badante, ma sudamericano, un tipo, certe dico perché anche noi siamo sudamericano, ma non così. E le sudamericano come badante ha lavorare, allora, le lasciano solo al nonno, nonno forte, che sempre è stato alle sue 85 anni, però questo nonno se lascia andare perché non c'è più le moglie, e poi vede se dietro, questa gente.

R1 Strana.

R2: Che nonno, che facevano loro comodo, perché questi facevano su mangiare, la sua.. c'è, sai, la sua casa vede sempre curata, de queste due persone. Entra queste gente qui, e nonno abbandonato, le danno di mangiare per dirte come un cane, peggio, le danno di mangiare, e nonno piano, piano, si lascia andare. E vedi, questa gente che entrava fine settimana sulle acavano, tutto, quanto. Ma il figlio non veniva mai a trovarle, però questo nonno si lasciava andare, si lasciava andare fin che muore questo nonno. E gli è venuta la storia, perché quando tu non sai portate, portata curare queste nonni, questo nonno vede a la sua solitudine. Poi peggio se ti trovi in casa delle strani, che vengono a fare delle feste, fare queste cose. Invece di curarli. Invece curare questo nonno, allora anche il nonno si ha lasciata andare e poi, in giro di un anno, è andato anche il nonno. Erano due forti. Però, alle fine...

I: Quindi, in un anno lui..

R2: E anche lui sia è andato perché è basta con queste gente. Vedede la sua casa lui era poverino che guardava solo così. Lui era lucido sulle sua mente, ma guardava così.. così questi, cucinavano.. Dominicana, gente dominicana.

I: Aah ok.

R2: E invece che c'è musica di gitarra e che noi piace salsa, etc però, in la sua casa, tu non puoi mettere questa musica. io sono così, ma io mi ha permesso, di mettere queste cose in casa degli altri, chiedo. Capito? Se ti piace, va bene. Se no..

I: Come ballare?

R1: Sì, sì.

(ridono).

R2: Ma questo sabato, questa musica, forte e alte.. per ubriacarsi, per stare dietro, per mangiare, abitavano gli amici, ma nonno era come un cane, diventato dopo, magroline, e solo guardava, guardava. Io l'ho visto, perché una volta mi entro il figlio che conosceva, allora, non lo so perché siamo entrati, c'è fatto vedere, io più mi sono affettata al nonno, poverino. Visto questa situazione, poverino. Non mi guardava così, ciao nonno. E lui guardava e fatto così, e niente, lui era un poverino pezzo. E questa gente facevano loro comodo sempre. Io vedevo, povero nonno.

I: Molto triste.

R2: Abituato essere bene primo, ma questo è un storia triste. Andato nonno proprio. Giro di un anno è andato, quando non ti trovi di un badante che ti ami, che ti cure.

R1: Perché ci sono anche delle persone invece curano propriamente perché dicono a parte che mio lavoro è solo uno stipendio. Io devo curare questa persona anzi di più, curarlo bene, perché è il mio lavoro. Sia, perché il mio lavoro, perché anche mi pagano per quello. Vedi, sai, ci sono delle persone che sono propriamente - come si dice - bravi, bravi, bravi. Che soffici hanno queste persone perché sai che c'è un affetto come.. Che si fosse la nostra famiglia, della nostra famiglia veramente.

R2: La nostra famiglia. Di nostre cari perché se anche lontano noi. Da noi, c'è io mai fario la mia mamma, ma andarle una casa anziana, mai. C'è in un senzo, mio, la mia madre, la mia nonna, non fare mai queste cose. Qualche volte qua vanno in Italia. Allora, che si ha figlia do vedi quante, quante badanti sono.. E per questo. C'è lavoro, perché i figli, cosa fanno? Metter noi.

I: E come è in Ecuador?

R2: No, in Ecuador ci curamo noi.

R1: Noi.

R2: Noi, noi! Pocci ti vederlo a ricci magari. Perché più ricchi diventi, più senza cuori sei.

R1: (ride)

R: Capito? Invece noi, siamo delle persone umili (humble). Che non facciamo queste cose. Io non mettere.

R1: Curiamo noi stessi a nostre gente.

R2: Anche devi chiederti. Mia nonna ha 89 anni.

R1: C'è mia nonno hanno cresciuto nel '24 anni, pensate, e lui è in gamba.

R2: Curato della famiglia. Gira in sua casa.

R1: Sì, sì. La cura la mia zia, lo cura.

R2: La mia nonna la stessa cosa.

I: E quindi, non è qualcosa che è possibile per succedere in Ecuador?

R2: Da noi mettere un badante?

I: Sì, sì.

R2: No, no. Perché non è.

I: Non è la cultura?

R2: No, non è la cultura. Mettere la persona. Ma i ricchi sì.

R1: I ricchi sì.

R2: I ricchi sì. Ma noi, no. Anche io, la nonna 87, la mia nonna. E la mia mama la cura. In gamba. Le tenie. È la sua mama. E vince vive almeno la mia mama la tengo, la dice la mia mama. Una cura. Pensiamo: non lasciare mai andare da sola. Capito? Quindi, noi siamo così.

I: Sì, e per quello.. posso immaginare che, perché è veramente qualcosa che non succede in la vostra cultura, è anche un po strano che siete in una famiglia strana?

R2: Sì, per noi è strano che vediamo i figli non vogliono questi nonni, rifiutano questi nonni.

R1: Per quello che io dico ma dai un po di affetto.

R2: Molte volte quando un nonno more, si piangiamo noi di più. Che siamo le badanti che la loro famiglia. Si pianga noi, la badanti pangia di più di la famiglia. La famiglia ormai, e andata..

R1: Perché come qualcosa che certe andato via del tuo cuore, se qualcosa.. sei affezionata questa persona.

R2: Almeno noi siamo così. Perché siamo gentile, ma non lo so del resto.

I: No, no. Forse.. dipende. Sì.

R2: Ecco. E questa è la storia nostra.

I: Sì, grazie. Posso chiedere anche quelle cose tu hai fatto?

R2: Eehh sì, ti ho detto che dal 90, 2000, quanto siamo? Al 2007 - 2009 ho fatto. Però solo facevo sostituzione una fine settimana. Ti ho detto.

I: Solo fine settimana?

R2: Solo fine settimana per riprendevo venerdi fino a lunedì mattina alle 7. Io prendevo venerdì, e a fine delle lunedì mattina alle 7. Andavo via perché io cominciavo mio altro lavoro che avevo. Facevo la resistere in quel tempo. E quindi, io curavo questi nonni, erano due nonni. Il nonno in gamba, ma era malato, aveva una malattia del suo.. del suo ammalata al penin quindi, 90 anni il nonno. Invece la nonna era ammalata di Alzheimer.

I: Alzheimer.

R: Alzheimer. Lei è andata, la nonna. Io curavo.. perché lei era sicurava la notte, perché lei si alzava sempre. La cena, dopo cena la pastiglia per dormire. Lei re-entrava letto alle diece come dirle, era ubriaca con questa pastilla, andava. Però era come orologio, alle 3 della mattina, c'è se il nonno era in gamba, lui sentiva, nonno mi faceva così (*makes knocking sound*), perché la mia stanza che dormivo, ero io con la porta aperta, era qua sentivo. Lui faceva così (*knocking sound*) con un bicchiere, non lo so, aveva una cosa. Come dirte si ha svegliata, più andavo e leggera tutta nuda, lei era tutta fatto gù pipì.

I: Aah.

R2: Sì tiravo tutto, si faceva la pipì, cosa fai nonna? Nonna già se fatto tutto. Era sempre. Era una cosa che.. poi la portavo in bagno. Lei cominciava fignare (*crying*), e nooo, nooo, non

voglio, così. E poi, vai, vai, li cambiavo, rimettere le cose, andavo in bagno. Lei diceva che le lascia andare in bagno, però tu se non tu stavia attenta, la nonna cosa faceva? Se tu lei lasciava, c'è.. La lasciava andare perché ero da sola (?). Con la porta così, perché tu la dovevi guardare. Perché se tu non la guardavi bene, lei prendeva rotolo. La carte geni se metteva qua, tutto rottolo. Quindi, lei usciva così come segnente (?), con tutto rotto una mesa qua. E poi, così lo portava ancora dormire, ancora nonna, dai, dormi, ancora, li davò le sue medicine e basta. Da finito di sonno li. E poi, ricominciava alle 7 di mattina, dormire, addormentarsi.

I: Perché tu eri qua..

R2: Giorni e notte.

I: Sì esatto.

R2: Sì. È molto pesante. Perché non ti lascia dormire. Poi, lei comincia andare.. c'è lei finito, sonno di lei si finiva alle tre di mattina. Con tutta nuda, con la pipì.

R1: Era come un orologio.

R2: Sì, era sabato, domenica, bisogno, io andavo lavorare li. Però, l'altra mattina andava via come un orologio. E poi, la portavo, la cambiavo, tutto, camminavo dietro lei. Perché è impossibile lasciare da sola, perché lei voleva andare fuori, lei voleva andare alla porta. Lei... per questo ciò, lasciavo tutto chiuso, il gas, la cucina, chiudevo la porta, tutto.

I: Perché altrimenti era pericoloso?

R2: Era pericoloso. Lei era aggressiva però. Lei era aggressivo. No, no. E io dovevo andare tutta la notte, dalle 3 di mattina alle dietro lei, dietro lei, dietro lei. Cosa fai? Nonna, vieni qua, siediti. No, voglio andare, andava in porta: aiuto, aiuto!!!! (*she screams*).

E poi per farle stanucare (?), uscivo la domenica, alle dieci, perché anche io non potevo più dormire con una persona che cosa faceva. Io ero stanchissima.

I: Sì! Ma anche erano due persone??!!

R2: Lui era in gamba, lui sediva la colazione alla mattina, mangiava tutto, lui andava sul divano fine mezzogiorno, che le..

I: È un po' come la divisione tra la tua famiglia adesso (a R1).

R1: Sì.

R2: Sì, tutte due. Ma lei era Alzheimer, e la portavo fuori, però lei conosceva la sua casa, lei ti faceva, andavamo tutto (*with emphasis*) il giro così. Nonna dove vai? Lei cammina, vieni vieni! Camina, camina. Andiamo avanti. No, vieni qua a casa. Lei: no, e girava. Lei conosceva la sua casa, vedo conosceva la sua casa. Andava di li, dove era la portona di casa. La faceva tutto giro, vediamo si sveglia no. Io andavo con lei, lei era sempre una fissa, perché come aveva Alzheimer, era una fissa così che non guardava, era come sul mondo non si stesse, solo camminava, camminava, camminava. E tu la portavi la tenevi dietro, dietro, dietro. Lei andava e crocede la strada e basta.. E poi andavamo in casa, se facevo il pranzo, anche li era una cosa che.. Per nonno tutto è a posto, il pranzo, tutti, lui le faceva come un signore, con le posate (cutlery) tutto a posto. Ma lei era la cosa. Che bavaglio (joke), che questo, che la nonna mangia.. e questo ti sputava (spitting), o..

I: È difficile per lei per mangiare?

R2: È difficile.

I: Ma perché lei non vuole o?

R2: Era al nonno che comandava. Allora (*strikes with fist on the table*), diceva al il nonno. Come che raggiva (?) non lo so: Allora (*again strikes fist on the table*). Basta. Solo al nonno. A me, non faceva. Caso per niente. Per niente.

R1: (*ride*).

R2: Nonna, dai, mangia. Però, al nonno, al suo marito muovi diva al suo marito. Non lo so. C'è nonno le urlava così: allora, cosa fai, basta. Perché lui guarda mangiava, mangiava, guardava, mangiava. Che io litigavo così no. Poi lei (*makes a gesture of someone who doesn't want to open the mouth*). Cominciavo io con metterlo in bocca, in boccarla. Alle fine lei mangiava. E questa del mio lavoro. E poi alla sera uguale. Poi dormiva lei pomeriggio un pochettino, nonna non lasciava dormire tanto. Però il suo arabia da quello. Poi se faceva cena la pastina, e la sua medicina perché era un cosa che.. le sue medicine, perché era l'unica cosa che lascia dormire era la pastilla. E poi la stessa rutina tutti giorni. Alle fine suo nipote ha deciso che è troppo. Perché a parte parlava a me, aveva un'altra che stava da lunedì a venerdì. Però la nonna ha cominciata peggiorare di più. A phase più aggressiva, non voleva ovidire. A nonno non lo faceva riposare, questa vita. E suo nipote ha deciso da mandarle la nonna a un ricovero, non lo so dove tiene questa persona. E poi è rimasto solo in nonno. E nonno aveva questa problema del pene (penis) che quella pelle tutte caduta, cadeva, lui se doveva, lui la cosa se doveva aiutarlo a lavare, cambiarla la ranza tutti giorni, fare una cosa come infermiera, tutti giorni lavarlo sulle patto si dice - come si chiama - lidel, pipì, e poi si lava tutto e poi perché pene era tutto via, con una cosa che veniva fuori (?). Allora, tu le lavati bene, e tutto le scioglierla (dissolve) - le metteva una crema, e le metteva a posto questa tela (pin) del pene, perché tutta da rotta come dirle era caduta. Li mettedevo su, e metteva la garassa (?) fine al punto. E lunedì mandevo pulito, e diceva che non le faceva male. Però, questo svazio (switch) ogni giorno, ogni mattina. Però, l'altra giorno lui mi dava vestide, diceva pulisce questo perché non ce la faccio, mi viene a pulirta, mi viene ci..

I: È molto no? Per fare questo?

R2: Sì, con molto pazienza. Sì, sì. Per questo occhi alla nonna, occhi per lui, occhi alla nonna, occhi a.. C'è per lui, fa niente, e lui poteva aspettare quando la nonna mi diramo (?). Fare la badante è un lavoro molto difficile. Peggio lavorare con queste persone così malati. Con una persona sana tutto.. Però una persona con Alzheimer, molto difficile. La stressa per te...

I: E anche qualcosa che ho pensato per voi, tutte le due, avete l'esperienza con cura prima?

R1: Sì.

I: Sì?

R1: io sapevo, ciò sapevo anche il clistere (enema), fare punture, tutto. Perché al punto che l'infermiera mi fa vedere una volta, ci sono anche portate per quella, mi fa vedere una volta come si fa e basta.

R2: Sì, anche a me. Mi fanno vedere perché io non avuto mai esperienza. Questa era l'unica esperienza che avuto con queste nonni due. Basta. Perché la signora che lavorava li, diceva che l'infermiera era del mio paese. Lei usca a venerdì, lei mi ha fatto vedere come faccio la curo al nonno, cosa devo fare di mangiare, più anche la cura del nonno, metterme guanti e le cose dovevo fare al nonno, e le pastille che dovevo dare a nonna. Queste cose lei mi ha fatto vedere come si fatto, tutto quanto e.. basta. Senza esperienza prima, se non al momento che..

I: Non hai sbagliato o?

R2: No, no, no, no. Anzi uno prende perché una responsabilità.

R1: Tu impari delle cose. Fa di cose. Tu impari di più. Dovunque tu fai, impari di più.

R2: Impari cose nuove.

I: Sì, ma posso immaginare che il prima è difficile. Quando non ho l'esperienza...

R1: Ecco. Poi piano, piano tutte va de quando lavoro. È più facile.

R1: Ogni lavoro, impari di più. Nuove esperienze comincia fare. Magari per me bisogno del lavorare, imparare nuove cose. Questo.

I: È qualcosa che tu bisogno nel tuo lavoro?

R2: Sì, devo imparare, se è corretta o necessità. E queste cose imparare e fare le cose bene, perché una persona no? Stiamo parlando del qualcosa che rompe, è una persona.. Questa del pelle era molto delicato, allora, devi fare, devi avere una responsabilità così. Lunedì mattina io lasciavo tutto a posto, le lasciavo scritto, andavo tutto. E lei arriva, e mi andavo. Sì. E questa è mia esperienza, non ho più. Poi sempre faccio..

I: Per quanti anni hai fatto?

R2: Due anni lavorato con loro, devo sostituire ogni fine settimana.

I: E, la stessa domanda ho chiesto Laura, quali aspetti ti piaciuto o non piaciuto o era difficile?

R2: No, non è che non piaciuto. È difficile era con la nonna. Che più svegliavi alle tre della mattina, capita? Perché quando tu andavi con la nonna, a dormire alle 11 al sera, andava al letto. Poi ti dovevi svegliare alle 3 dal mattina, undici, dodici, ma che non dormivi bene! Che vai a dormire, dormici, perché devi stare attenta che tu devi svegliare così. Non sai che cosa prendere la nonna, perché una che non capisce niente. Allora, e questa esperienza è stressante, lavorare con una persona con Alzheimer è molto difficile. Devi stare attenta, non dormi, c'è undici alle tre, sono tre ore che hai dormito.

R1: Anche io ho lavorato il weekend. Con persona.

R2: Sì, con le persone Alzheimer è brutto. Perché..

I: (a R1): anche era stressante o no?

R1: Nooo, io ho detto, ho lavorato un posto per dire lunedì al venerdì un posto, magari al mattina vai un posto, pomeriggio faccio altri posti, quindi questo mi tiene meglio perché io parlo con una persona. Parlo con un'altra e non sono chiusa tutti il giorno e tutto il notte, però mi non piace.

I: Sì, ok.

R2: Questa metta quando lavorata fisso. Fisso no. Io ho lavorato un.. sono in tratto lavorare di fissa, dentro una casa, ha durata una settimana. Non riesco.

R1: Io quattro mesi (*ride*).

R2: Dopo una settimana ho detto, mai più lavoro di fisso perché è qualcosa di stressante.

R1: Ho lavorato con bambini...

R2: Non ti passa più la vita, non ti passa più, c'è ti stressa. Non della cosa di vederla a casa, la sera. Lavoro di giorno, poi alla casa vieni.

R1: per riposti. Normale, tranquilli.

I: Sì, come lavorare sempre, sempre.

R1: Non quel weekend io lavorato invece di dio. Come un dottore. Mi ricordo, bravissimo. E sai, che io non sapevo neanche cucinare no? Quindi la persona che andava al venerdì, mi lasciava già pronto per farle sabato, domenica, scaldarle (*warm up*). E un dottore che, lui era propriamente un dottore, le posate (*cuttlery*) devono essere tutti precisi. Propriamente ho

imparato lì a fare anche un tavolo come sede. Lui era da solo. E una enorme casa, con piscina, con tutti, due piani, da solo, con un cane da lui (*ride*). Quindi sono trovato lì per caso per una di mia amicha, ecco. Quando ho cominciato poi piano, piano, con i libri per fare, imparato a fare cucinare. Infatti lui è piaciuto quello che facevo io, che quello che lasciava questa persona. Mi ha detto: sei più in gamba di lui, perché era un uomo che curava lui. E quindi io lo dico, sono trovo anche benissimo lì. Ho lavorato sei mese perché lui poi è morto. Era in gamba, era in gamba veramente (he was in shape) però come ho sentito una cosa che l'ha venuto, sta andato in bagno da venuto qualcosa, il sangue, morì (?), non so cosa aveva. Pfff, una settimana lui è andato via. Bravissima persona lo stesso con me.

I: Ma anche questo, non lo so, ma penso questo è forse un aspetto un po difficile quando, sente come famiglia..

R1: Per rimane questo?

I: Sì, anche quando sente vicino..

R1: Sai ho imparato giocare carta con lui perché il mio lavoro era quello. Da giocare con lui. Lui mi ha fatto vedere come si fa, e ho cominciato giocare con lui. E ho diventato più brava di lui.

(*ridono*).

R1: E l'ho lasciava vincere a lui, perché se lui non vince, si metteva male. 'Ecco', dice, 'è la mia leva, diventata più brava di me' (*ride*). Era umorario, delle quattro fino alle sei giociamo le carta, perché era quello che lui voleva quello, perché aveva la persona per fare tutto mestiere, c'è l'aveva hè? Solo per fare la compagnia del weekend. Entrava sabato alle due, fino domenica dalle 7 di sera. Io sono trovato benissimo, del tutti lavori, tutti ho belli ricordi. Perché ho lavorato in tanti posti.

I: Sì, quanti?

R1: Oeehhh,

I: Ti ricordi quanti posti hai lavorato?

R1: Tanti.

I: Quindici anni sì.

R1: Tanti, sì. Che mi sono trovato bene, ho lavorato tanti. Ho lavorato più perché sono morti questi personi, ecco, questo mi dispiacere. Perché se no avevo una va di lungo. Perché tutti affezione queste persone si trova bene, e dopo...

I: E qualcosa che ti non decidiamo.

R1: Anche con una signora che aveva lo stesso Alzheimer, non le sclerosis.. Le sclerosis, non quella che tu morì in tre anni, se quella che è lunga. Lei cominciava quando lei aveva 20 anni, lei.

I: Venti?

R: Sì. Se aveva sposato. E il giorno lei si sposa, rimane incinta, il giorno, rimane incinta, della sua figlia, aveva un'unica figlia. De quel giorno lei è stata sua -come diceva - lei ha sua malattia, fino al diece anni che aveva la bambina, lei ha camminato, camminato, camminato. Poi, se lasciava andare piano, piano, in carrozzina, era ammalata quando la figlia aveva trent'anni, mi ricordo Ornelia, la figlia, trent'anni, trent'anni aveva la mama. Che mangiava, perché tu lì in boccavi, lei prima poteva fare con il braccio. Io quando mi sono andata di lì, che avevo trovato con altro lavoro, che mi vanno stare anche il weekend. Mi dispiaciuto per lasciarla perché lei mi trova benissimo con lei. E poi lei ha cominciato un po di piangere

perché se senteva che piano, piano, andarei riusciva mangiare come lei mangiava bene, piano piano, erano più di 35 anni. Che lei aveva già questa malattia, questi sclerosi è lunga.

I: Molto lunga.

R1: Molto lunga, perché quella che l'aveva detto prima, quello è stata 3 anni e basta. Era terminale quello sclerosi. Si chiama sclerosi multiple. Sono diversi. Questo è cominciato detto, lei cominciava quando la figlia era incinta del primo giorno. Se cominciava sentirse male, sentirse male, sentirse male. Avuta la bambina che dice che lei avuto un sonno, che magari una cosa bellissima, in queste sonno bugio, c'era un petta di rosa bianco, e lei diceva che questa era la sua bambina. E è stato quello lì. Lei sempre raccontava questo sonno brutto, che ha tutto nero, tutto bugio. In questo bugio, c'era una cosa petto della rosa bianco, e di sarà mia figlia che io rencinta e basta. E la figlia diceva, io non lo so che sia qualche un giorno avrò un figlio anche io perché come lo penso alla mamma, guarda.

I: E qualcosa i bambini hanno?

R1: Non lo so sia di Italia, non lo so quella malattia. Lei infatti non sarà sposata, aveva un fidanzato e basta. Poi dove sono tornato più anche li, perché come ha avuto un... lui era siciliano. E siciliani sono un po la testa calda, lui mi ha detto, se tu non torni a lavorare con il weekend, non tornari mai più. Capito? Allora, io l'ho detto, va bene, non tornerò mai più. Infatti, io sono tornata neanche a trovare la figlia, la mamma, nessuno. Perché lui mi ha detto questo parola. Se lui è siciliano, e anche io sono il mio orgoglio, vedi, queste due. Mi dispiace, però, non sono tornata più.

I: E un po come blackmail?

R1: Sì, dopo di tanti anni l'avevo visto lui. Fuori nella strada, neanche salutata, neanche l'ho detto niente, perché non sapeva sia a vicinarmi o no a lui, l'ho visto, aveva picchiato di più, non lo so. No sapevo che la moglie era morta, non sono riuscita mai a chiederlo. Mi dispiaceva per lei. Perché era una bravissima persona. Ho pianto anche quando lo lasciava, ha pianto anche lei. Mi ho detto che mi dispiace.

I: Sì, molto triste.

(silenzio).

R1: Sì, sono tante cose. Sono delle cose belle, e delle cose un po di dispiacevole. Perché te dispiace lasciare di persone cari.

I: È veramente un lavoro che siete vicino delle persone. Siete in la casa.

R1: Attaccato a loro, come loro sono attaccato a noi.

I: Diventa una parte della vita.

R1: La famiglia.

I: Della famiglia sì?

R2: Sì.

I: Posso chiedere un ultima domanda. Perché tu hai fatto due anni, ma pensi che verai di più o no?

R2: No, no, no.

I: Non preferisci?

R2: No, no. Io lo fatto per risogno, lo fatto con la mia responsabilità. Però mio lavoro.. no no.

I: E perché?

R2: Perché... Non lo so. A me, no, vedi, io lavoro con signore Lorenzo in casa, gestiole di casa tutto. Loro si trovano bene, tutto quanto. Così mi piace. C'è.. fare delle cose mistede le casa, altri lavori sono per me.

R1: Quello che io dico, io mi trovo bene li perché io faccio tutto, mi sento come la stessa è la mia casa.

R2: Anche dipende quelle persone si trova. Non tutto sono..

R1: Nessuna mi dice niente, guarda, tu fai questo, tu fai quello. No. Anzi, invece, ma non fai troppo, dai, riposati, stai tranquilla (*ride*). Invece, io dico va bene. Perché quando sono in attiva, sono un po..

R2: Invece a me, mi piace più attiva, fare qua, fare qua. La casa, la stanza, anche al tempo ti prassa. Invece curare una persona, quando fatto? Martedì ho curato da un'amica il suo marito. Lo stavo, lei andata e mi ha lasciato, che ha la sclerosi multipla. E stare li con lui seduto, senza fare niente, solo curarlo perché lei mi ha detto, mi raccomando, magari le viene la tossa, sia focca, mi ha lasciato suo marito che è malato. Io sono seduta, senza fare niente. E io, mi piace essere attiva, lavorare.. Non mi trovo a lavorare così curando, vedendo, il tempo non passa.

I: Ah ok. È veramente?

R1: E per me è passa velocissimo. Tutto è vero.

R2: Perché lei va la badante, ma anche va la pulizia.

R1: (*indignant*): faccio tutto! In casa comando io.

I: Ok, non è solo curare?

R1: Faccio la cura per loro, sto attiva con loro hè?

I: Ma anche questo che ti piace? Per esempio quando è solo curare, come si dice, quando la situazione sarà che non puoi fare l'altre anche..?

R1: Sì, sì. Mi dice anche quando c'è qualcosa si non cerede (?), lascia, lascia, stare. Basta che curi i nonni. Poi al pomeriggio lavoro in altri posti. Quindi lo faccio dappertutto. Fino alle cinque. Arriva alla casa sono felice, ooo, finito la giornata (*ride*).

I: Sai adesso con il tuo marito?

R1: Il mio marito sì.

I: E anche i figli erano a qua o no?

R1: No. Mia figlia.

I: Aah, la figlia, la piccola?

R1: Sì, che aveva venti anni, lei venuta quando aveva 16 anni. Viene qua, se lei non ha trovate bene, ritornata a Equador.

I: E lei venuto con il marito?

R1: Con il mio marito, sì, sì.

I: Quindi lui eri prima con i bambini.

R1: Sì, sì, sì.

I: Ma quindi, tu sei stata qua sola per quanti anni!

R1: Per dieci anni.

I: Dieci anni aah.

R1: Dieci anni da sola.

I: E, non era difficile?

R1: No, mi sono abituata stata di sola perché il lavoro non mi mancava per calida. Lavorava tanta, anche nel weekend ti ho detto, perché mi piaceva. Mi sentivo anche con la forza di valo mi piaceva. Anche guardavano, se voglio dire, tutto andavo bene, lavoro, tutto. E mi mancavo miei figli, sì. Mio marito anche. Però, da sola, stava meglio (ride).

I: Molto indipendente?

R1: No, mi trovo bene. Anche adesso con mio marito che sta di qua.. Siamo noi due. Mia figlia ormai sono di là tutti, sono già tutti la moreni (?).

(silenzio).

R1: Ma non so che un giorno mi tornerò al mio paese. Sì, tornerò.

I: Sì?

R1: Sì, sì, sì. Dico al dio Italia. Però, mi sono abituata qua sai. E il mio marito (ride), mio marito diceva: che tu non tornerà mai, scherzando.

I: Ma tu, quando è possibile vai?

R1: Io vado. Io sono solo andata qui... Sì, sì. Prima viaggiava quasi tutti li anni. Poi dopo, si diventata un fuora cosa più difficile, ogni tre anni andavo, sì, due anni.

I: E tu, Julia?

R2: Io, sì, anche io vado al Equador quando.. sono andata al 2015 sono andata.

I: Ma tu pensi di ritornare o?

R2: Sì, sì.

(ridono).

I: Non è una domanda?

R2: No, no. Sì.

R1: Ma sì, il nostro paese è nostro... scusa. Noi siamo qua va vedi, per lavoro,

R2: Per aiutare i figli, però poi finito questo ogni tornerà.

R1: Manca le paese no? Si manca il nostro paese.

R2: Sì, tornerò, tornerò.

I: Ma sentito un po a casa a qui?

R1: A qui? Sì, sì.

I: Ma è differenza? Penso, lo capisco, non è vostro paese. Non lo so che è lo stesso, ma per esempio, mi piace Italia, ma non è Olanda..

(ridono).

R2: Vedi! Sì.

R1: E vedi! Sì, anche noi. Mi piace Italia, ma mancherò... Non è mio paese. Vedi. Perché di lei, mi sento niaggio (?), perché al mio paese sono nata. Dove sono mie..

R2: Di la lo vivano così.. Queste due piccole case. Abbiamo la nostra casa.

R1: Sai che io avevo una, la figlia della una signora che io lavoravo in mio paese, che lei mi sembra vive in Olanda. Abitata la. Però adesso lei è in Argentina. Suo marito è un.. diplomatico. Quindi loro trasmettono Argentina per quattro anni. Lei segue da vita. Abbiamo questo contatto, che quella ci parliamo perché io avevo in quella epoca 18 anni. Lei era piccola. Io curavo loro.

I: E tu sai dove lei è abitata?

R1: Lei mi ha detto a Olanda, no.. mi sembra che la sua sorella mi ha detto Olanda, lei magari era alla Germania, perché suppra era la Germania. E la ma mamma di lei era Ecuadoriana. Quindi, lei tornata in Germania alla figlia, e pappa è morto. Pappa di lei. Però abbiamo questo

rapporto. Lei infatti dice che io sono come la seconda mama. Perché io piaciuto le piccole, due anni. Infatti, l'altra volta mi ho trovato un foto nel internet, che io era una ragazzina, e loro sono piccoli. Mi sono commissa, ho detto; aah, mama mia. Tira, si chiama lei, Tira.

I: Tira, ok.

R1: Mama mia, ho detto, guarda, non ci credo che sono io. Sì, cara, lei anche adesso, ha un figlio di 12 anni mi sembra. La sua bambina.

I: La vita va veloce.

R1: Lei dice, vieni a trovarme, vieni a trovarme. Non trovo il tempo, però magari un giorno mi trovo a venire a qua.

I: Sì.

(silenzio).

I: Sì, e un po tardi adesso.

Family assistant 3

I: Perché.. Voglio prima sapere che ci sono aspetti per te da lavorare come una badante che ti piace o non piace.

R: Mi piace lavorare come una badante.

I: Sì?

R: Sì, mi piace tanto.

I: E perché?

R: Mi piace perché come io, lascio la mia bambina di la, in Perù, e quando ho cominciato a lavorare come una badante è una affezionata tanto, perché un anziani è come un bambino.

Devo pulirle, come un bambino uguale, e quando avevo nessuno qua, allora era così stretto, tanto come - non voglio lavorare come lavoratrice - si no, come la mia nonna. Così.

I: Ok, sente come questa signora un po' come la tua nonna?

R: Sì. Ho detto così.

I: Sì. Ok. Perché hai detto prima che tu hai lavorato in Perù. E immediatamente è sentito per te che è un lavoro che ti piace?

R: Sì, mi piace. Per quello, e ancora lavoro così, con persona anziana, ore settanta di più. Perché mi piace, mi piace lavorare con pazienza, e continuarlo farlo, però adesso non posso tanto perché mia figlia è arrivata, sta qua in Perù.

I: Lei è a Peru o no?

R: è qua, in Italia arriva mia figlia. E continuo per ora, o per le notte, lavorare così, come una badante.

I: Non cambi?

R: No, per quello che le tre ore che c'è lo. Due volte la settimana, E mi piace, e per quello non voglio lasciare, la signora è buona, tranquilla. Mi piace stare con lei.

I: E questa è la donna che

R: Sì, ho detto che curo io tre volte, due volte a settimana.

I: Ok, sì 3 ore e 2 volte. E come fai una descrizione dal tuo rapporto con lei?

R: Faccio una descrizione?

I: Sì, sì.

R: Che faccio con la signora?

I: Sì, ma come senti con lei? Come è il tuo rapporto con lei?

R: Mio rapporto è bene con la signora, dopo l'ho sentito la signora che parla di me, che sono brava, gentile.. Sì!

I: Ah, ok! Quindi senti anche apprezzata?

R: Sì, mi sento sì, con lei. Anche la sua sorella, così, un po' arrabbia. Però, noi non arrabbia con me.

I: Ok, lei? La sorella?

R: La sorella sì.

I: Perché lei sta così?

R: Non tanto con me, con la che cura, anche la signora che lì fissa, perché io so tanto faccio in tre ore. Anche, lì è un po speciale. Però invece la sorella che io la curo, che la faccio la doccia, la faccio un caffè, la faccio un manicura, pedicura.. è buonissima. È diversa la tua sorella. L'altra.

I: Ok. La differenza esattamente?

R: I carattere, le carattere.

I: E questo è per te importante per sentire bene?

R: Sì, è importante. Però, uno deve avere pazienza, con la persona. Perché se non ha pazienza, non puoi lavorare. Non si può lavorare senza la pazienza, io ho tanta pazienza.

I: Ok. Era sempre come qua, che tu hai avuto pazienza, o è qualcosa che devi avuto imparare?

R: No. Già in Perù sono stata lavorata come una badante, lo avuto sempre.

I: Sì, ma è qualcosa nel tuo carattere?

R: Sì, è mio carattere. Sono vere, anche le faccio le terso, sono ride così.

I: Ok, e tu hai detto che è un po come, anziani sono un po come i bambini. Perché bisogno cura.

R: Sì, cambia la pantalone, lavarle, e darle di mangiare, se non riesce non mangiare, in boccarle, tutto lo faccio io. Per me, nessuna è una problema.

I: E ci sono anche differenze tra curare per una anziane o un bambino per te?

R: No, no. (*silenzio*). Sì, c'è una differenza, perché bambino parla, ti parla, ti dice, però invece gli anziani quando hanno demenza senile, non parlano, ti parlano un'altra cosa. Ti non capisci, che cosa stai parlando.

I: Non è possibile per fare una conversazione che noi abbiamo adesso.

R: Sì, esatto. E invece bambini sì, capisce e poi parlare, di po raccontare, racconta un conto, tanti cose, invece la prossima anziana quando voi avete demenza senile o alzheimer, noi che poi continuare a parlare, dopo si dimenticano.

I: Sì, e quando loro parlano sono spesso le stesse cose che loro dicono?

R: Sì, continuamente dicono le stesse cose.

I: E questo è difficile per te qualche volte?

R: Sì, è difficile perché continua, non una volte, e una ora.. o dicono dieci volte. Allora, tutto vai c'ero bello, che tu sai sana, tranquilla, tutto vai. I gli cosa dovere pazienza per la persona anziana. E devi stare tranquilla, giocare la carta, dirle questo, facciamo questo, perché continua a parlare la stesso cosa. Continua, continua.

I: Sì, posso immaginare è anche un po stanchissima.

R: Io più lavoro con questo, con lo cervello e con la mani che faccio, più con cervello.

Badanti lavorano più come cervello che in fare mediere.

I: E perché dice questo?

R: Perché sono persone malati, sono persone continua dire la stessa parola, continua con questa e tu stai lì. L'altro giorno continua, continua così.

I: Hmm quindi è più psicologica?

R: Psicologicamente te è stressi no? E lì, dove deve fare pazienza, de fare un'altra cosa. Così.

I: E c'erano momenti che tu hai pensato: no, è troppo o... non voglio di più.

R: Sì, sì, sì. Anche. Però dopo diceva lì, perché era arrabbiata, e dopo mi tranquillisava, avanti. (*silenzio*).

I: Ok, quindi quando lei era arrabbiata, hai pensato questo?

R: Sì, sì.

I: E questo... Puoi spiegare un po di più della questa situazione?

R: Quando mi arrabiva, il signore prege non mi lascia dormire, io devo stare tranquilla per l'altro giorno, no? E il signore pensava tutto le ... in bianco. Io: basta, non lavoro più, sono stancara, continua la stessa cosa, Tre giorni che non mi lascia dormire diceva, non posso stare così. E allora dicevo io no, allora medo vado, basta. Dopo mi tranquillisiva è dico, va bene continuo. Così.

I: Pfff, ok. Ma come hai fatto questo? C'era una cambia nella mente?

R: (*laughs*). Sì, sì, così. Sì. Diceva io. (*silenzio*). Perché dopo piano, piano te visione. Io me arrabbio, però dopo tu continuo passano l'anni, continua per stare la, un anno, due anni, tre anni, o le mesi, passano, tutti fisso nella persona, tu stai con lui, ventiquattro so ventiquattro, io mi posso arrabbiare, però quando qualcuna ha visione, difficile dacarlo, perché mi abiti con lui, mangi con lui, stai con lui, dormi con lui, tutto.

I: Sempre.

R: Sì, vai al supermercato con lui, vai a parlare con lui, sempre così.

I: Ma, sì, non lo so perché, primo ho pensato forse essere di solo, ma anche sei sempre con un'altra persona o..

R: No, no. No, no. Sempre, tredici anni che sono qua in Italia, sempre lavoravo fisso, ventiquattro su ventiquattro. Adesso non posso perché ho la bambina.

I: Sì, ma lei è.. quando è lei arrivata?

R: In dicembre.

I: Ah ok, quindi prima lei è stata in Perù, con il tuo ex-marito?

R: Con la mia mama, e con mio papà. Sì, e dopo mia figlia voleva stare qua, e ho detto va bene.

I: Ahh, e per te? Era qualcosa che tu hai voluto o?

R: No, ho detto; va bene, subito. Perché mia figlia sta adolescenta, ha 14 anni, è sta con me. Non voglio che succede qualcosa, perché io sono qua, e lei di la. Perché non tutto è lavoro, non tutto. E anche io, ho una responsabilità con miei figli. Io pensavo che porta mi la qua, per stare con me, qua.

I: E come è adesso? Che lei è a qui?

R: Per quello che adesso sto cercando lavoro come badante, però per notte o mattina.

I: Perché le notte lei dorme?

R: Perché posso vederla a lei.

I: Sì, lo capisco.

I: E come senti adesso che lei a qua?

R: Contenta, felice. Sono felice, tanti anni che l'ho lasciata di là, tanti anni. Per lavorare per lei.

I: Anche le cose che hai fatto era per lei forse?

R: Faccio un sacrificio grosso per lei. Per lascia la. Perché è la mia unica figlia. Quindi, sono contento e felice adesso. Sono a qua, lei mangia, mi ha supresto, faccio da mangiare, dopo con lei, mia figlia a casa mia, mia a casa, e basta.

I: Sì, quindi è più insieme?

R: Sì.

I: E era decisione difficile per te? Quando sei partita Peru?

R: Sì, difficile, tanto. Volevo tornare, tornarmi di la, a Peru. È difficile perché lascio una figlia di due anni. Quando era piccolina. Sì, era difficile. Dopo piano, piano, detto io, ho detto: no, devo stare ancora qua, devo lavorare, dopo la porto qua, la mia figlia e così. Però non avevo un documento, sono quattro anni che io non avevo un documento.

I: Quattro anni che non avevi documenti da stare di la?

R: Sì, non avevo.

I: Aah, non era possibile per ritornare?

R: No, no. No. Dopo cinque anni, mi hanno dato il documento. E lì, posso andare subito sono andata là per vedere la mia figlia. E dopo, e le fatto il documento a lei, a mia figlia. E mia figlia poteva venire qua un mese, dopo tornava di la. Così, avanti. E dopo, mia figlia mi diceva: mamma, io voglio stare con te. Va bene, adesso viene qua, e stai va con me.

I: Sì... e così pensi del futuro?

R: Io?

I: Sì..

R: Io voglio lavorare ancora, per mia figlia perché lei vuole stare a qua, vuole studiare a qua, vuole andare in università, vuole..

I: Quindi in Italia?

R: Sì, lei vuole stare a qua, vuole studiare a qua, vuole andare in università, vuole un professione qua.

I: E tu?

R: Io lavorerò per lei. Per dare tutto quello che.. Devo pagare no? Dopo, più avanti, mi anderò a Peru. Mia figlia non lo so, se venderà con me oppure fare una vita qua. Dopo io vandrò a trovarla, tre mese qua sta ro, va di là, così. Perché quan, che io penso stare in Italia, no penso stare a qua..

I: E perché?

R: No.. perché io voglio stare di là, in Perù. Con mia famiglia.

I: Perché l'altra famiglia è ancora...

R: Sì, mia madre, mia padre, stanno di là. Mia sorella, mio fratello, tutti. Siamo in cinque.

I: Cinque in totale?

R: Sì, solo che arriva mia sorella, la più piccola. E arriva adesso e sta con me. Per lei sta un mese, dopo va in Perù. Avuta un progetto di turismo. Prima volta perché mai è viene nessuno. Mai.

I: E non lo so, ma senti a casa anche in Italia o?

R: Sì, sì, sì. La sento mia mama, tutti.

(silenzio)

I: Ok, voglio chiedere un'altra cosa che hai detto prima, perché adesso con la donna la da la cura, con lei il rapporto è molto bene hai detto, ma anche..

R: A li faccio una cose, le cucito quale che rotte, anche questo io faccio. Faccio stire anche, e la faccio la doccia la signora, la pedicura, la manicura. La capelli, così.

I: E come va questo per fare d'accordo del tuo responsabilità? E qualcosa che vuoi parlato prima con la donna, con la famiglia della donna? E qualcosa che.. Scusi, non è chiara. Voglio sapere che cosa, come è chiara quelle cose tu devi fare? La responsabilità?

R: Sì, mi avevo detto quello, con fare un contratto, che assistere la sua sorella, più se no c'è niente da fare, fai stirare e cucire, per quello, quando è rotta, l'hanno detto.. ci sta un po del tutto. Non la casa, è tanto da cucire, e dopo basta. Quando ho fare con la signora, non lo faccio quello. Però se no, faccio.

I: Quindi è qualcosa avete fatto d'accordo prima o qualcosa quando tu lavori ci sono altre cose che tu fai?

R: Dopo mi ha detto la ragazza che li fisse, mi detto, e dopo tengo le finestre, facciamo così, ha detto. E quello non ha detto la signora, però va bene non faccio tanto mi trovo bene lì. Faccio, non cambia niente per fare una finestra, non cambia niente. Lo faccio.

I: Ma quindi, devi essere anche flessibile con queste cose?

R: No, no. Non mi faccio una problema, lo faccio con ladere. Tanto, quando c'è niente da fare, posso fare! Perché no? Non è difficile per fare una finestra (*laughs*).

I: Ok, ok. Sì (*laughs*).

R: È importante che, mi trovo bene. Questo lì non mi stanno controllare, si mangia qualcosa, o beve qualcosa. Non, no vuole. Loro fanno la merenda da cinque, e deve che ti prende mi dice, no? Un caffè... Non sono così cattivi. Lo faccio, non è problema per me. Se non faccio niente con la signora, con la sorella, ho fatto la doccia, e quando c'è ancora tempo, sì.. mi dice puli una cosa? Lo faccio.

I: Quindi, è anche un po dipende quanti tempi resto?

R: Sì, io solo sono a qua tre ore, c'è tempo, lo faccio. Sì.

I: Ok.. Ci sono, perché hai detto che ti piace veramente il lavoro come badante, anche abbiamo parlato un po', ci sono cose più difficile da lavorare in altra paese quando la famiglia è un'altra paese.. Ma ci sono, per fare il lavoro, anche cose che ti non piace o ci sono difficile?

R: Per me è difficile per fare fisso, perché io lavoravo tutta la mattina con un signore. Devo stare tutta la mattina, tutta pomeriggio, e pure le notte, che il signore dorma, li me da festivi, perché devo stare bel sveglia, la mattina, invece il signore non mi lasciava dormire tutte le notte in bianco e pure dovevo stare la mattina per sveglia, quello mi fa arrabbia, non era giusto diceva io. Questa è pesante.

I: Quando è veramente tutti che tu devi fare.

R: Io dicevo, faccio la notte o il giorno, devi decidere. Non posso lavorare tutte le due. E il signore era arrabiata, diceva: Se non lavori, si no puoi andare lì. Io sono arrabiata. Ecco, non sono chiave lo detto io. Io lavoro soltanto perché devo lavorare, però non la notte, perché devo stare dormire tranquilli, lavorare tranquilla, dal mattina, devo cucinare, devo fare questo e questo. Per il signore mi ha detto così.

I: E quando era questo? Con questo signore.

R: Non, uno signore che lavorato. In Marzo è finito il rapporto.

I: Ah, ok.

R: Però, non diceva niente, perché erano così da sola mi raggiava io, da sola. Basta. Hanno diceva perché lui ha detto che se mi non piace, se mi trova un altro. Diceva, va bene, non faccio niente.

I: Perché anche tu non vuoi fare questo di più?

R: Sì, lavoravo, uguale, lo stesso. Pensava uguale lavorava, diceva, non devo niente per osservare mi po tante, e non devo stare lì.

I: Sì, lui, il signore è anche il signore che era un po aggressivo?

R: Sì, e lui. Ogni tanto la dolce, quando andavo per prendere un caffè, poi prendere la colazione, io la portava la brioche. Sì io sono così, hè? E sono stata con lui un anno e un mese, più due mese. Adesso. Sempre sono così con tutti, mi piace. Non sono una che dice: non, luce da soldi che prend.. non, io faccio, soltanto costa un euro. O faccio qualcosa in casa mia, una torta ne portava. E mangia, che buona: lui diceva.

I: Quindi è sempre..

R: Mi sto felice, mi apprezzando, mi piace lavorare. Ma fisso no. Tanto, quando lavoro. Io dicevo: tu devi fare bravo per dormire, guarda mi recopitimo questo, le dicevo, ti porto la brioche, ti porto il gelato, e tu non dormi di notte, dai! Fai il bravo, io dicevo. Se non, mi vado, non posso stare così, sempre così, sempre. 'Noo, io dormo', non si ricordava. Era così.

I: Ma lui non ha dormito?

R: Non era lui, era sulla testa. Noi neanche per rile, la colpa sua, neanche, perché è una persona che sta male. Della testa. Allora, non se puoi te le dire, eehhh, no se puo.

I: È successo che?

R: Perché quel momento non ragiona, è così. Non si può dire, anche lui. Però, dopo non si ricorda. Dopo, così.

I: Era come qua tutta la dura che stai a qui?

R: Un anno e due mese, sì. Dopo una volta è tranquillo.

I: Sì, perché... Puoi descrivere questo rapporto? Con lui?

R: sì.

I: Non era come la donna penso?

R: No. No. No.

I: Con lui?

R: Con lui era este ci sono i giorni che buono, ci sono giorni c'era così cattivo. Però più cattivo che buono. Io stavo la facendo qualcosa, e lui mi diceva: Devo andare fuori. Io devo chiudere la porta perché, mi entro, che io sono in bagno, sono in cucina, lui escapa. Allora chiudevo la porta con chiave. Da mi la chiave, da mi la chiave, mi diceva. Parlava parolaccia, del tutto, mi diceva anche putana. E io la coltava, e io stavo con un libro così (*makes a gesture of holding a book*) e una volta, è venuto e mi ha battuto.

I: Vero?

R: Io stavo lì, e non mi ho visto e signore andava ma non l'ho visto: aaah, io dicevo, e piano piano, se tranquillissima, ecco. Ha raccontato al nipote, ma loro non dicevano niente. E poi, era basta per me.

I: E anche, in questo situazione tu devi stare tranquillo o?

R: Sì, allora lo hanno porto per quello ricovero, anche con la sua sorella, era cattiva è? Lui la voleva picchiare con sua sorella. Io dicevo, no basta basta! Lo dicevo, sta tranquillo con sua sorella. No, lei è una stronza che...

I: Veramente un po aggressivo?

R: Io devo basta, basta. Ninno, va di la. No, questa è casa mia, comando io! Invece la sorella ha detto: tranquilla, è così.. lui è aggressivo.

I: Pff, anche più difficile con due persone?

R: Sì, sì.

I: Tu che cosa pensi, forse per dare ma anche per ricevere la cura, la differenza tra cura e buon cura?

R: Sì. Però, noi che lui fa la posta, in quel momento lui ha ragiona, quello che lo fa. No, non è così. È la sua testa. Perché lui ha una malattia. E per quello diventa così. E noi che lui lo fa perché, lui puo lo fare. Ma a me sembra che lui ha questa malattia, che è Alzheimer, e tutti che lui fa è essere così. Non è neanche colpa da lui. Io almeno dico, così: no. Però ci sono la persona che ha Alzheimer e sono passivo, non è aggressivo come la signora che aveva, è dolce e mangiano, mangiano, mangiano continuazione. Ancora continua da mangiare. Però, mi pacieva tanto da lui, non perché era così, una volta buona, una volta più cattivo, ma più cattivo come buona. Però, non era colpa della lui. Era sua malattia. E la, non lo so come spiegare questa cosa.

I: Hmm. Ma quindi è necessario per te per tutte le persone che danno questa cura per realizzare che c'è un disconnessione la persona e al malata, e la testa.

R: Sì, perché le persone sono così aggressivo devono di la porta anche ricovero, per quello che l'hanno portato. Perché l'avevano paura che li picche la sua sorella. Anche.

(silenzio).

R: Perche io, non le puoi controllare, sono aggressivo, tu non ne può controllare qua. Deve andare al ricovero, stare lì, con l'altre persone aggressive.

I: Sì. Ok.. E per te quali aspetti sono importante in una famiglia?

R: In una famiglia... Per me importante che non della malata no? Delle paranti no? Della famiglia?

I: Sì.

R: Più importante per me che se hanno buono, un buon tratto per me, non deve non pagare quello che giusto, perché ogni tanto anche loro fanno furbi, lo datevo pagare, tu lavori festivi, e non ti vanno pagare. Non ti pagano anche in la busta pagare. Hai capitato da me? Dopo questo è giusti in pagamento, che si hanno persona come essere umani, corretto con noi, no? Che possiamo mangiare bene, non sempre pasta pasta pasta pasta.

I: Anche queste è successo?

R: Sì, anche quello è successo. E quello è importante, dopo io mi ranggia con lavoro. Si per me così.

I: Sì, e con gli anziani?

R: Con gli anziani non si può dire, perché non posso neanche dirle che sia buoni, che sia no, perché ci sono malatia. Non se puoi dire io lavoro con queste anziane perché sono buono?

No, ha una malattia, si chiama Alzheimer. Un po capitare che se ha va lento. Allora, è stare lì con pazienza e.. apra un po' di carattere per andare avanti con quella persona che assiste.

I: È più divertente e facile quando è un buon rapporto, naturalmente. Ma ci sono anche situazioni che tu non vuoi fare la cura? Con una persona?

R: No, io come scelo il carattere anche, sempre me ha rangiato. Sempre. Vado al fine del fine che si finisca il lavoro.

I: Veramente dedicata?!

R: (*laughing*).

I: Sì, sì!

R: Una volta che lavoravo con signore sei mese, che arrabbiamento alle tado. E avevo un bicchiere vicino a lui, ha preso un bicchiere mi ravoleva tirare, butare. Io stavo così: (*makes a defensive posture*). E dopo messo un bicchiere di plastico. Se è buta, va bene, tanto di plastico. Immagine sarà vetro, era male.

I: Sì, sì.

R: Ciò sono stata l'unica da stare fino dalla morta del lui. Dopo sei mese. Invece gli altri persone che hanno veduto lavorare lì. Sono andati subito.

I: Ah veramente? Perché lui era difficile?

R: Sì, sì.

I: E tu sei stata sempre dalle fine?

R: Fine della fine.

I: Wauw, ok. Posso vedere il mio listo con le domande, perché ho chiesto molto, e anche tu hai poco tempo. Sì, penso va bene così. Grazie mille.

Family assistant 4

I: Prima forse puoi descrivere un po' chi sei, come ti chiama, di dove sei, quanti anni hai, etc.

R: Io mi chiamo Mara. Sono da Romania, lavoro in Italia da 12 anni, sempre come la badante. E tutti questi 12 anni curato 2 signore, una per 7,5 anni e un altro per 4,5 anni. E mi sono trovato bene, faccio questo lavoro con tanto amore. Con la cura della persona. E mi piace anziani.

I: Quindi in generale con tutte le due persone hai piaciuto?

R: Sì, sì. Mi sono trovato benissimo. Benissimo. Con le persone anziani, e con la famiglia pure. Sono trovata molto bene.

I: E puoi descrivere il tuo rapporto con loro? Con il primo anziano per esempio?

R: Ehhh, la prima signora aveva dementia senila, aveva i problemi con i gommoni e aveva la glaucoma agli occhi, problemi con la vista. E all'inizio è stata un po' dura, inizio perché sono andata a casa sua, era abitata da sola, faceva che voleva, ma piano piano.. Siamo riuscita a capire e siamo andati d'accordo dopo la fine alla fine. Lei ha preso la fiducia in me, e piano piano il rapporto è diventato molto bello.

I: Ok. Perché prima era un po' difficile con la fiducia.

R: Sì, stava da sola, abitava da solo. E dopo un certo punto, d'arriva una persona straniera a casa è un po' difficile.. E dopo, piano piano, ha preso fiducia.

I: Sì. Eh per te? Perché penso che anche per te era una situazione nuova?

R: All'inizio è un po' difficile. Ma piano, piano.. Primo lavora è stata ancora più difficile, perché non sapeva parlare Italiano, non sapeva la gente. È stato molto difficile. Ma piano, piano, imparato Italiano, imparato un moda di cucinare. E siamo, abbiamo diventato un bel

rapporto tra di noi, avevamo un buon rapporto e siamo andati così dal fine che lei s'è receduta.

I: Ah ok. Triste.

R: Sì.

(*silenzio*).

I: E che cosa hai fatto in un giorno? Cucinare hai detto e..?

R: In giorno, primo mi ho occupato della signora. Era autosufficiente, faceva da sola si lavava e io stavo vicino, vicino se lei aveva bisogno, io davo una mano. E dopo preparavo la colazione, e dopo cominciavo pulire la casa, dopo pulire la casa, stirare, cucinare. Tutte le cose che si fa in casa. Possiamo fare una passeggiata nel pomeriggio.

I: E quindi hai lavorato qua tutti i giorni e tutte le notte?

R: Sì. Stavo il giorno e notte. Giorno e notte sì.

I: E questa.. come era questa per te?

R: Hmmm.. Sì, avevo due ore di riposo al giorno. E io di riposo al sabato alle due, fine domenica sera. Io di riposo, uscivo e la figlia, ogni tanto lavoravo io, ogni tanto veniva parata dei figli. Viene vanno i figli, lo curava lei quando io non c'ero presente.

I: Sì, quindi quando tu non eri qua?

R: Sì, sì. Deve essere dove vai, sarà sempre stava già qualcuno.

I: Sì. E c'era anche aspetti che tu pensi sono difficile? Con questo lavoro?

(*silenzio*).

R: Sì, è un lavoro difficile, ma se lo fai con cuore.. non sembra più difficile. Se lo fai con cuore e con amore.

I: Questo è più importante?

R: Importante sì.

I: Per te e anche per l'anziana?

R: Certo. Pure per gli anziani.

I: Quindi..

R: Deve fare con cuore, con l'amore, e con tanta pazienza.

I: Ah, pazienza. Anche importante?

R: Molto importante.

I: Ok. Non lo so.. che era qualcosa che tu hai dovuto imparare? Per avere la pazienza o?

R: Sì, sì... Ho imparato molte cose, certo. Perché delle volte che te ripeteva le stesse cose, alle fine dicevi: sì, sì, lo ascoltavi. Non c'era niente di male, se loro cantavano un'altra volta, non c'era niente di male. (*ride*). No.

I: Eh ok. Hmm.. Sì. Che cosa pensi è la differenza tra che cosa tu hai fatto, la cura domiciliare e in una struttura? Secondo te?

R: Hmmm.. Nah, secondo me la stessa cosa.

I: Sì?

R: Hm, secondo me. Ma io, come sono da sola qui, quindi non c'è nessuno, non mi va pagare l'affitto, andare a lavorare in una struttura. Ci sono le persone che sono con tutta la famiglia, così. Comunque, si prende una casa, affittano la casa, e cover questo lavoro.

I: Ah, ok. Quindi, questa è la differenza, ma la cura non è..?

R: No, secondo me la cura è la stessa.

I: Ok. E posso chiedere tu hai una famiglia in Romania o?

R: Mia famiglia sono di Romania, sono tutti in Romania.

I: Ok. È possibile per visitare loro o?

R: Sì, sì, sì, sì, sì. Vado in ferie. Sì. Vado in ferie.

I: Quando hai ferie?

R: Di solito al mese di agosto.

I: Ok, quindi un mese tu hai?

R: Un mese, sì.

(silenzio).

I: Ehhh, era una decisione che tu eri in dubbio quando sei arrivata in Italia?

R: Sì, è stato molto duro inizio. Prima di tutto, che non parlavo Italiano. Prima di tutto. Sapevo solo buongiorno e ciao. Niente di più.

I: E come hai sentito?

R: Dopo ho imparato guarda in tv, un po della signora, un po della tv, e ho cominciato da parlare. Fammi capire. Sì, era più facile da capire, ma era più difficile per parlare, perché hai paura da sbagliare, che dicevi le parole sbagliati, che arrivata in un giro queste cose.

I: Sì... e quindi, queste momente non hai saputo che deve dire, era anche i momenti difficile?

R: Sì, era molto difficile. Sì, sì. Molto difficile.

I: Hm. C'erano anche momenti che tu hai pensato non voglio stare qua.

R: Sì, ho pensato.

(silenzio).

I: E che cosa è successo in questi momenti?

R: Ho pensato avuto la pazienza, ho detto: ancora un po', piano piano.. Devi andare le cose per la strada giusta. Se ti impegni un po, qua c'è la fai , devi impegnare. Avere la pazienza, impegnarti. E c'è la fai.

I: Quindi, pazienza è veramente una cosa più importante.

R: Sì, è vero.

I: E adesso? Come va? Come senti?

R: Adesso, quando curato la seconda signora, pure l'aveva la dementia senile, aveva più meno la stessa malattia della signora, della prima signora. A parte che la seconda signora, in molti male fatto un tumore. Hanno trovato un tumore.

I: Nella testa o..?

R: Alle cistifellea.

I: Ah, ok.

R: E s'è andata subito. Un tempo di un anno che s'è andata per lei. E è stata più facile perché avevo già l'esperienza con la signora di prima. Già sapevo parlare, già avevo preso dell'abitudine di cui perché avevano della Romania, lì ci sono di, un certo punto d'abitudine, cui sono diversi ti devi abituare, ti devi impegnare a abituarti per riuscire andare avanti. È stato un po più facile, dicevo. Già questa parlando c'era una grande cosa. Sapevo chiedere, fare le domande, le queste cose, ha capire quello che dicevano al signora a c'è stata un grande aiuto dopo.

I: Lei?

R: Sì.

I: E quindi è.. Sente qualcosa, non lo so. Posso immaginare anche. Che questo è anche difficile, che hai un buon rapporto con qualcuno, sei sempre con lei..

R: Sì, sì. Abbiamo avuto un buon rapporto. Con il prima e con la seconda. Che posso dire sono stata fortunata qualche volta ho trovato delle signore bravissime, le famiglie lo stesso e io sono stata fortunata.

I: Sì? Senti fortunata?

(silenzio).

I: E come hai trovato queste famiglie? O loro hanno trovato te forse?

R: Sì, la prima mi l'ha trovato una di mia amica. E la seconda avevano trovato proprio qui, a sportello di (..).

I: Ahhh, ok. Quindi

R: Sono due tasche e premi, e dopo una settimana hanno chiamato che c'era questa signora che aveva bisogno.

I: Sì, e con lei per 4,5 anni?

R: 4,5 anni.

I: E, non lo so.. Ehm, puoi descrivere il rapporto con la famiglia?

R: Con la famiglia è stato un rapporto buonissimo. Io mi faceva mi dovere mi curavo prima di tutta da signora. L'igiene, cucinare, le pastire per tutte queste cose. E loro quando io avevo qualche difficoltà mi venivano incontro. È stata una cura, ho detto prima, sono stata fortunata trovato le famiglie bravissime. Sono andati sempre d'accordo. Qualche c'erano delle cose, si parlava e andavo con fede, senza litigare, senza mai.

I: E puoi dare un esempio del questa difficoltà?

R: Ehm mmmmm. Per dirli, dovevo andare via a Romania, avevo una cosa urgente a casa da fare. Le ferie già avevo fatti, e lo ho chiesto se poteva andare via per due settimane, e loro sono stati gentili, e mi hanno fatto andare. Per questa problema.

I: Sì, ok. Quindi, anche sympathia con la tua situazione?

R: Sì, sì.

I: Ok, l'ultima domanda, penso, senti apprezzata dal questa famiglia?

R: Sì, sì. Sono apprezzata? Davvero.

I: E come senti?

R: Ehhhh... sì.

(silenzio).

I: Loro dicono per esempio che loro sono felice anche con te?

R: Sì, certo certo! Certo, certo. Quando è morta la seconda signora è morta con me. Non c'era nessuna di figli, e tutti tre figli, la signora aveva tre figli, mi hanno abbracciato che sono stata vicino. Perché, pensavo loro che giusto dovevano essere loro, quando è successo, questa disgrazia. Mo per troppo loro non c'erano. Sono io.

I: Sì. Quindi tu eri qui in questo momento?

R: Sì, e quanti arrivare a loro, la signora era deceduto.

I: Sì..

(silenzio).

I: E adesso cerchi una nuova famiglia?

R: Adesso sto cercando allora. Adesso sì.

(silenzio).

I: Ehm, ok.. l'ultima.

R: Ok...

I: Che cosa tu pensi è, per te anche, la differenza tra cura e buona cura?

R: Cura e?

I: Buona cura?

R: Ma... Si devi curare con tanto amore, queste persone. Perché le malattie che arrivano, non sono la colpa di nessuno, questa malattia. E dobbiamo pensare che tutti c'abbiamo un nonno, una madre, un padre, può essere di nostri. Ecco, se si deve curare con tanto cuore, con tanto amore.

I: Sì, e quindi tu dai anche la cura come loro sono la tua famiglia?

R: Sì, certo. Certo.

I: Ok. Sì, grazie mille per fare l'intervista con me.

Family assistant 5

I: Sì, forse prima è bene per sapere un po di più di te, quindi di dove sei,

R: Io sono di Salvador.

I: Di?

R: Salvador.

I: Salvador! Aaah, ok.

R: Di centro-America.

I: È più lontano!

R: Sì, è lontano. E c'è quattro anni che da stare qua in Italia. Quattro anni che ho lavorato come badante, con le persone anziani. Ho lavorato come babysitter.

I: Ah anche?

R: Sì, anche. Come un babysitter. E poi, ho lavorato, dopo non ho trovato così lavoro, facendo pulizia alle case. O a cura magari un'ora o due a qualche anziano così. Anche sono andata a ricovero. Dove ci sono i ricoverati.

I: Quindi hai fatto molte diverse?

R: Un po di tutto.

(ridono).

I: Un po dipende che è possibile?

R: Sì, ho curato con gli anziani, ci avevano con Alzheimer.

I: Perché quanti famiglie hai lavorato?

R: Io ho lavorato così fisso con due famiglie. Poi ho iniziato con lavorare con una signora anche fissa ma ha durato soltanto 2 settimane perché poi..

I: Perché?

R: È morta (ride).

I: Ahhh, ok.

R: Sì era già ammalata, era propria malata. Allora.

I: Quindi, era molto breve?

R: Sì, aspettano che dura di più questa signora, ma purtroppo è andata. E poi ho lavorato fuori di Milano, lavorato a Lecco. E qui a Milano.

I: Quindi, anche ti muovi?

R: Sì, sì. Anche. Vado avanti e indietro così.

I: Eh quindi, quando ho capito bene, ci sono tre famiglie, ma una molte breva, e l'altre più lontano, lungo.

R: Sì, lungo, diciamo.

I: Ok. E che cosa hai fatto?

R: Io facevo di tutto. Quando lavoravo lì, con gli anziani. Quando era fissa, perché lavoravo fissa dormi lì, faccio a pulizia, faccio da mangiare, c'è attenzione le persone, andavo un giro con loro. A volte mi doveva fare anche le spese del loro, così.

I: E questo è per esempio, è qualcosa che - come si dice - avete parlato prima che tu cominci o qualcosa che succede?

R: Prima, avevo parlato con la famiglia, con i figli di questo signore. Mi avevano detto da stare lì, quando sono andata parlare con loro, loro mi hanno detto che soltanto deve stare lì, a comune accompagnamento. Solo per fare accompagnare la persona e per fare pulizia. Poi, l'altro è venuto così, anche venuto da me devi aiutarle fare altre cose. E tutto.

I: E per te è?

R: Per te. Per me è.. a me mi piace quando io vado iniziò a lavorare. A me dicono certe cose tu devi fare questo, questo, l'altre. Però, ci sono anche a volte i figli della questa persona magari portavano andare le spese, mi chiamavano, mi dicevano: no, andiamo un altro giorno, perché non c'avevamo tempo. E io sempre lo dicevo: no, non preoccuparti. Faccio io quello che posso. Sempre riesco a tratto una maniera da fare quello che io posso. Per darle sempre la mano a quelle persone. E così.

I: Quindi sempre sei flessibile?

R: Sì.

I: Ma anche tu senti flessibile sempre o?

R: (*ride*) Sì, a me mi piace sempre dare di più da quello che posso.

I: Sì?

R: Sì.

I: Perché?

R: Perché, così le persone hanno più fiducia. Per quello. E poi, vedono che non soltanto sono lì per fare quello loro mi dicono. Poi, mi piace anche imparare di più. Perché imparo anche di loro, e loro anche imparano un po di me. Mi piace sempre fa me vedere come sono in realtà.

I: E quindi questa è anche importante? La fiducia?

R: Sì. Per me è molto importante perché come loro mi hanno detto: perché è molto difficile che le persone tengono una fiducia quando tu inizi a lavorare. E per me è molto importante perché mi piace fa me vedere come sono, perché loro vanno avere un po fiducia in me. E quello.

I: Ah ok, ma quindi hai detto che spesso o sempre all'inizio è difficile per ricevere questa fiducia?

R: Sì, un po difficile perché ci sono le persone che magari hanno avuto diverse badanti, non lo so, diverse persone a lavorare in casa e dopo viene un'altra persona, conoscere, tenesse di capo diciamo. Per conoscere a una persona, per quello. Ma io sono così.

I: Quindi è più importante per mostrare che tu sei fidanzata?

R: Sì.

I: E quali altri aspetti per te importante in questo lavoro?

R: Sì, c'era la ma la responsabilità di quello che uno fa. Perché una deve essere responsabile quello una deve fare. Poi, come dirte, poi mi piace sempre cercare una maniera di - non lo so come si dice -

I: Niente! Una miniera di..

R: Di.. Ma in realtà mi piaceva maniera che loro mi capiscono come io sono. E quello è mio punto, esatto.

I: Quindi, anche quando loro conoscono te?

(silenzio)

R: Sì, perché ha capitato che ho lavorato con una signora che c'aveva delle persone che non erano molto simpatici, di colore di pelle, per questo. L'altro, ho cercato una maniera da questa persona vede come io sono tutto. Allora, sempre è stato un momento così, un po difficile anche per me. Una situazione brutto diciamo, passato anche. Per quello mi facce, mi piace fammi vedere come io sono. Perché così, perché magari le persone pensano male, e per questo mi piace per fa me vedere sempre.

I: Per dare..

R: Per efite.

I: Sì, una evidenza che tu sei una buona persona.

R: Sì, sì.

I: E questa esperienza, puoi spiegare un po di più? Che è successo?

R: Sì, posso spiegare. Perché io lavoravo prima con, c'era una signora a Lecco, io sono andata vitare lì a Lecco per lavorare con questa signora. Ma, dopo che sono stata a Lecco, sono ritornata ancora a Milano. Dopo questa signora. E la figlia da questa signora con chi io ho lavorato a Lecco mi ha chiamato che c'aveva un altro lavoro. Per di curare una signora, e io dovevo andare parlare con queste persone. Ho parlato con un nipote della signora, è venuto anche la persona - non mi ricordo - c'era la cugina di signora malata che io dovevo curare. Che ha parlato anche con me. Ma del momento che io sono entrata a quella casa lì, a parlare con la nipota della signora, c'era anche questa cugina della signora, come io sono entrata la cugina ha detta alla sua nipote: Ma questa ragazza qua dobbiamo prendere? Sì, è brava, perché ha lavorato anche con zio mio così. Non, mi non piace perché guarda anche sua colore di pelle, dopo cose d'erano delle persone, parlano male, così. E io mi ho detto. E lei mi ha detto; no, no, no, ascoltarla mi, ha detto la sua nipote, no no ascoltarmi perché tanti decido occhi (?) mettere qua lavorare. Ah va bene. Poi è visto come io era e tutto, mi ha detto; puoi venire. Io andavo, sono stata lì a lavorare. Questa signora sempre doveva andare alla mattina, la sera, vedermi cosa faceva, cose non facevo. Meno male che.

I: Un po controllare?

R: Sì, controllare sì. Meno male perché io sono una persona che se lavoro, mi faccio sempre tutto. Mi non piace stare seduta, dicemo. Vede, (?)

I: Hai molte energia?

(ridono)

R: Ma lei sempre mi trova, o in cucina per cucinare, o mentre pulire il bagno. Ma lei ha avuto, alle fine, che parlare da me, che vedeva che io sempre facevo, stava lì a fare, o attendere la zia così tutto. La sua cugina ha detto: dopo la fine, la sua nipota mi ha detto: sai che alle fine lei inizia piacerlei, alla mia zia? Perché ha detto che vede che piace fare, che io

non sto solo seduta. Così.. Ah davvero? Sì. Allora, sono contenta, perché all'inizia se tarte come.. Si va bene. E sente così. Imparare la vita, è la verità. Si imparata anche cose.

I: Hmm, sì. Sente un po per me quando ci sono persone che dicono brutte cose, tu lavori di più?

R: (*ride*).

I: O no?

R: Eh sì. Sì. Perché, poi mi piace lavorare, mi piace fare e mi piace imparare.

I: Sì. E più specifico con il lavoro come badante, non lavoro in generale, che cosa ti piace? Quegli aspetti?

R: Come lavoro?

I: Sì.

R: Come lavoro mi piace curare le persone anziani. Mi piace anche per fare pulizia in casa. Queste sono.. mi piace tante fare la pulizia (*ride*). Sono pazzo, diciamo. (*ridono*).

R: E curare le persone anziani, e un'altra cosa che mi piace tantissimo perché io sempre avevo suonato curare la mia nonna.

I: Ah ok!

R: Però, mia nonna ormai è partita. Non potuto fare, allora, con le persone anziani che io curo, mi ricordo tanto. Faccio, mi la prende comunque, forse come forse mia nonna diciamo. E allora, con loro faccio quello io avevo voluto fare con mia nonna. Allora, mi piace quale persone anziani. Fare le pulizie. Anche con bambini, ma con bambini mi piacciono, ma non così tanto come le persone anziani.

I: E perché questa differenza? Per la memoria o?

R: Perché bambini - come dice - mi piacciono bambini, pero.. un po più delicato per curare i bambini. Perché - no non lo so come spiegarti - alle certo punto mi piacciono, ma dopo... (*ride*).

(*ridono*).

R: Non lo so come spiegare.

I: Solo per un poco tempo?

R: (*ride*).

I: E con gli anziani non è troppo tempo?

R: Hmmm, no. Come gli anziani mi piacciono di più perché, c'è con un bambino posso imparare certe cose anche, però è più - non lo so spiegarti in realtà - ma.. con gli anziani mi piacciono perché, loro hanno già vissuta una vita, loro a tu parlare di loro, c'è un impara di loro, così tutto. Per quello.

I: Ok, quindi anche voi parlate un po della vita, della tutte una persona hai esperienzata?

R: Sì, sì. (*ride*). Sì.

I: Non lo so, ah sì. Voglio chiedere che - anche dimmi quando è basta con il tuo tempo - hai detto che quando tu curi per gli anziani è un po ti ricordi alla tua nonna, è anche un rapporto simile o come descrivere questo rapporto?

R: Un po similaire.

I: Un po.

R: Sì, un po' simile. Perché a volte, mi metto una testa di loro. Come sono a loro. E mi ricordo tanto la mia nonna, una realtà, per quello. Perché con loro faccio quello che io avevo piaciuto con la mia nonna. Per quello mi piace di più, questo rapporto con le persone anziani. Un po' diverse anche, però è bello, verità, per lavorare con queste persone.

I: Sì, voglio sapere che l'aspetti sono un po' difficile, hai detto, quali aspetti sono difficile o non piace?

R: Un po' difficile perché a volte certe cose a loro non piacciono. Allora, una se deve abituare quello che loro gli piacciono. Devi fare.. c'è una si deve mettere nella testa di loro, quando loro hanno l'Alzheimer, lavorato anche con quelle persone, allora iniziano fantasere delle cose, dicono le cose diverse, magari non ci sono così per quello. Però, io cerco la maniera sempre non aveva mai un contrario. Non so come si dice. Ma sempre fare quello che loro dicono. In quello aspetti un po' male, ma di altri no. Provo sempre fare quello loro vogliono.

I: Sì è veramente..

R: Perché quando se non fai quello vogliono è un po' brutto (*ride*). Questi quattro anni è stato.. e quello che ho potuto fare fine adesso.

I: Ehhh,, vuoi stare da qui per sempre o?

R: Sì, sono sposata con Italiano allora.

I: Aaah, ok! Quando sei sposata?

R: Sono sposata l'anno scorso.

I: Aaah auguri!

R: Grazie.

I: Quindi, tu stai qui naturalmente!

R: Sì!

I: Posso chiedere un'altra domanda?

R: Sì.

I: Che cosa pensi è la differenza tra cura e buona cura? Quando è cura buona? Per te e per gli anziani?

R: Hmmmm... Per me la differenza in cura e buona cura si dici?

I: Sì.

R: Per me, in curare. In cura sarebbe solo fare quello che ti dicono. Ma in cura reale c'è una persona è diverso perché una mette anche della sua parte. C'è fai tutto per curare bene quella persona. Ma curare se mi dicono solo devo curare ciò curo. Ci sono le persone che dicono, tu devi curare persona. Mi cura perché loro mi hanno detto, non perché voglio fare anche io. C'è curarlo. C'è un'altra cosa che - come si dice - come è questa parola? Mi andata via questa parola..

I: Piano, niente.

R: È più impegnato. Perché poi è più dipende delle persone devi curare, devi curare bene le persone.

I: Sì. E dipende del rapporto dici?

R: Anche il rapporto, così.

I: Ok, quindi.. ci sono diversi aspetti? Importante?

R: Sì, importante, sì. Poi, io dico una cosa che quando le persone ti dà un lavoro, la persona inizia con, io sempre detto che persona inizia sempre con quella fiducia per vedere come la. Poi dipende come tu trovi la persona, c'è una trova in una persona tutto. Perché ci sono

persone, ci sono anziani, o come possono essere anche bambini così. Ci sono le persone che sempre magari le sue.. sono sempre giù o che magari le persone sono anche moglie, marito così, per loro è molte difficile, per le persone anziani. Entrabile, anziani e i bambini, quando ti parlano avere una persona a casa, non stare da solo. Per loro un tipo di, come un trauma. Lo voglio dire perché è molte difficile che loro se abitudine alle persone, a un'altra persona, un'altra persona in casa, avere questo rapporto con queste persone perché per loro conoscere questa persona mai vista, non è facile. Allora, tutto dipende che diciamo, di me. Che io faccio l'avanti, ma tutto dipende di me, come io mi trovo. Del momento che vanno entra quella casa lì dove mi lavorare qualcosa ma uno di momento che uno entri, uno deve vedere e valutare anche la persona anziana, come cosa mi piace, ma cosa mi non piace, ma non è facile perché non si conosce alle persone. Però, sarà una cercare una maniera di capire come la persona.. Del momento chiede la persona ti parla. E queste cose. Io cerco la maniera sempre da farmi capire, di capire a loro. Che cosa ti piaciono, e che cosa non piaciono, è così. È sempre stata.. (*ride*). È sempre stata così, quando inizia con lavorare.

I: Ma questa è una maniera che tu fai.

R: Sì. O, no no, non è maniera che faccio, ma sempre ho fatto.

I: Ma c'è anche una maniera che l'altre persone fanno? Loro provano per capire la tua situazione? O dipende?

R: Dipende come le persone. Perché, certe persone capiscono. Ma certe persone non lo capiscono. Per quello che una deve sempre fare da capire, all'inizio. Mi te piedi in quella casa, in quel posto lì dovevo andare lavorare. Per quello.

I: È in generale, ti senti apprezzata?

R: (*deep sigh*): Sì.

I: Sì?

R: Sì, hmmm.. Tante volte mi ho sentito sempre apprezzata. Al momento. Mi sempre hanno detto: infatti me dicono ma, infatti a volte mi, anche si vado per la strada, metro, qualche persone così mi: aaah che carina che sei! Così, davvero. Ce mi dice mia madre, diceva: Ma tu hai qualcosa.. Perché le persone ti apprezzano subito. E....

(*ridono*)

I: Aaah è importante! Per avere questa carattere

R: Sì (*sorride*).

I: Quindi, il esempio che non era bene, tu hai detto prima, non era apprezzata era questo posto a Lecco.?

R: Sì, questa signora... Ma, mi se che la racista, perché lei definisca in derata non nessuna è piaciuto, però la fine, come mi ha detto la sua nipote, e lei sta piacendo a mia zia. Perché vede come sei tu, poi mette sempre pulita la casa, matina sempre pulita anche la zia, perché io a la signora doveva pulire, lavarla, fa un bagno, perché lei non faceva più niente. Perché era al letto. Allora, mi vedeva che io sul' zia come io mi alzavo primo che facevo la zia di lei. Puliva bene a lei, l'attendeva prima a lei, mi deva fare l'altre cose. E come si deve fare che io sento che se devi fare tutti lavoro così. Prima ordinare per me, e le persone. Dopo vengono ideale, di pulizia, vengono ...

I: Sì. Ma... ce anche - non lo so - sente un po come un vinto, si dice?

R: Un vincolo

I: Non, che.. tu hai vinto un po? Quando è.. l'idea di te è cambiata?

R: (*ride*). Sì, sente.. sì. Qua è la mia storia.

(*silenzio*).

I: Sì, e adesso stai cercando?

R: Adesso sto cercando, sì. Perché c'è quasi un anno, più d'anno diciamo, mezzo, che non riesco trovare cosa fista, un lavoro fisso diciamo.

I: Non vuoi fissa vero?

R: No, no! Fissa come dirte un lavoro dove lavori tutti giorni. Ma ogni tanto faccio un lavoro temporare diciamo. E.. sono andata dove la signora chi mi ha chiamato e poi ho aiuto per fare pulizia. Poi, di qua, non lo so, quando mi chiamarono. O se qualcuna mi chiama per andare stirare così. Non c'è un lavoro dove io posso dire mi ha tutti i giorni e vado a lavorare e torno a casa così. E quello.

I: Sì.. è qualcuno per ritornare a casa...!

R: Sì, sapere io che a fine del mese mi trovo con qualcosa in tasse. E quello, per quello sì cercando. Per quello che sono venuta qua anche. Mi erano parlare la gente, le gente parla e dice, ma in di questo posto ogni aiuto e così. Per quello che sono venuta qua anche.

I: Ok, quindi è la prima volta che sei qua?

R: Sì, sì

I: Spero che succede.

R: Sì, spero che.. Speriamo. Provo di qualcosa. Sono sicura che qualcosa che verrà fuori.

I: Sì.

R: Deve avere sempre fiducia. Che qualcosa verrà fuori per lavorare.

I: Sì. Penso è un modo più fiducia.

R: Sì, vediamo..

I: Ok, grazie mille e buona fortuna.

Family assistant 6 - see Appendix D for thick description [was originally written in English, so there is no Italian version]

Family assistant 7

I: Sì, forse prima è bene per sapere un po di te.. Quindi, mi non ricordo il tuo nome..

R: Olga.

I: Olga. Ok. E di dove sei?

R: Da Russia.

I: Da Russia?

R: Sì, da Russia. Sono Russa.

I: Ed a quando sei in Italia?

R: Quasi 15 anni.

I: 15 anni, ok. E tutti il tempo hai lavorato come badante?

R: Sì, sì, sempre badante, però non lavorato stabile.. Arriva lavori altri, per esempio sei mese, un mese, un anno e mezzo, così. Un lavoro quattro anni e mezza all'inizio lavorato, l'ultima lavoro arriva un anno solo.

I: Un anno? Quindi, più breve..

R: Sì, non lo so, perché sei per esempio un anno. Perché unno, perché la signora caduta,

arriva 93 anni. 93 anni (*with emphasis*) caduta, sì anche era molto di polizia, arriva, lei caduta, rotto la gamba. Dopo intervento, figlio ha portato più a casa, lasciata, prima portati casa, centro di riabilitazione e dopo portata a casa di riposa.

I: Sì, una struttura o qualcosa simila?

R: Sì, una struttura per gli anziani.

I: Ok, quindi è possibile naturalmente che un lavoro finisce quando la signora...

R: ... sì, sì, sì. Per me è meglio quando il lavoro è più lungo.

I: Sì, ti preferisci?

R: Sì, sì. Prima di questa lavorata quattro anni e mezza la signora, stare con lei era molto difficile, perché aveva Alzheimer e Parkinson. Queste due malati.

I: Ah tutte due?

R: Sì, sì. Comunque quattro anni e mezza sono pochi anni. Non è poco tempo da lavorare basta. Lei morta. Morta e ho cercato altro lavoro. Ringrazio le signore del sportello familiare trovato qui sempre vengo a trovare qui.

I: Ah ok!

R: Sì danno lavoro

I: Anche con gli altri famiglie hai trovato qui?

R: Ho trovato qui, sì.

I: E in generale, ti piace questo lavoro o?

R: Non come te vi dice piace sì.. mi piace qualche, capisco, se lo sento novità, per esempio, questa signora l'ultima era molto interessante. Sì, una signora che quando era giovane, lavorata, non lo so come si chiama questo lavoro di lei, però, lei propria informata, siamo parlati con gli, lei raccontava tutto, tutto, tutto. Così, comunque molto interessante lavorare con persone italiane diciamo.

I: E anche forse dipende un po come è la persona? Perché hai detto che questa signora era lucida?

R: No, no questa prima signora. A questa signora arriva la testa lucida, abbastanza lucida sì. Lei capiva tutto. Abbiamo parlato con le.. tutto, tutto. Se io chiedo qualcosa, lei spiega con volontari, con più pacieri tutto. Anche io per esempio voglio sapere di più d'Italia, da famiglia.. Lo chiedo e lei spiega bene e tutto così.

I: Sì, hai un po più un'idea della sua vita prima?

R: Sì, anche certe, per esempio, lei piace una cosa, io mi piace un'altra cosa, ancora abbiamo discutere, però troviamo consenso. (*ride*).

I: Sì, sì, per trovare in la media?

R: Sì, sì, il consenso.

I: E hmm, tu hai lavorato fissa?

R: Fissa

I: Tutti giorni...

R: Sempre fissa. Sempre fissa. Non lo so. Forse, sono pigra, non piace alzare presto comunque...

(*ridono*).

R: Sì, con signore non abbiamo fretta nel suo parte, anche signora per esempio non ci bisogna andare al lavoro, alzare presti. Per esempio con l'ultima signora; sette e mezza mi alzo, mi lavo, mi vesto, faccio camera, dopo alle otto, vengo alzarla lì, alzarli pure faccio, lei aiuto

lavare e vesto. Dopo andiamo, andiamo, no lei prima porta in cucina, lei fa ginnastica.

I: Aah, veramente??

R: Sì, no tanto, ma così...

I: Un po per alzare?

R: Sì, sì, sì. Io faccio bagno, dopo 15 minuti, verso le otto e mezza, verso il otto e tre quarte, facciamo colazione. Preparo caffè latte di solito, e.. dopo andiamo fuori. Sempre, sempre, quasi tutti giorni siamo usciti fuori.

I: Anche quando il tempo fa come qua...?

R: No, piove no.. Anche tanto freddo no, anche per esempio un giorno che bisogno andare qualche parte o anche ha voglia la signora, siamo usciti. Così e niente. Siamo a casa. A se, per esempio, all'estate qui molto caldo, estate. E noi versa le nuove.. dopo le nuove diciamo che dopo le nuove. nuove e quarto, nuove e mezza, siamo usciti, andiamo al giardino, troviamo un posto sotto, non si.. la macchina ancora non tante calda, Comunque siamo, a troviamo un posto e si sediamo e dopo un po camminiamo, ci parliamo, e un'ora, un'ora e mezza, siamo fuori.

I: E dopo?

R: E dopo, quando c'è verso le diece e mezza, undici, torniamo a casa e io commincio preparare pranzo o anche. Faccio pulizie, dipende, un giorno, una volta faccio pulizie la macchina prima di andare. Altra volta dopo, per esempio, torniamo a casa, prima di pranzo. Qualche volte dopo pranzo faccio pulizie. No, comunque.. o sabato o venerdì faccio pulizie generale. E pranzo, signora mangiava tutti, lei piaceva cosa preparo io, lei propria mangiava con piacere tutto. Era contente per mangiare.

I: Ok, quindi non era difficile per preparare qualcosa che lei piace perche lei piace..

R: .. no lei, non che aveva preferiti piatti, qualche piatti. Mangiava tutto sì. Certo io, lo chiedo. Che preferisci oggi, l'ho detto, quello che sai? E lei mangiava tutto. Io anche facevo dolce, anche faccio dolci. Tutto faccio.

I: Sì. E ci sono ore in un giorno che tu..

R: Libera sono?

I: Sì?

R: Sì! Dopo pranzo io potevo uscire alle due o alle tre. Due ore. Torno a casa.

I: E lei riposa o?

R: Lei riposa sì. Prima tempo lì, non riposata, non riposava, seduta davanti tv, a dopo quanto era caldo, caldo, io ho detto: andiamo a letto, anche in camera più, più fresca, sul letto, rilassati, riposati. Lei andata. Questo tempo io cercava venire anche un po prima, così. Era contenta lei, anche era contenta io. Dopo la sera, pomeriggio niente. Un po prendiamo un libro, un giornale, leggiamo qualcosa.

I: Insieme o?

R: No, io leggo perché lei vedeva poco.

I: Ah ok, quindi tu leggi, lei sente?

R: Sì, sì. Pocho, no che leggo bene. Comunque, un po leggo. Lei piaceva fare paroli crociati. Però è difficile per me.

I: Quale parole?

R: Parole crociata. Scanvorde. Scanvorde (*crossword puzzle*). Sai che significa scanvorde?

I: No, non lo so.

R: Hm.. È scritto, una parola che per esempio dove vuoi riposare in mezzogiorno, per esempio al giardino o parco, noi è così.

I: Ah ok..

R: Questa lei piaceva, io.. difficile per me. Comunque, guardava televisione, così.

Pomeriggio passata così, dopo alle sette, sì alle sette facevo la cena. Pure io preparato, la sera, noi abbiamo mangiato più la verdura. La verdura con formaggio, o roba di carne. Carne, polpetti, prosciutto, questa. Comunque verdura. Sempre verdura. E così, niente. Dopo la cena, dopo la cena, lei pure, io lavo i piatti, e lei asciuga.

I: Asciuga?? Aah sì, sì, sì.

R: Asciuga, le posate.

I: Per fare secco?

R: Sì, sì, sì. Le posate significa cucchiali, forchetti, coltelli.

I: Ah sì, tutto insieme?

R: Sì, sì. E niente. Piano, piano. Facevo tutti piano perché lei era troppo lenta, lenta, che ha fatto, piano, piano. E per me questa è difficile, comunque facevo io perché sono.. intensiva così. Ah, sì, dopo la cena, quando facciamo pulisco la cucina, porto le, cambio le..

I: I vestiti?

R: Sì, mettere i pyjama, porto in bagno per preparo per dormire e dopo lei viene in cucina oppure guarda la tv. E io vado in camera, guarda computer (*ride*). Non che lavoro comunque..

I: Al computer hai contatto con la tua famiglia o?

R: Sì, sì. Sì. Mie figli, miei amici, mie amiche tutto.

I: Ah sì. Perché tu hai figli?

R: Sì. Figli, due figli. Sono tutti in Russia.

I: E questa è difficile?

R: Difficile.. Hmm.. Sì. Sono abituata già stare qui, figli di la. Non lo so difficile. Sì, certo che vorrei vedere, parlare, stare vicino. Con le nipote, figli.. Però adesso, senza problema. C'è Skype, c'è Viber, c'è Whatsapp, adesso è possibile parlare, vedere ogni minuto diciamo.

I: Con la tecnologia oggi?

R: Sì, sì, sì. Va avanti. Sì. E niente, così.

I: E come descrivere il tuo rapporto con questa signora per esempio?

R: Sì, io vedo che propria con gioia andiamo avanti, con questa signora. Mio intuizia, mio intuizia dice me che senza problemi siamo questa signora.

I: E anche all'inizio era?

R: No, inizio non lo so quando. Problema è quando.. non lo so. Non lo so come. Basta che venire prima volta. E niente. Dopo piano, piano. Lo so che persone - noi che diciamo - che troppo vecchio, non è vecchia comunque lo so che è malata. Questa malattia psicologica, non è semplice. Lo so che.. sì, tutte malattie psicologici. È difficile. Sì, sempre stare attenzione, sempre.. Loro dicono che lei è calma, tutto. Comunque anche parte di mia devo stare attenzione. Devo stare tranquilla. Senza voce alti così, piano piano. Per esempio chiedo: dove andiamo, cosa vuoi? Sempre devo chiedere. Sempre devo stare d'accordo con lui. Non che voglia mia, non come: io voglio fare così, no. O io non voglio fare come te. Io voglio fare così. No. Questo non è possibile. Se io venuto lavorare con persona, io devo, lo so, anche capisco che lavoro per persona, non per me. Questa è importante.

I: Sì. E ci sono altri aspetti che tu pensi sono importante? Quando tu fai questo lavoro?

R: Per me penso che con signore non abbiamo problemi. E così. E lui, sì ho visto lui due volte comunque, mi piaciute, piacere, proprio piaceva stare con lui. E per me, propria io detto che sono contenta, che io ho trovato questo lavoro. Lui anche è auto-sufficiente, cammina, salute è anche forte. Lui non ha problemi con cuore per esempio, non ha diabete, non ha problemi niente. E per me questo pure è importante, perché io non sono che giovane, 56 anni per me. Già l'età, l'età non che 35 anni. Comunque, andiamo avanti. (*ride*). Sono contenta, io detto che sono contenta che l'ho trovato.

I: Perché lui anche tu lavori con lui adesso?

R: Adesso non cominciato ancora. Burocrazia. Spicchiamo quando vanno contratto, non lo so. Cosa manca comunque.

I: Ah, ok. Perché.. sì, non lo so. Questi sono gli aspetti difficile? La burocrazia o con il lavoro ci sono?

R: Come difficile, no per adesso, per me non è difficile perché c'è lo dove abitare adesso dormo a casa di signora che curato prima. Però, proprio questo ultimi giorni rimasto, fine al mese ha detto stai qui, dopo devo ripere la casa. Per adesso sì, posso stare qui, una settimana posso aspettare. Anche no posso dire che sono fame, o non ho soldi, no questo c'è lo anche. Un po di soldi anche. Non c'è lo problemi con mangiare, questo no. Comunque devo la-vo-ra-re. Devo non lo so.. Adesso. Ci proviamo con donne, con signore..

I: Sì, perché questa situazione è per una settimana di più. e quindi dopo..

R: Sì, sì. Io devo occupo. Anche signore che il padrone che diciamo, datore di lavoro oppure lui ha arrabbiato. Anche questa burocrazia. Sì, lui pure ci vuole che io comincio lavorare. Anche signore vuole venire a casa, vuole stare a casa.

I: Sì. Ok, questa è anche qualcosa che tu vedi?

R: Sì, si. Sì.

I: E per esempio con lui il contatto è con lui o con la sua famiglia?

R: Con famiglia una volta ci andremo un contratto con, non lo so, un cugino diciamo, lui non dice niente. Niente, niente. Sì, abbiamo parlato però niente grave ha detto. Niente grave. Sì, ha fatto vedere la casa, niente più.

I: Perché normalmente come tu sai che cosa sono il tuo responsabilità? E qualcosa che parlate prima che tu cominci o qualcosa che succede?

R: Pfff.. non abbiamo parlato questo, però... Non lo so come posso dire, cose posso chiedere. Per me è importante quando comincio lavoro. Per me non c'è problemi, io non ho problemi proprio con lavoro. Io lo so mio lavoro, io conosco già, ho pratica. Sì, certo che ogni persona è diversa, ogni persona ha un carattere, comunque io ancora, non lo so, devo cominciare lavorare. Questa problema. L'altre niente.

I: L'altre.. Quando tu sei cominciata non c'è un problema?

R: No, sì, può dare, sì può dare. Qualche domande vengono. Però adesso non lo so. Per me non c'è la problema adesso. Niente. La problema è il tempo di lavoro.

I: E.. è qualcosa che tu hai esperienzata prima anche? Che è difficile per cominciare?

R: Sì, sì. Sì. (*deep sigh*). Non lo so cose posso dire. (*deep sigh*). Esperienze sì. C'è lo l'esperienze. Però, io ho detto che adesso.. così posso dire niente. Niente. Io visto che siamo in contatto con signore, una volta propria dieci minuti mi pare. Seconda volta sì, un oretta. Lui senza problema per me. Per me, non c'è problema. Lui. Non lo so. Questa un'ora, pure

non ho tempo per conoscere bene. Speriamo.

I: Sì, speriamo. Anche io lo spero veramente.

R: Di tutto speriamo. Di tutto. Così.

I: Sì. Non lo so, perché.. E anche possibile per te per ritornare in Russia qualche volta o non è possibile?

R: Per sempre tu vuoi dire? Per ferie?

I: Per esempio.

R: Per ferie, sì. Io cerco andare ogni anno, però.. non va sai, perché per esempio, se lavoravo con signora, io volevo andare, luglio-agosto o agosto-luglio. O agosto-settembre scusa, per un mese, un mese e mezza.

I: Sì.

R: Sì. No lavoro più con questa signora, adesso non vado. Questo anno non vado. Vado l'anno prossimo. Fra un anno. Io ho detto che io cerco sempre luglio, agosto, settembre, queste mese. O luglio, o agosto, o settembre. Forse piazzette agosto e piazzette settembre così, non lo so. Vado l'anno prossimo. Sì, adesso non vado.

I: Sì, perché non è possibile?

R: No, no, no. Io capisco che comincio lavoro due mese, anche se ha proposita, io devo rinnovare permesso di soggiorno.

I: Aaah..

R: Oh, meglio che carta soggiorno devo fare. Perché c'è lo possibilità. Fare carta soggiorno. Indeterminale.

I: Quindi, ci sono altri aspetti anche che devi fare?

R: Sì, sì. Contratto.. questo è più importante di tutto. Contratto. E niente più. Speriamo (*laughs scornfully*). Che va bene.

I: Posso chiedere l'ultima domanda?

R: Sì, sì.

I: Che cosa tu pensi che è la differenza tra cura e buona cura? Quando è cura buona? Per te?

R: Cura e buona cura?

I: Sì.

R: Mi parecchi è importante trovare d'accordo con persona. Lo so che per esempio qualche badante sua signora, sua malattia: (*makes kissing sounds and gestures*) (*puts high voice on*): 'Ohhh, cara mio, amore mia'. Sì certo anche questo come bene.. però, è meglio che andare d'accordo. Loro per esempio stamattina: (*with high voice*): aah, mia cara, mia amore, a dolce, andiamo.. ohh tu sei carina (cattiva), così, così. Questo non è va bene, meglio che stare tranquilla, calma e per esempio sempre.. Sempre stare d'accordo. Andiamo qui? Sì, andiamo qui. Cosa vuoi a mangiare? Sì, questo vuoi? Ok, va bene. Faccio questo. È così. Fare questo.

I: Non è necessario per essere completamente come..

R: Per abbracciare?

I: Sì, non lo so.. Perché sente che hai detto.

R: (*deep sigh*). Cose posso dire? Ehh, sì, anche bracciare, però sai che con uomini, devi stare molte attenziona.. Abbracciare, abbracciare. (*deep sigh*).

I: Perché?

R: Io lavorato con un signore ha 83 anni, 83 anni (*with emphasis*). Lui subito ha detto, andiamo dormire in mio letto insieme. E io detto, 'cose fare?' 'Cosa fare con me... donne,

uomi, cose fanno?' Io ho detto: a tu, riesci fare qualcosa, certo che non riesco. Io già no. Però... capito? Io cerco un po.. aparte.

I: distanza?

R: Tenere di distanzione.

I: Sì, lo capisco. Sì.

R: Con gli uomini. Hai capito?

I: Sì, lo capisco. E quindi è anche più importante per essere chiara subito?

R: Per essere tranquilla.

I: Tranquilla.

R: Sì. Con donna certo che puoi bracciare signora. (*silenzio*). E così. Anche, signore.. sono diverse.

I: E per quello preferisci lavorare con donne o?

R: Con donne sì. Anche con signore qualcuno mi ha.. mia amica per esempio, adesso lavora con signore, però pure hanno niente bracciare, non niente bracciare. Così.

I: Lei non fa questo?

R: No, no, no.

(*silenzio*).

R: Tutto bene anche.

I: Sì. Ok. Lo speriamo che è possibile presto per cominciare.

R: Sì, sì speriamo. Stamattina ha chiamato il cugine di signore Pasco, non capisco niente così che lui voleva dirmi. Ha detto, manca due documenti, forse codici fiscali, e carta del.. non lo so. Comunque, va bene. Piano, piano sì.

R: Ok, allora.

I: Sì, mille grazie.

Family assistant 8

I: Sì, forse prima è bene per sapere un po di più di te.. Quindi, di dove sei, anche mi non ricordo il tuo nome.

R: Io mi chiamo Anna.

I: Anna, ok, Anna, sì.

R: Sono peruviana.

I: Peruviana.

R: Ho 42 anni. Sono in luglio '74.

I: E da quando sei in Italia?

R: Sono da qua in Italia da 2007. Quindi tra un po, faccio a dieci anni (*ride*).

I: Sì, dieci anni sì. E sempre hai lavorato come assistenza

R: Come assistenza famiglia? Sì. Però qua. Invece in la mia paese ho fatto altre cose, però qua ho imparato tante cose.

I: Sì, quindi in Peru hai fatto l'altro lavoro?

R: Sì, l'altro lavoro. Diverso, diverso. Qua ho imparato a fare l'assistenza famigliare.

I: Sì, ok. E con quanti famiglie hai lavorato? Più meno?

R: Quindi, ho lavorato con.. uno, due.. aspetto perché non mi ricordo.

I: Forse anche lei (*the contactperson who she talked first with*) ha chiesto lo stesso?

R: Uno, due, tre, aspetto. Quattro. Non mi ricordo. (*takes her bag to grab some papers*).

I: No, va bene.

R: No, guarda, ho la mia..

I: Ah, ok. Tu hai tutti i documenti?

R: Sì, sì. Ok, ho lavorato con una, due, tre, quattro. Quattro, cinque, sei persone.

I: Sei persone?

R: Sei persone, sì.

I: Ok. E sempre fissa o?

R: No. Fino 2013 d'agosto lavorato sì con viventi (living in) no? Dopo no. Dopo no. Solo lavorato giornata lunga. Sì, giornata lunga. Non faccio più con lavoro 24/24. No.

I: No. E perché?

R: Perché, allora, perché io sono qua venuta, non ero sposata. Dopo mi sono sposata. E mio marito detto: basta, di va.

I: Ah, ok! E lui è italiano?

R: No, no, no. Lui è peruviano. Sì. E poi lo portato qua. E non vuoi fare questo lavoro no? Con viventi. Non si puoi fare. Allora, quindi niente, ho finito questo lavoro in 2013 con questa signora, che morta e poi, e poi ho detto: no, e poi ho continuato a fare lo stesso lavoro però, sempre giornata, giornata.

I: Sì, perché alle sera tu sei con tuo marito.

R: Sì, sì.

I: E hai figli anche?

R: No.

I: Ok. E.. non lo so, che cosa fai in un giorno?

R: In un giorno? Nel mio lavoro?

I: Sì. Esatto.

R: Ok. Allora. E, come ti dico, quando sei con vivente è un po diverso. È un po diverso. Sì, perché ci sono le cose che non fai con la persona. No, non lo fai, no? Per esempio, quando ero con vivente allora, non dormo io, non se dormi, perché sia sonno, o ti parlano no? Di notte. Poi ti devi fare, prima devi lavarti. Dipende del quello ti dicono i figli no? Perché altri ti dicono per esempio, prima a lavare, faccia la colazione, dopo le lave. Un altro ti dice: no, prima le lava, e dopo fai colazione.

(*interruption by one of the contact persons*).

R: E altri ti dicono così no? Allora dipende. Di solito quando sei con vivente, ti dicono prima de pulirla.. Allora, facciamo colazione insieme (*with emphasis*). Dopo, dovevo per esempio cambiarla, la vestita. La vestimenta. Poi parlare, parlare perché a gli anziani piacciono parlare tanto. E poi ripetono le stesse cose. Le stesse cose, le stesse cose. Raccontano delle sue vite, quello che fatto. Io ho curato due persone che avevano 97 anni. Quindi, loro parlavano anche della guerra.

I: 97 wauw!

R: Parlavano anche della guerra. Piangevino. Noi mi raccontano e piangevano. È bello per curare gli anziani hèn?

I: Sì? Qualcosa che ti piace?

R: Raccontano le cose che io rimango così (*poses like someone who is listening with open mouth*).

(ridono).

R: E poi, niente. Parlando o a volte per esempio a loro piace per fare la bicicletta. Loro fanno la bicicletta.

I: Anche loro fanno la bicicletta?

R: Sì, sì.

I: Quindi, anche questo forse dipende un po' delle persone come loro sono fisicamente?

R: Sì, sì. Perché io le due persone che l'ho curato erano magre, magre, e facciamo la bicicletta no? Però, quando facevo io, mi stancavo!

(ridono).

R: Ma loro! (ride). E poi, per esempio facendo tutto questo arrivo immediatamente tu devi cucinare no? Loro stanno lì con te, o guardando tv, dopo dovete mangiare insieme... Io di solito, alle persone che ho curato, nessuna, nessuna andava a letto dopo pranzo.

I: Nessuna?

R: Nessuna, nessuna. Nessuna. Sta parlavano, parlavano, parlavano (laughs scornfully). Sì. Poi arrivare un momento che dovevamo andare fuori no? Fuori per esempio stavano con le amiche, uscivamo alle quattro, alle cinque, e poi arriviamo alla casa alle sette, alle otto.

(ride). Sì, perché girivamo, girivamo.

I: Sì, caminavate?

R: Sì, sì. E poi, basta. Dopo, mangiano. Dopo, io sta annoia, perché al pomeriggio sono un po' stanchi.. sono un po' annoia. Sono stanca.

I: Perché tu non hai l'ore libere o?

R: Certo, certo. Io facevo due ore libere, quando ero con vivente. Quando ero con vivente. In quel momento ritornavano i figli, o la figlia. Non le lasciava da sola. E poi, niente.

Mangiavamo, erano stanchi, però non andavano a letto. No, no, no. Nessuna andava al letto alle undici, alle mezzanotte. Sì, tarde. Poi, era tutto questo che facevo no? Invece per esempio quando se lavoravo esterno, arriviamo farle le colazione. Era un po' diversa anche no?

Perché..

I: L'ore sono un po' diverse?

R: Sì... e poi tu arrivi più fresca. Perché quando tu sei convivente, non dormi, perché loro ti non lasciano dormire. Invece, quando tu fai esterno, allora, comincio più chiara no? Arrivo a lavoro più carica perché hai dormito bene. (ride). E poi, se fanno le stesse cose. Però, per esempio non se tu che li mette a letto, è la famiglia che le mettano al letto. Quando tu vai e sta solamenti otto ore, una giornata lunga.

I: Sì, ok. Quindi, questa è anche una differenza grande per te forse?

R: Sì, sì, sì, sì. E anche un po' per loro, anche un po' per loro perché loro sapevano per esempio, non vanno neanche la cena con me. Loro sanno che per esempio arriva la famiglia, sono loro che lo fanno da mangiare. Un po' diverso, anche per loro.

I: Ah, sì. Sì. Quindi, ora quando tu lavori non fissa, ma giornata, è dalle colazione alle tu prepari la cena o no?

R: No, no.

I: Sì, ah ok, quindi questo è il momento che la famiglia viene.

R: Sì, viene la famiglia e lo fanno da mangiare. Perché alcuni sono diversi, però nonni vogliono una persona. Per esempio l'ultima che ho curato abitava da sola, ma lei non vuole una persona ma lei.. Ma io ho lavorato tanti anni con questa persona, io, quando lo lascio, e

andavo a casa, aveva paura.. Perché questa non sarà di notte, davvero la sola. Però è lei che non voleva una persona. Anzi, c'è un letto, accanto a lei (next to her), però non voleva nessuna. Nessuna.

I: Ah, sì.

R: E a mi invece tanto, perché no. Però lei non voleva nessuna. Perché diceva che ancora la vuole, poteva fare tutto. Invece, non era vero. Non è vero.

I: Aah, quindi nella sua testa era un po diversa come la realtà come è possibile per fare da sola?

R: Sì, sì. Sì. Quasi tutte sono così, hè? Quasi tutte sono così.

I: E, questa è anche difficile un po?

R: Quando la pensano così?

I: Sì.

R: Sì, sì. Per esempio.. mi ha capitato per esempio che, vogliono mettersi la casa. Allora, io lo volevo aiutare. E lascia me, lascia me. Posso fare io da sola. E poi stanno lì. Cinque minute.. io faccio finta che lo non guardo, dopo mese, e poi allora, hai visto che non ce la fai? Hai visto? Faccio io. Loro si erano contro, ma dopo... Sì, è dura molto tempo..

(ridono).

I: E che cosa è bisogno per loro, quando loro lasciano tu fare questo?

R: Di solito all'inizio sono sempre persone che non vogliono altre persone. Per esempio al nonno che facciamo questo lavoro. Però, piano, piano, con i giorni. Poi dipende perché tu devi vedere come la persona, per esempio ci sono le persone che li non piacciono che tu dirla 'tu'. No, tu devi dire 'Lei'. Signora, signor. Ci sono le persone così. Altre non vogliono sedete cati. Allora, passa una settimana tu hai capito come è quella persona. Tu sai che cosa li piace, che cosa.. se una che piace che tu fai delle cuoco, lo fai. Però se un'altra cuoco o per esempio, la mia prima esperienza: ma quella me insultava. Ma tutte di tutta, per sultano, ti dicono delle parolacce ti dicono tante cose. E io penso che.. - come ti spiego - Con gli anni diventano così. E poi, mi dicevano per esempio: una era per esempio molto, come ti dico, ti dice a me Lei perché io sono stata una professoressa (*with emphasis*)! Ok, signora, ok, signora. (*ride*). Sì, dipende. Non tutto sono così. Un'altra come ti dico, la mia prima esperienza è stata terribile (*with emphasis*).

I: Ah sì?

R: Sì. Perché, nel senso, ma se tu vieni di fare un lavoro, e dopo vieni qua no? E ti trovo con queste persone, che ti fanno male, che ti insultano, che te primo lavoro? Tu rimane male no? Questa mi vogliono anche picchiare. Dopo da questa, ho imparato come sono loro. Allora sua figlia mi diceva per esempio: Fai così. Come le dico? Che sento di qua, ti lascia di là? Perché se tutta la prendi, per lei sempre piangerai.. (*ride*). E io vero, perché il mio primo lavoro sia stato terribile no? Cambia lavoro..

I: Ma perché esattamente era terribile?

R: Perché, allora, giovane dal Perù, ho fatto un altro lavoro. Tutte trove a fare questo lavoro. E poi, la persona ti insulta, non ti vuole a casa, e ti vuole anche picchiare. E per te... tutto il mondo diverso, tutto mondo diverso no? E primo, è stato così. Dopo, io tutto abituato.. gli anziani sono così. E poi, dopo, hai ti impari, dice, le esperienze no? E dopo imparato no? Come sono.. Che tutti, al vivere.

I: Ma all'inizio hai pensato, che cosa fai?

R: No, io piangevo, ma dura, mi piangevo tanto. Piangevo.. anche mi ricordo che una volta l'anziana ha perso la sua cervello, mi voleva picchiare. Poi, un'altra volta ha preso un coltello, mi la vesso qua in faccia sì. Sì la prima, sì. Dopo, l'altri no. No.

I: Ma che cosa tu fai in questo momento? Quando..

R: Io piangevo, piangevo. Perché mio primo lavoro! Allora. Più piangevo e mi chiamavo alla figlia. E mi se come la sapevo primo era arrivata, lo sei che la facevo piena veramente.

Facevo piena. Per gli altri, per secondo, terzo, quattro, tu impari. Allora, tu invece, sono così.. Non insultano, perché veramente ti insultano. Ti dico queste cose brutte. Però, ti impari.. sono così. Questa è mia lavoro.

I: Ma come tu impari? O come.. non lo so. Che è importante per imparare? Per essere - non lo so come si dice - che cosa devi imparare per essere capibile?

R: Ok, sì, allora per esempio devo, io sono una persona molto sensibile.. e come ti dico, cambiare lavoro per me stato all'inizio terribile, all'inizio. Primo lavoro. Dopo, come ti dico, facevo la figlia e ha seduta con me: tu devi fare questo mi diceva. Devi, se mia mamma ti insulta, che tente di fai te esca di la, perché altrimenti..

I: Hmm. Lei ha detto?

R: Sì. La figlia mi diceva.

I: Sì. sì.

R: E piano, piano, facevo così. Piano, piano. E poi, se una volta, lei mi ha detto almeno; mi perso.. perché... lei se rendeva conto quello che mi diceva. E poi, veniva: scusa mi, mi tatto male. Sì, se rendeva conto. E mi ha detto. Mi tatto male, perché.. E poi, un giorno, (*ride*), mi fatto ride perché sua figlia era arrabbiata, dice; perché lei fatto questa a Anna, tu la fai piangere troppo. Guarda, sta una, ognuna vedrai te quella ti fai stare da zitta, zitta, zitta. E lei mi ha preso la mane, e: chi hai tratto con la mia figlia? Ma tu vedi che io te dico come la mia figlia, è vero.. perché lei diva anche con la figlia.

(*ridono*).

R: Io, va bene..

I: Sì, come... no è solo io?

R: No.. no vero. Perché lei litigava come le figlie, mama mia. La figlia, perché loro devano. Una, l'altra sì se arrabbiava.

I: Loro non vengono di più dopo questo?

R: Eh, loro sì. Perché hanno due figli, fermo io. Invece un altro lavoro ce ho visto cose che io rimasto... no. Dopo fare questo lavoro, come ti dicevo ho imparato tante cose, però gli anziani sono sempre così. Con i figli, anzi, con la vicina, sì. Era un po così, però io imparato, quando cominciava dopo, quando cominciava, va bene, dopo.. e come lo sai, qualche imparato, dopo mi dice questo, una dice quello. Allora. Continuo questo, ridevano, tu impari. Impari perché, come ti spiego, tu impari per loro vanno per cattivi anche, loro vanno perché loro sono malati. Fare ti dice perché io mi la devo prendere con le persone non sono a posto no? Non sono a posto tanto. E allora così imparato. Il secondo lavoro.. quando finito questo lavoro, mi stava raccontando, sua figlia mi ha detto: guarda, che tu puoi fare questo lavoro, perché sei sempre stata con mia mamma quanto tempo, e la mia mamma è stata una terrorista così (*ride alto*).

(*ridono*).

I: Wauw.

R: Io ridevo, no, no. Ho trovato un altro lavoro, E poi, era la stessa cosa. Però, qua erano, non erano donne, erano sta maschi. La mamma, era la mamma, però, figli maschi. Allora, questa mi sultava, invece allora lamenta dell'uno, lamenta l'altro perché erano in tre, lamenta del uno, lamenta l'altro, avevano le - come si dice -

I: Le moglie?

R: Sì, le moglie. Sì. Una mi diceva tutto... No, non loro a me, scusa mi, non loro a me, l'anziana quando siamo andava. Ma lo sai che quello fatto la putana vero?

I: Oh my..

R: Sì, lo sai come quella lì, allora, io dicevo, ma sì con loro è così? Figurati con me. Sì, mi dicevano tante cose. Però, con lei non, alcune cose mi verivanno, alcune cose. Perché a volte era un po.. Però, dopo..

I: Per esempio?

R: Per esempio un giorno, si mi avevano chiamato, che la mia mamma l'aveva trovato lo cancro. In quella settimana, non lo so cosa venuta mia mente ma come sempre litigava, sempre non era contenta con niente. Mi diceva che i figli non la volevano, che lei vuole andare a vivere con loro, però loro... un po di verità.. perché loro, noi eravamo in tre, badanti. In tre badanti, perché..

I: È molto!

R: Perché, erano mentre perché giovane sono arrivata, allora, non c'era nessuna, era io, e il figlio mi ha detto: guarda, che ho bisogno di una persona 24/24. Va bene, io ho detto. Invece, ma ho bisogno sabato, domenica. E io lo ho detto: sabato, domenica, non c'era posso fare perché anche io devo respirare, non è facile il lavoro con gli anziani. E poi, era con vivente, allora no, io non posso fare questo lavoro. E poi le dico: lei deve capire questo che io devo respirare un po, anche si viene paga €5000, io questo lavoro no. Perché ci sono le persone che escono solo una volta a mese, ci sono le persone..

I: Aah, wauw, pff, sì.

R: Ci sono le persone, per i soldi no? Io no perché, dopo hai un mal di testa veramente (*ride*).

I: Non è possibile.

R: No, no, no.

I: Cosa, hai fatto?

R: No, io non faccio tanto, no, no, no. E lui mi ha detto: maaa, tu hai un'amica? Sì. E mette, va bene, dopo te lo chiederanno, de porta la. Ma così ha passato un mese, fine settimana facevano loro. (*ride*). Per un mese, dopo mi ha detto: no, no, no, no.

I: I figli?

R: Sì, no, mi dice: Anna, non c'è la posso fare. Porta noi la ragazza. (*ridono*).

R: Allora, ero io che quella facevo un po più presto. E dopo c'era quella che sta il sabato e domenica. E dopo c'era un'altra. Perché devo uscire due ore no? Due ore dal lunedì e venerdì. Quindi, eravamo in tre. E lui mi diceva: io preferisco pagare, ma non voglio rimanere con mia mama. Io: ok, va bene. Io non so come la sopporti. Perché veramente ci sono i figli che sono, con questa signora, mi spiega sempre.

I: Ma che cosa, con lei era più difficile con gli altri anziani o? Era per te un po uguale? Perché sente un po come lei era molto..

R: Sì, perché.. In generale. No, perché penso.. ma se come avevo già un'esperienza prima, allora per me stato un po, non te dico stava facile perché era un po... Però, sì, pesante quando dormivo, dopo il carattere, tutto se lo controllato, perché era in generale veramente, dopo io quando mi avete va così. E non erano persone che ti faccia, non erano persone che tu le poteva questa. Però, tu tarte di parlare, allora, quelle cose che piaceva, parlano tanto, tanto. E così. Lei se abituata a me, s'abituata tantissimo a me. E poi, come te divo, eravamo in tre. Però, in questo lavoro si bisogno cosano, per esempio come che ti dico, non la sopportavo i figli. E un giorno, però.. (*ride*). Adesso, rime a ride perché, io l'ho visto arrivare suo figlio che era commercialista, arrivava sempre, perché in quel condominio c'era l'ufficio. Arrivava sempre, parlava ma non lo so perché, ma l'anziana era sempre tutti giorni, perché lui arrivava tutti giorni, alla mattina, ma tutti giorni litigava con lui. Alle nove, poi no. Che arriva e va a casa, a vedere la mama, e poi vanno con la mama, tutti giorni. Un giorno, non lo so per cosa mi hai preso. Lei urlava, lui urlava. Lei: grrrr (*makes a gesture of someone that hits someone*). E io sono così (*hiding herself, making herself small*).

I: Sì, esatto, che cosa tu fai in questo momento?

R: Perché con la prima non successe questa. Come ti ripeto, con la prima, arriva sempre la mamma, l'altra se arriva faceva, la stessa così, la braccia (*makes aggressive gestures*).

I: Veramente cattivi?

R: Lascia mi, lascia mi! (*imitating and screaming*). Io sto in cucina così (*hiding*). Duro. Era così. E poi la lasciava tutto no? Non lo so come ti dico, lividi, lasciava tutti lividi.

I: Lividi?

R: Quando tu te fai, quando tutte fa male, per esempio con queste cose diventa una colora quale sono..

I: Aaah sì, sì. Wauw, con blu e verde?

R: Verde sì. Poi da me, per sei mese. Per sei mese. Invece, scendo all'ufficio per i soldi. Scendovo. Signora, no, no, no. Perché erano in tre, perché tutti le fratelli mi hanno detto che è per colpa mia, che è successo. Va bene io. Vedo solo questo sì. Dopo agli altri anziani che io curato, no, no. Ma certo che sempre litigano con la mamma, perché sempre ho curato anziani, però solo questo un po di violenza ho visto, solo una volta.

I: Sola una volta? Solo questa volta?

R: Sola una volta sì. Sì, l'altre risono e ho visto..

I: O con parole?

R: Sì. Ogni volta vogliono dire niente. Ciao, ciao, me ne va, se ne va.

I: E perché.. con la famiglia, con questa famiglia, la famiglia di anziani, come descrivi questo rapporto?

R: Ah con me? Con tutti?

I: Sì.

R: Ah, bene. Sì fino adesso parlo con tutti. Perché sempre ci sono le cose che io non capisco, per esempio in documenti, e in questo sì. Per esempio, tu parlo del mio marito chi va un altro lavoro no? Perché mio lavoro lo capisco tutto, lo capisco. Però per esempio del mio marito, chiede aiuto. A loro, e loro mi aiutano, abbiamo un buon rapporto. Io con le persone che ho lavorato con tutti un buon rapporto.

I: Ah sì, quindi anche adesso c'è contatto?

R: Sì, sì. Andiamo per esempio a volte in pizzeria, a volte, capirti, perché per esempio ti parlo

delle persone che abitano qui con cui mi posso trovare. Perché io abitano qui. Allora un caffè, magari passo: dai, vieni, che ti offro un caffè. Sì farlo. Adesso le persone che abitano un po' lontano, si chiamano o loro mi chiamano come stai, o mare un messaggio sì, sì. Abbiamo un buon rapporto con le persone. Non litigano mai con nessuna, no. Io preferisco, all'inizio io dico sempre, si dobbiamo litigare, io preferisco lide, qua finiamo il rapporto di lavoro. Perché punto lavorare. Per esempio c'è già pesante lavorare con gli anziani. E poi litigare con i figli, con la famiglia, non è bello. Io preferisco lascia il lavoro e fine.. Non m'è successo, non è capitato fino adesso. Però, la penso così. Perché se tu non stai bene, sono delle cose che si vanno accumulando. Alla fine, finire per sa litigando, finire al rapporto. Non mi vengo così. Quindi..

I: Altrimenti è completamente..

R: .. non vengo così. Meglio finiamo qua, e lasciamo qua lavoro. Io preferisco mi la guarda, magari io penso così, altre persone la pensa di no, diverso. Io preferisco stare senza lavoro, litigare con la persona. Non mi piace. No. Nessuna la persona che litiga. Per quello che - come ti dico - con le persone che ho lavorato, fino adesso, ho un buon rapporto di lavoro. Un buon rapporto fino adesso. Sì, sì.

I: E questo è importante con la famiglia, e anche con gli anziani o?

R: Certo, certo. Sì, importantissimo, importantissimo. Sì. Come ti ripeto, gli anziani sono un po' pesante. E poi, mi stare a litigare, te guardano male, no allora mi dico no. Preferisco veramente è fine di lavoro, fine il rapporto e cerco un'altra lavoro. Però, fino adesso come ti riposto, sì fine adesso come ti dico io chiamo loro, mi chiamano, lo sai, andiamo mangiare, bere un caffè, fine adesso stiamo bene. Con tutti.

I: Sì, sente bene.

R: Anche con quella signora che di 2007, anche con lei.

I: La prima?

R: Sì, anche con lei, anche con lei. Tante tante cose, mi da tante cose, sì, sì.

I: E quindi, quando tu fai questo lavoro, in questi momenti, anche hai sentito apprezzata?

R: Sì, mi sento bene sempre con una famiglia, sì. Fine adesso sì. Perché ho sentito, ho sentito anche tu magari con gli altri persone, ho sentito che altre persone che ti danno come il lavoro e basta, invece io no. No, no. A mi sempre. Per esempio quando ero da sola, da sola, mi hanno portata a casa loro per natale, per capodanno, c'ero sola no? Invece adesso è diverso, perché io c'ho la famiglia, e lo.. mi hanno stato sempre bene, sempre bene. Sì. Mi ho sentito sempre bene in quel lavoro che io ho fatto, sì.

I: E quindi è un po', non lo so, ma è un po' come famiglia?

R: Sì, sì. Sì. Dipende anche tanto della persona, in questo caso ti dico della badante. Dipende tanto. Perché ci sono le persone che non lo so come ti dice, magari perché io sono così, e a me mi piace parlare tanto anche. Invece parlo tanto.

I: Ti piace?

(ridono).

R: A parlo, per esempio sono una che sorride sempre. Però non lo faccio perché, per.. come ti dico, per piacere le persone, no. Lo faccio perché io sono fatatesi. Io sorrido sempre. Rido con tutti, dal mattina o quando mi alzo. Sì, per esempio, scendo un pullman, sorride sempre, saluto, sorrido, sono fatta così, magari, alcuna mi ho detto sempre, all'inizio, non capito, tu sei il solare. 'Aah, che cosa è questo?' ho pensato. E dopo, capito che cosa è. Però, magari è un

po anche il mio carattere, che mi aiuta. Perché altri persone sono un po.. per esempio i mie amiche mi dice, no guarda, che non mi piace. Però magari che tu arrivi con una facile che fai lo dico, anche se tu hai problemi in casa, devi lascia alla casa, basta. Uguale sono io, ci sono problemi al lavoro? Lo lascio li. Dopo casa mia..

I: È possibile per fare un, come si dice, un po un cambio anche? Quando lavoro è difficile, lascia qua, e anche le altre..

R: Certo, io sono una persona che no, non ti combino le cose. Io.. come ti dico.. per esempio, ci sono i problemi perché io sono da Peru quindi tutta la famiglia è la. Allora, non è bello, avere la famiglia lontano. E tante volte mia mamma come te devo, mia mamma ha cancro e mia padre ha dei problemi perché anziano. Però non sono persone che me raccontano le cose e piango, e disturba la mente, pensare di domani e dopodomani, no. Meno male che non facciamo così, neanche con mia famiglia, sono fatta così. E magari è meglio per avere un buon rapporto con quelle persone, quelle persone che io lavoro con gli anziani, sì. Certo, non è facile, per curare per gli anziani è un po.. come ti dico. un po di penso perché l'altre persone pensano come te, invece gli anziani sono... (*ride*). Tu dici bianco, loro dicono nero.

I: Sì, sì. E queste è.. non lo so perché tu dici che anche il tuo carattere è un aiuto in questi modi.

R: Sì, penso di sì, sì.

I: Ma cosa sono i momenti impegnati? Per te?

R: Quando lavoro?

I: Sì.

R: Quale sono i momenti che sono impegnata?

I: Sì. Si dice no?

R: Sì.

I: Sì, quando devi fare qualcosa ma è difficile.

R: Ah, ok, ho capito, capito sì.

(*ridono*)

R: Non sai con fatta faterle per parlare

(*ridono*).

R: Per esempio, al momento da fare di bagno. È una cosa terribile (*with emphasis*), allora ti picchiano, ti picchiano tanto. Io faccio solo quando è necessario, quando queste che loro fanno, sola metto, non avuto problema, se lasciavano bagnare, se lasciavano fare il bagno. A con le alte, ti picchiano, ti picchiano. Sì, e poi cambiare e fare l'igiene, il bidet, cambiare la... pantalone, sono di momenti veramente critici. Anche tante volte, anche mangiare. Perché loro mangiano poco, poco.

I: Sì, hai detto che due erano molto magri?

R; Sì, sì. Poco, poco. Ma i figli vogliono la deve mangiare di più. Come ti faccia mangiare di più? Magari di fa mangiare sì, però non quello che vogliono dopo. No, quello che vogliono. E sono questi, questi. Per esempio l'igiene, e poi mangiare. Sono i momenti più, più critici... (*ride*).

I: E come senti in questi momenti? Tu?

R: Come mi sento io?

I: Poi le esperienze sai che ti fa.. come posso dire. All'inizio è terribile per tu, cosa fare? Non sai come, che cosa dirle, non sai.. Però gli anni passano, fai delle esperienze, allora, lo sai

come comportate, per esempio quando mi picchiavano, quando mi picchiavano: ma perché mi picchi, lo dico. Lasciame, comincia di urlare. Allora, una cosa che deve facendo rire, ma se come loro fanno così (*makes a gesture*), si danno anche tu. E loro fanno, si bagnata anche tu, ridevano. Sì, sono...

(*ridono*).

R: E dopo le passano, dopo le passano. Non sempre, non sempre, non sempre, non, sono molto difficile. E mangiare si una cosa: non, io chiudo la bocca, e non.. i chiudano la bocca, i chiudano la bocca.

I: È un po impossibile per..

R: Sì. Allora, va mangiare! No. Va bene, non mangiare. Io sto seduto .. io mangio, loro mi guardano. È buono? Certo che buona! Sto guardando per esempio la TV, ma io guardo di sempre a loro, e io lo vedo che vanno le piatto, stanno.. almeno mangiato un po no?

I: Quindi, spesso è meglio per non guardare.

R: Sì, tu contini e loro.. per peggio ancora. che tu contini, peggio ancora. Perché loro dicono no è no. E no, no, no. O a volte dirle per esempio, si tu mangi questo, lo porto ti un gelato. O quello che loro piacciono. Allora, mangiano, non sempre.. Funziona..

I: È un buon soluzione sì.

(*ridono*).

R: Guarda che il mondo di anziani è un mondo.. è un altro mondo veramente. Sì. Poi sai che se penna perché io, ora, io lo capisco perché anche mia mamma no? Non è che anziana anziana, però è una persona che si piani per la sua abitudine. E loro piangono per la solitudine. Loro se ti vogliono una vera figlia, come mia mamma. Più di sento mia mamma, io capisce ogni volta di più di anziani. Perché mi piangere? Loro piangono, che ti piangi, che io voglio i miei figli, ma loro non mi vogliono. Perché per esempio, lui è sposata, allora non voleva venire.. Io capisco la solitudine è una cosa...

I: Ma è lo stesso come ti senti qualche volte o no?

R: Non ti capisco.

I: Perché tu capisci è difficile per gli anziani che i figli non sono qui, e lo stesso per te? Per la tua situazione?

R: Ah per mia mama?

I: Sì, sì.

R: Sì, sì. Nel senso che, per esempio, quando mi chiamo mia mamma, a volte mi shhhh.. per una ora parliamo, perché pianga. Non ci hai paura, si sente qua. Io subito dico, ma, diventa rateggo perché io lavorando per quello anziani, e non è che non vengo. Perché io fino adesso, lavorato con le persone brave, perché lo so anche che ci sono figli che solo vengono a date soldi. Dopo ciao. Invece io, no. Veramente io ho avuto fortuna perché vengono sempre e solo che loro vogliono a darle con loro, ma tutto alla giornata magari, andare, vitare insieme. Ma il figlio, la figlia non permetterà mai che erano loro. No. Perché sono un po pesante.

I: Sì, come hai spiegato prima che i figli che hanno fatto un mese nel fine settimana.

R: E poi vengono. Anche per esempio con questa signora che ti dico, Io mi ricordo che una natale ho lavorato e signora mi diceva, ancora vengo al mezzo giorno, e ti porto a casa mia, con mia mama e così mangiamo. Va bene, io non volevo andare ti dico la verità perché la figlia era un po... E stiamo mangiando li, l'anziano non è che te mangia come noi. Mangiano, mangia, o fare de cose.. Allora, faccio, fare tutte le cose la moglie del signor questo: aaah,

come è possibile? Fatto a mama! Come è possibile che mangia così, che mangia cosa. Che guarda! Che.. siamo ormai al lino, lei dice così. Io; io mangiavo. Ma che strana questa signora.

I: Ma era molto frustrazione?

R: Sì, sì. Perché io so lo fatto, se io lo va dirle, io.. Però, a volte ci sono persone che non poi parlare con le persone, e non lo fa costa. Lei mangia sempre così. E veramente, perché un anziano non mangia come noi. Non mangia come noi. E mi ricordo che dopo, quando era la cena finito, ha preso un regalo. A volte tu guarda le cose che ti rimane così. Queste è per te.

Io: Mamma mia. Lo guardo era una casa; picchiava, hai visto con me? Tra a me, così. E io lo dico, ma no magari, guarda che avuto una giornata terribile magari, però no. Io solo diciamo, io sapevo che, sapevo che era lei sempre così. Come ti dico, bisogna capire tanti tanti, ma tanto gli anziani no? Una è diversa l'altra, l'altro diverso a l'altra.

I: E questo.. perché tu hai detto le persone sono diversi, completamente diversi, anche tu fai diverso un po, ma è qualcosa per esempio che, prima tu cominci, parli con la famiglia per fare un contratto con le tue responsabilità? O come fa questo?

R: Allora, di solito, per esempio, quando io fatto con gli occhi: ma quanti anni esperienza hai? Aah, tanto. Allora, sai cosa devi fare? Sì. Va bene, mia mamma, per esempio una che non mi era capitata mai, ha spiegato, devi fare questo, devi fare l'altre cose, lo sai fare tu? Sì. Ok. Solo così. Perché l'altre cose mi mettere so fare io. Sì, per esempio, devo pulire, devo stirare, devo fare lavatrice, no? Ma tutto quello cose devo fare io.

I: Sì, e quindi tutte queste cose sono chiari all'inizio che tu..

R: Sì, all'inizio. Altri ti dicono: puoi pulire la casa va bene, ma se non puoi fare, non importa. In vero, cura mia mamma. Ma non tutti. Altre te dicono: devi fare questo, fare l'altre, ok va bene.

I: Sì, ok. Quindi anche dipende un po?

R: Sì, sì. È dipende della famiglia. Non sono sempre tutti uguale. Io lavoro con un'altra. Abituava una villa. E devo pulire la casa. L'anziana camminava. L'anziana camminava. Però, come te dico, camminava con un girello.

I: Con?

R: Girello. Con (*makes a gesture of someone who leans on a stick*).

I: Ah sì, sì.

R: Camminava con un girello. E poi l'anziana lei piaceva sempre essere a letto. Io la sapevo che sempre raga con me, però io mi devo pulire, lei mi aveva detto, all'inizio, la figlia: tu devi pulire, devi.. cucinare. L'otto che io facevo erano... di qua, di là, di qua.

I: Era troppo?

R: Sì, perché era una villa. Non era neanche un appartamento. Che è più piccolo no? Sì, non tutte come te dico sono così. Non tutti. Altre ti dicono: no. Sì, se puoi, va bene, farlo. Se non lo puoi, farlo va bene, ma mia mamma prima. Sì. Altre non ti dicono niente. Altre ti dicono, va bene, tu sai farlo, tanti anni di esperienza, veramente tu sai. Perché ci sono, perché io lo sapevo, a me hanno detto: ma queste persone, la famiglia, che a volte hanno, a volte con gli occhi con altre persone invece, perché magari alcuni persone pretendono, non fare niente in che senso. Perché dicono che vengo pagata per curare la anziana, non per fare l'altre cose. Io: che strano, io faccio l'altre cose. Io pulisco la casa, io..

I: Tutte le cose?

R: Sì, faccio tutto. Perché sarà ce fare? Quando sono un appartamento. Una villa sarà terribile. Perché non dirà sola, l'anziana. Abita con una figlia, con un figlio, è diverso. A prego, la fai anche cose dei figli, devo stirare. Era un po diverso. Però sì, lo so che ci sono delle persone che pretendono solo curare gli anziani, ma non se puoi. Non se puoi, devi sistemare la casa. Altre dicono, va bene, tu, quando ero con vivente, puoi sta casa tua, riterrà con mia mamma, quindi fai tutto quello che fai a casa tua. Quindi, la devi pulire, ma in veramente, perché sei tu la che abiti li.

I: Sì, è un po più libera in un senso? Quando loro dicono, fai come tu fai normalmente in la tua casa?

R: Sì, sì. Io, meno male che avuto belle esperienze, uno di questo era, non era.. il figlio, il figlio. E io mi ricordo che la pagamente era bianco, ma lui dice (*she whispers*): ‘anche se ci avevamo mia piccolina’.. tu guardi. E questo..

I: Ah terribile.

R: Sì, mi ricordo che anche il frigo era bianco, ‘non lo so cosa fatto. Solo stava a mangiare, non so che cosa’, perché ieri la merenda all'anziana. E poi, non lo so perché aperto, però è rimasto. Uno ha detto mi: ‘non lo disturbo’. Però, se tu la guarda, io non posso. Tu non è.. per lei, guarda che.. sì, mentecatto uno. Siamo rimasto in buon rapporto, però sì. Sì, c'è di tutto. Però, grazie dio come ti ripeto, che sono, ho lavorato con figli presente, che non lasciano nonno, grazie a dio. Perché ci sono le persone che ti lasciano, povero veramente. Sì.

I: Che loro non sono di qui mai?

R: No, non sono a casa mai. Sono a casa mai, ma poi però si avuto una esperienza, che mi ricordo, che facevo un sabato e la domenica a un'anziana. La prima volta che ho lavorato con anziani, belle anziana io lavoro. (*ride*). E mi ricordo che quando apro il frigo, era tutto brutto. E l'anziana mangiava sabato pasto, domenica pasta. Io dicevo all'altra ragazza, che era Boliviana, invece ma la figlia era sole mi da dieci, quindici per la settimana. E così, tutti giorni mangia pasta. Se ce di più, come ti dico, c'è di tutto. Grazie a dio che in quello lavoro che io ho fatto, non ho visto questo. Solo in questo che facevo il sabato e domenica però per me, era due mese l'ho fatto. Ma si vedi tutto veramente. Sì, vedi di tutto.

I: Sì, forse questo è anche qualcosa che voglio chiedere, che cosa tu pensi è la differenza cura e buona cura? Con tu.. per esempio tu hai detto adesso che con il frigo era solo pasta, è anche curare, ma forse non è curare in un buono modo, e che cosa per te è la differenza tra cura e buona cura?

R: Di parte mia e del parte della famiglia?

I: Sì, sì.

R: Io penso che.. aspetta, prima una cura, perché ci sono tante persone che lo fanno solo per i soldi, però io ho imparato che tutta da d'affezione agli anziani, te affezione dopo le, come ti dico, tante che è la stessa cosa che la capita, anche tu. Lo senti, io penso che una cura è solo per i soldi.. Ma una buona cura penso che, penso che è diverso. Penso che, per esempio, tante persone non sanno che farle, che darle da mangiare. A volte sì, ci sono delle famiglia: questo devi mangiare, questo devi mangiare. Come questa signora che stava il frigo, del frigo che era come ho detto. Allora, invece, lunedì mangia questo, martedì dal lunedì e venerdì mangiava.. Io va bene, la prima settimana, ma la prossima settimana, mangiava lo stesso. E la prossima lo stesso. E io lo dico: scusi, mangia così? E sì, mi dice, perché? Ma secondo me, non è buono che mangia così. Devi mangiare diverso, perché va bene, dal lunedì a venerdì, mangia

diverso. Però lei già lo sa che lunedì mangia per esempio riso diciamo così. Devi mangiare quello. E tu, cosa pensi? Secondo me, devi fare l'alimentazione. Va bene, facciamo lunedì questo, una settimana e poi l'altra fanno.. Alcuni persone te ascoltano, altri no. No, non va bene. Così si mangia, così. Io penso che per fare una, una buona cura, anche, non lo so, come cambiare gli alimenti. Perché così come noi, si mangiamo pasta tutti giorni, ci stanchiamo. E anche gli anziani.

I: Sì, sì. Non è una differenza.

R: Certo. E poi, una buona cura penso che ha anche.. Scusa, penso che ha per esempio farle delle cuoco, le caricarle, perché loro diventano come bambini. Dove mentano.. così con questo che devo, che picchiano tutto, ma loro diventano come bambini. E poi avere tante, tante pazienza. (*ride*). Tante, tante. Sì. Ci sono gli anziani che sono tranquilli, tranquilli. Lo so perché come te dico, le mie amiche hanno detto. Anche non curavo fino adesso una tranquilla (*ride*). A voi con gli anziani, con i maschi non lo lavoro. No. No, perché.. a volte, a volte, non sempre, sono un po.. come si dice, la mano... (*makes a gesture of touching*). No. Perché per lavarle, come te dico, che sabato, domenica, facevo con signor, ti ricordi vero? Quando le lavavo, è normale, se si stava quando io lavavo. Allora, no. Ho detto no. Solo una volta, dopo basta. Come ti dico, lavoravo uno, due mesi, fine settimana, e poi, preferisco anche adesso, chiedono donne. Preferisco donne.

I: Sì, sì. E quindi anche adesso stai cercando?

R: Sì, sì. Preferisco donne. Non uomini non lavoro, no, no, no, no, no.

I: Ok.

R: Sì, ma ci sono tante esperienze veramente. Ci sono delle esperienze di persone che lavorano con maschi.. che ti lasciano così. Cosa davvero quando perso? Non è.. per me è veramente un no. Poi, ma già loro ti dicono, figurate se un modo te picchia, loro hanno più forza da noi. Anche se sono piccola, loro hanno più forza. Magari, più meno.. No. Mi dico di no.

I: Sì, lo capisco che tu preferisci le donne.

R: Sì, io preferisco donne veramente. Perché se mi insulta, me si picchiava, tante donna come me. Si mi picchiano, magari non mi fa tante male come si fa un uomo. L'ho detto no, meglio le donne, le donne. Nessuno uomo.

I: Sì, lo capisco. Aspetto, vedo le mie domande.

(*silenzio*).

I: Sì, penso che.. hai detto molto, molte cose che sono molti rilevante per me.

R: Sì, sì. Ok, sì. Come ti ripeto, gli anziani sono, uno diverso l'altro. L'altro diverso a l'altra. In una settimana tu devi capire com'è una persona.

I: Sì, questa è necessario?

R: Sì, sì. Perché magari, mi avevano detto del un lavoro, e non voleva anche tu letto casa. E quando tu arrivi, signora. Niente donna, niente nomi, per esempio... ha una le piace che dico nonna, a l'altra gli piace il nome. Tutti mi dire nonna, io mi chiamo Maria, Maria, mi chiamo. Ok va bene. Come ti dico, uno diverso dall'altro. Ma tutti non sono uguale.

I: Sì, quindi è veramente dipende delle persone, quindi anche tu devi essere flessibile?

R: Sì, sì. E poi, se tu, a volte, come ti dico, il figlio ti dice: devi mangiare. Va bene, ma il figlio te lo dice, o la figlia, ma loro non vitano con te. Allora, tu stai con la mama, e tu vedi che tu continui, devi mangiare, e loro se avevano, s'arabiano di più. Allora,

tu con le esperienze che hai, devi capire questo, e devi capire (*with emphasis*) le cose devi fare. E i figli mi puoi dire, va bene, devi mangiare, devi mangiare. Se tu le fai così, loro si arrabbiano con te. Hai fatto di capire: ok, mangia un po. Perché lo sai che tutti non lo mangerà, va bene, dopo ti dico, quello che li piace. E poi, perché se tu continua, mangia, mangia.

I: Loro non mangiano?

R: Nooo.. Loro diventano cattivi con te. Veramente cattivi. O poi per esempio, di solito, le persone che sono di qua a Milano, vuole andare a mia paese, ok va bene, questa non è casa mia, questa casa. Mia mamma mi sta guardando, mia mamma mi sta aspettando, ti dico le cose che tu rimani in ponte. E, per esempio, quando era un con vivente, c'era quale la signora, mi diceva: hai vito cosa mi fa dicendo mio marito? E io: tuo marito?

(*ridono*).

R: Dove? Ma qua seduto con me. Io: davvero? E l'altro letto che dovevo perché era nella stessa stanza. Ma lei parlava con il marito. E lei mi diceva che c'era lì, il marito. Io: este andava morte. Poi, l'altra mi diceva, che la mamma era seduta in sala, e quando rivava, andare in sala, lei parlava la mamma. All'inizio se puoi mi spaventano.

(*interruzione*).

R: E poi, come te dico, ogni è diverso, e tutto devi capire, capire le stesse gente. Non sempre fare quello che diceva il figlio, perché i figli può dire tante cose. Però, non sono loro che stanno con gli anziani. Quindi, come ti dicevo, a volte, mi capitato che culandaro mi paese, culandaro mi paese, anzi aspettano il figlio con la valigia, ero la porta. Se tu contini di loro, guarda che cosa in casa tua, ma questa è casa tua. No, questa è casa mia mama, mi ricordo che.. Deva, quanto tante cose.. e se tu continua dirle di no, che peggio perché loro diventano cattivi. Quindi, devi: a sì, è casa tua mamma, che bella! Però, se ti continu dirle di no..

I: È meglio per andare con loro?

R: Sì, perché a volte che ti dici no, tu devi fare questa casa di loro. Ma tu quando fai dottore, perché di solito, di portano te, perché se tu stai un maggior tempo con loro. E lo dottorette lo vista, tu non lo devi, non lo so come si dice, tu non devi contra dirle. Se lei dice così, è così. Ok, va bene. Però, questa volta i figli non capiscono. A volte no.

I: Questa è la differenza?

R: Sì, ci sono tante cose che tu devi capire, e così gli anziani non diventano cattivi. (*ride*).

I: Sì, sì.

R: Però...

I: Posso chiedere l'ultima cosa?

R: Sì.. dimmi!

I: Per fare un firma e il tuo nome qua perché.... (*end of conversation*).

Appendix G - Transcript Care manager - 1 [Original Italian version]

Care manager 1

I: Questo è il mio soggetto, veramente concentra nelle esperienze. Perché, ho visto e ho letto adesso in gli articoli accademiche è più delle efficienze, e delle coste e come è possibile che succede, anche perché spesso è qualcuna, una straniera. Quindi è più un 'focus' come questo e

io sono più interessata che come funziona, come sentino, quali aspetti sono positivi, sono difficile etc.

R: Ci sono aspetti positivi e negativi.

I: Esatto.

R: Fondamentalmente dipende dalla persona, come tutte le cose. Per cui avuto un'esperienza iniziale con una persona veramente molto brava. Molto. A cui, io mi ero molto affezionata.

I: Sì, con lei?

R: Sì, perché era proprio una persona molto valida, una bella persona, ecco. E mia madre che invece non accettava molto inizialmente la badante.. Devo dire che mia madre li è stata, mia madre ha un carattere molto forte, non facile. Non facile. Per niente facile.

I: E, scusi, era sempre come che lei ha avuto un carattere..

R: Sempre.

I: Non era.. Perché è anche possibile..

R: Non, sempre stata. Sempre stata. Una persona molto autoritaria, un po' hhm, di una certezza, del Sud, un pochino, forse anche un pochino... non accettava questa persona in casa, ecco. No. No. Per cui, non è stata facile, però noi, c'è questa persona e mia madre all'inizio stava su meri anziana, però era anche molto autosufficiente, e vera, sì abbastanza prepotente con questa donna, che però era molto intelligente, molto, non voleva che io intervenissi, per esempio perché diceva io devo stabilire io un rapporto con lei, quindi non mi devi difendere, non devi.. no. Deve essere una cosa tra noi due. Ecco... questa persona è stata con mama un'anno e mezzo, una cosa molto dolorosa perché lei è tornata Ucraina, lei era un'infermeria, lei stata per tanti anni un'infermeria, anche in Germania, una donna che ha lavorato molto.. Forte, si dice un lupo solitario, una bella persona. E quando è tornata in Ucraina, sei malata.

I: Lei?

R: Sei malata, e.. noi ci sentivamo al telefono, ma lei ha fatto prima una polmonite, da un viaggio di ritorno disastroso, sei ammalata, poi io non lo so con delle cure che ha fatto le venute una cosa tipo itterizia, c'è un problema al fegato.. insomma, è morta.

I: Molto triste..

R: Molto triste. Molto triste.

I: Sì.

R: Molto (*lei dice con particolare attenzione*). E io devo dire, che dopo di lei, è stata molto difficile, molto.

I: Per trovare qualcuna che è come.. come lei?

R: (*annuisce*). Perché, s'era creato proprio un rapporto di, vabe, massimo fiducia, anche un po' affettivo. Perché valore un po' la proprietà transitiva, c'è ti prendi cura della mia mamma, io ti voglio bene.

I: Sì, sicuramente.

R: E lo fai, nel modo giusto, affetto per te. Dopo è stato difficile, è stato veramente difficile perché oggettivamente di lavoro di badante è un lavoro difficile.

I: Sì, perché?

R: Perché.. perché sono persone che comunque lasciano la loro famiglia, molto spesso hanno un marito, hanno figli, e i vivano con delle persone malate, difficili. Difficili, perché la persona anziana, dipende hè, molto dal un carattere delle persone, però, tendenzialmente la persona anziana.. poi la salute di mia madre è andata peggiorando, quindi è finita su una sedia

a rotelli. E pur rimanendo abbastanza lucida, era piuttosto lucida nella testa. E vabbè, intanto non c'è n'era una sola perché, non erano due che si alternavano, per i weekend, e quindi c'erano due badanti cui

I: Cambiano?

R: Cambiano, ecco. C'era un difficoltà per righe, per righe. Tante difficoltà, ecco perché sono passata dalla vere questa persona. E poi dopo, mia madre, ripeto, non è una persona facile, per cui queste donne tendevano poi a, come dire, non avevano con lei un attaccamento.

I: Hmm. Ok..

R: Chiaro?

I: Sì, sì. Non era l'affettuoso come prima.

R: Beh. Lei era ... (*ride sprezzante e fa un gesto*).

I: Più forte? Anche chiusa o forte?

R: Forte, forte.. ed anche non proprio amorevole. Ecco, quindi, non ispirava tanto. (*silenzio*). E insomma avuto delle esperienza un po negative.. Ecco.

I: Sì.

R: Sì.

I: Hai un esempio del questo?

R: Un esempio... Hmm.... Che mia madre per esempio chiamava col campanello, una cosa molte. Era un po snervata questa cosa di essere chiamata. E per cui, il campanello lontano tolto, ecco, queste cose qui. Tosto che..

I: Quindi non era veramente possibile per lei per chiamare?

R: (*lei scuote di no*). O pure, insomma, varie, varie... Hm. Se arriva proprio i livelli un po di..

I: Che è.. non lo so come si dice, ma non è facile, non è fluente. È un po come... (*makes a gesture of something that scours, wrings*).

R: Sì. Sono molte.. sì. per cui da una parte, poi mia madre era abbastanza lucida, però avuto di periodi di difficoltà fisica. Per esempio nal ospedale, e dopo l'ospedale non era più tanto lucida, dopo ritorno in l'ospedale, per cui eh.. insomma, non avevi in ritorno sempre, io lavoravo e quindi, non c'ero... mi chiamavano se c'erano problemi però..

I: Non è possibile per sempre..

R: No, ecco, non sempre... quindi come andavano le cose, ecco, se poi, vieni un po meno la fiducia. In realtà, tu poi lasci una persona completamente nel mani di qualcun'altro. E...

I: Come hai sentito questo, per te?

R: Sì ho sento questo, poi c'era questa persona che invece, perché noi siamo in tre, fratelli, ero io che gestivo più che gli altri perché abitavo qui vicino.. Però.. Miei fratelli.. He?

I: Scusi, tre o due?

R: Siamo in tre, tre fratelli.. Ecco. Io ero la persona, io abitavo una casa qui vicino e invece mia sorella è fuori Milano, mio fratello lavorava moto, per cui di fatto ero io che avevo rapporti con queste persone. Quindi anche per.. ho cambiato più di una badante perché non andava bene. Però ecco, c'era anche la problema di dover mediare con i miei fratelli perché è un decisione che comunque si prendeva insieme. E loro non vedevano questo difficoltà perché non venendo a trovare mama. Una volta ogni tanto dicevano: mamma ha un brutto carattere, ecco. Però, sì, c'era un brutto carattere però.. Insomma, quando si arriva a un rapporto di eccessiva attenzione non va bene, perché deve essere un po professionale, come un'infermiera, una deve veder la persona come malata, per cui, anche caratterialmente. Non

puoi entrare in, come dire, fare delle forme proprio di, un po di ritorsione e dispetto. Forse inevitabile, ecco. Diciamo, ripeto, sono persone cui vivono comunque con grosse difficoltà, perché hanno figli lontani, mariti lontani, vivano una vita difficile ecco.

I: Sì.

R: Io ho cambiato diverse badanti.

I: Sì. E anche.. Quindi.. È chiaro per te che un lavoro difficile per loro. Voglio chiedere che non lo so, che per te dipende per esempio, la prima badante era, ha avuta un studio come infermeria, e esperienza come infermeria, questa è anche una differenza con..

R: Sì, l'altre, sì.. avevano delle nozione di base perché comunque, non so, la misura delle presione, le medicine.. ho avuto una badante che era per esempio di un buon livello, quello che viene al sabato e la domenica. Lei era un ingegnere, ed era particolarmente attenta su alcune cose, c'è, era, comunque tutte, alcune cose dove conosce per le fare perché inevitabile. Ecco, devi prenderti cura di un malato, di vederla sintomatologia. determina le cose, l'alimentazione e quindi..

I: Sì, sono molti aspetti in curare per qualcuno.

R: Per prendersi cura per una persona anziana cui comunque è un po curata. Ecco.

I: Sì, sì. Hmm.. Non capito complemente che come hmm... hai trovato le badanti. Come hai deciso?

R: Ecco, per passaparola. Praticamente, guarda, quasi tutti si chiamavano Lara, come nome, la prima: Lara. Perché la sorella di una badante della suocera di mia sorella. hmm. Quindi c'era questo, un po è un giro.. ecco.

I: Un giro?

R: E lo stesso per gli altri. Perché è importante che qualcuno ti dia delle garanzie, una persona che un altro ha conosciuta che..

I: Sì, esatto.

R: Perché tu ha fidi completamente, la casa, la mamma, una persona. E quindi devi avere delle garanzie. Non essendoci.. quindi c'è stato passaparola. Un altro nominativo l'ho avuto sempre da una mia collega, io insegnavo all'epoca, e la mia collega che aveva anche lei la mamma con una badante, quindi aveva tramite sempre la sua badante che conosciuta qualcuna. Un'altra volta una altre invece è stato mia sorella cercato per una volta eravamo veramente in difficoltà in estate perché era andata via una badante. Quindi dovevamo sostituire e non era prevista questa partenza che c'è stata, per cui l'abbiamo a trovato tra mette un agenzia di..

I: Chi connezia..

R: E io l'agosto li, sono pure rimasta io cui a Milano, non sono andata via perché.. Era una nuova, e inserire una badante non è facile perché all'inizio ci vuole una certa presenza, devi esserci, devi spiegare tante cose, devi comunque controllare che bisogno qualcosa fare, quindi..

I: Non è facile come ok, qua è la casa e comminca!

R: Non.. no, probabilmente in un istituto è diverso. Io mi sono chiesta se forse mama soprattutto in gli ultimi tempi, in cui aveva di grossa disagio anche, sarebbe stato meglio in un istituto ma lei sicuramente non l'avrebbe accettato. E quindi no.

I: Ok.. Ma per lei non era...

R: Per lei non era.

R: L'avrebbe vissuto come, perché nella sua mentalità si muore in casa. Se n'occupa gli figli e si figli lavorano in cari che qualcuno che può essere un infermiere, può essere una badante, ma non... Perché po lei una donna del Sud. Sud Italia.

I: Sì, Napoli ha detto?

R: Ecco. Napoli.. Il sud è un po diverso dal Nord.

I: In quel modo?

R: Ecco, la famiglia è un po più importante, vabbè.. per cui, per mia madre non sarebbe state proprio, per lei era un'ipotesi terribile.

I: Non è una possibilità?

R: Non è una possibilità. Però visto anche una mia amica, si trova anche in Olanda ma non lo so dove, che lei ha avuto la mama con malata. Con Alzheimer progressivo, sette anni. E anche lei ha fatto questa scelta di badanti. Pure, meno la mama Alzheimer per cui alle fine non riconosceva neanche.

I: Tua madre of lei?

R: Lei. Sto parlando di un'altra. No no, mia madre ha sempre riconosciuto. Era lucida, con dei momenti di smarrimenti, di difficoltà, però.. lucida.

I: Sì, ok.. Ma scusi, non ho capito tutto.

R: Questa ho detto che ho fatto un salto logico, detto se come mia mamma con la lucida non avrebbe mai accettato ecco... Però poi, ripensando, ho detto, anche questa mia amica che aveva la mama tutto sommato con un Alzheimer, quindi alle fine non riconosceva più non, ha fatto la scelta di tenerla a casa con più badanti, con..

I: Ok. Sì.

R: Per cui, sì. Li poi dipende, anche dalle persone come possono vivere una scelta di questo tipo.

I: Sì, sicuramente. Ma per te, per voi, hai sentito come una scelta, qualcosa è possibile per scegliere qualcosa o non erano diversi possibilità. Scusi, non sono chiara. Per te.. pensi che in la vostra situazione.

R: Se quando sarò anziana io?

I: No.. no, con tua madre. c'era una alternativa per la cura, quindi non una cura con una badante ma qualcosa diversa o..? Perché ha detta che per lei non è una possibilità per fare in residenza, ma ci sono anche alternative o? Non lo so, perché non conosco tutte le alternative in Italia.`

R: L'alternative.. forse.. Ecco, tu dici per esempio un infermiera? Li dipende dal quando avuto bisogno di. Per esempio per un periodo dovuto fare delle flebo, e allora veniva un'infermiera. Per le flebo, quando c'erano necessita di un intervento un tipo di più infermieristico. Poi non lo so, veniva fisioterapista per fare la ginnastica, ecco. Questo tipo di..

I: Ok, esatto. Quindi, queste cure solo per breve..

R: Però, di fondo c'era la badante.

I: Ok, sì. esatto.

(silenzio).

I: Sempre era possibile per trovare una badante nuova perché hai detto qualche volte in l'estate era difficile perché la badante parta.

R: Quindi, sostituzioni. Ecco, per esempio, in una sostituzione io, un anno al goglio, io sono

andata via e c'era una che aveva sostituito la badante. Ecco io ho trovato mia madre, perché questa era una cosa che fanno abbastanza.. Mia madre non era una persona semplice, per cui le prendevano delle gocce come calmante. E io sono sicura quando sono tornata, trovato mia madre in questo stato che hanno..(*long silence*) La abusato. Delle gocce per cui era veramente parlava con difficoltà.

I: Ma come? Cosa è successo?

R: (*deep sigh, emotional*): Perché magari è, non, io ero andata via al guglio. E mi fratelli erano qui a Milano, però di vivano molto meno. Se mentre io abito vicino, per cui era un, come dire, c'era un controllo. Ecco, io tutti giorni passavo. Quando sono tornata, ho visto... hmmm... (*disbelief*). Però, sia ripresa.. C'è questa, infatti, proprio erano gocce calmanti no.. Cui sono stati dati una quantità eccessiva. Per cui, quando io sono tornata sicuramente, dosaggio è tornato regolare, e piano piano lei sia ripresa.

I: Ma con un'altra badante o no?

R: Questo io no l'ho immediatamente collegato. Questa è una cosa che.. perché ho pensato il fatto che io non ci fossi in fatto che, però poi dopo... successivamente. Non ho realizzato subito. Non ho realizzato subito.

I: Ok, ok. Capisco.

R: Non ho un realtà ti subito, perché queste difficoltà e anche nelle parole e.. Perché poi sia ripresa. E allora.

I: Sì, esatto. E quindi era come qua (*makes a gesture of an upward line*).

R: Ed era stato un po così.. sì con questo giochi calmanti usano un dosaggio molto più alto. E questo è una cosa che poi scoperto che le badanti fanno. In realtà, è una questione di fiducia e.. e anche un po di controllo forse. Non lo so.

(*silenzio lungo*).

R: Sto parlando di aspetti negativi.

I: Sì, sì. Ma è molto importante penso. Quando non è chiaro quali aspetti sono difficile non è la storia completamente.

R: Ecco.

I: Quindi, è importante... Ho un'altra domanda. Che è la differenza per te tra cura e buona cura? Puoi spiegare qualcosa o hai una idea?

R: In tanto, secondo me, è un discorso di.. persone c'è di interazioni, ripeto, ci possono essere mia madre non era una persona semplice, questo non aiuta minimamente (*ride*). Allora, è una cosa anche di carattere ci vuole dolcezza.. è molto difficile! Si vuole dolcezza e fermezza. Dolcezza perché comunque si te contraponi. Fermezza perché, devi comunque avere un minimo di autorità, di vanno prese, queste cose fai fare, quindi con dolcezza ma con determinazione. Ecco. E professionalità.

I: E professionalità in questo.

R: Però non è facile, non è facile capito? Perché tu hai di fronte una persona e poi, sì, hai un curriculum, le esperienze precedente. Però...

I: Ma anche, non lo so quando.. Provo immaginare, come funziona o come succede questa cura per te, per tua famiglia. Anche non lo so, è molto difficile, perché vuoi decidere, vuoi fare una scelta buona, ma anche non è possibile per controllare tutto..

R: Proprio così. Anche perché tu, per esempio noi, io con mia sorella, quando recapitato hanno fatto con gli occhi, soprattutto con la gusto lì. E tu vedi delle persone ma sai, incontra

le persone, ma non è facile. Non è facile. (*silenzio*). Non è facile, poi hai riscontro lo hai su forse, come viene curata, come sta la mamma, ecco. Però lei, sai, è anche una persona che se lamentava molto, quindi comunque (*ride*), allora devi.. Hm. Non è facile.

I: Che cosa lei ha detto con questa cura? Hai detto prima che non è qualcosa che ha voluto, ma per lei era le cose che, tu sai, c'erano positive anche o sempre un po negative? Non lo so.

R: Ehh.... Guarda. Da una parte, forse, accelerato un po decadimento da parte da mia mamma, perché prima lei era una donna molto forte. In fatto di essere, veniva una donna ma non era fissa no.. Per cui forse, secondo me, questo senso di autonomia l'aiutava da un punto di vista psicologico. La sensazione che con le badanti, poi piano piano, lei se sia un po lasciata andare. Perché mentre prima, vabbè, stava meglio, ecco, stava meglio. Per cui si fa da mangiare, era molto più autonoma, e poi c'è un po adagiata e non è stato positivo questo. Da resto, vantaggi svantaggi. E saper di sola di notte, che magari cominciava non davvero qualche problema, non ci sentivamo tranquilli, ecco. (*silenzio*). No, la prima Lara, diciamo, non lo so, ecco, soprattutto per me, è stato molto... Perché questa persona era.. era un po speciale, era valide.. E mi sentivo tranquillissima. Capito? Sapevo anche se mamma si lamentava per tutto una sera di cose. E io dico: mama, mama. Io vedevo, capivo, sapevo, che c'era una persona molto valida, molto valida. E poi dopo, chiaramente, non è più stato così.

I: E forse è un modo più difficile quando hai esperienzata che è possibile..

R: È una esperienza móolto positiva.. Allora, vedi come essere un rapporto.. Io mi ricordo Lara aveva un regalo della nipote a cui aveva curato la nonna a questo zianetto perché era, mi ha fatto leggere anche questa lettera di questa ragazza, che dice quando voleva bene per come aveva curato la sua nonna fine alle morte.. L'era stata vicina, e questo lo capisco perché è proprio la persona che sono i parenti che si rendono conto della validità, della.. o anche proprio della.. come tutto le persone poi, ha di la professionalita, che è molto importante, che era infermiera e.. c'è lato un mano, che molte forte.

I: Ma anche, sì.. Forse che esperienza, come si dice, un sensazione confidenziale. Per me sente che anche questo è molto importante perché, lascia la mamma..

R: ..della mane della una persona di cui che fidi.. Sì. E poi, non l'ho, più avu.. c'è qualcuno di più, con qualcuno proprio meno, anzi molto difficile.. Ecco, da una parte una struttura forse è, non lo so, non ho avuto poi le esperienze di una struttura, però conse.. l'anziano, è consenziente, magari in una struttura riesce vivere anche una sulla vita sociale, con altre persone, e non le vive come.. essere abbandonati, poi avere gli aspetti positivi perché hai un assistenza medica, infermieristica, forse non sei esclusivamente in balia di una persona, ecco.

I: Hmm.. ma anche hai detto che un momento erano due badanti, una del weekend e una di altri giorni.

R: Non facile.. ma questo anche mi l'ho visto, anche con l'altre, perché poi mi sono confrontata con altre amiche che avevano gli stessi problemi. Non facile, la relazione tra le due. Questo è molto difficile..

I: Ahh, perché?

R: Hè. È molto difficile perché si creino delle forme di, una compra delle cose da mangiare, l'altra trova deride. Non ha fatto questo, e l'altra non ha fatto quello, ecco.

I: Hmm, la comunicazione è più importante quando ci sono due?

R: Sì, sì. E forse, ecco, anche lì dipende dalla... Però, si possono scatenare della difficoltà, dovuto proprio ha fatto che ci sono comunque due persone che si alternano, ecco. E quindi con tutti problemi ci sono due..

I: E per essere sicura che ho capito; la responsabilità per trovare le badanti e tutto questa parta era la tua? Per fare questo?

R: (*nods*).

(*silenzio*).

I: Non lo so, questa era va bene per te o anche difficile qualche volte quando non era facile per trovare qualcuna?

R: Sì, c'era una situazione, allora, mia madre ha arrivata un punto in cui non poteva rimanere sola quindi, chiaramente c'è il cambiare no, volevo dire poter provvedere immediatamente una sostituzione, perché non potevi lasciare.. io lavoravo e quindi non avevo la possibilità di stare con lei e quindi la ricerca, sai, non hai un margine.. Diventa una ricerca un po problematica in un senso, e poi.. c'è fatto proprio del ritorno, essere poi in grado di valutare bene. da persona, la cosa che fa, se fanno bene, non fanno bene, ecco, tutto questo.

I: Sì.. C'erano molte cose, io penso, per te per fare. Perché anche, lavoro, questa cura, tutta l'organizzazione..

R: Sì. Sì. È difficile, è abbastanza difficile.. impegnativa. Sì. Impegnativo anche perché devi esserci. C'è.. almeno io potevo ripeto, ogni giorno passavo, e quando potevo mi fermavo..

Anche un persona comunque anche bisogno, d'aver di esserci. Poi, del fatto che mi chiamavano.. Bisogno di chiamavano, anche di notte e... mi chiamavano.

I: Non era momenti chi erano troppi?

R: Sì, che tatta. Allora.

I: E con tue fratelli e sua sorella? La sorella viva...

R: No, non è tanto lontano..Ecco, e a d'Arese, fuori Milano ma non è tanto distante. Però lei tanto lavora, un lavoro come io insegnavo. Per cui, ecco, come insegnante sei a scuola, però poi hai la correzione di compiti, la preparazione di lezione, hai un alto orario di lavoro no? Per cui, per dire correggiovo quando correggiovo compiti, o cui da mama correggiovo i compiti (*ride*). Invece, mia sorella non orario come così, ha tempo pieno, ha poche possibilità da venire.. Qualche volte un weekend.

I: Ok.. Quindi anche lei era qua.

R: Sì, nel weekend sì. Stava la domenica..anche mio fratello nel weekend.

I: Sì.. Ma solo il weekend?

R: Ehh.. Sì. C'è qualcuno che devi gestire per la spesa, per i soldi, per tutto.. Basta lo scaldabagno se c'è un problema... con i lavori, una volta mi sfondato il muro, ecco. C'è, devi esserci, perché una casa che comunque fai gestita.. E quindi, ci devi essere una persona di riferimento..

I: Perché tutta la casa..

R: Quando hai una casa hè..

I: Ehhh, voglio chiedere che la prima badante, il rapporto era un po famiglia o no?

R: Sì. Sì. Io ho un grosso rapporto con lei. Che crea propria un rapporto, era una persona molto intelligente con.. molto ironica.

I: Haa, ok con umore?

R: Sì. 'ciao prof, non ti preoccupare! Bel sol! Ma sei tranquilla!' Ecco, capito?

I: Sì, sì. E questo rapporto è un po' ideale per te?

R: Idealico. Sì. Ho vissuto non so, lo mai, c'è proprio un rapporto io la sentivo la chiamavo che stava male, ci sentivamo al telefono.. ecco. È stato un legame, capito? Per cui, c'è stato un dolore della perdita. Ecco. Della persona, della.. non solo.. E poi, così. Nel tempo lo rivoltato sempre di più.

I: Sì... è un modo. È importante per te che c'è una connessione o no?

R: È importante la relazione. Molto.

I: Vedo le mie domande per vedere che ho chiesto tutto. Ma anche quando pensi che forse io ho dimenticato per chiedere qualcosa ma è importante per dire...

(silenzio).

I: È po' tarde per dire, ma spero che ho detto sempre 'te', ma non formale..

R: Noooo, noo. Ascolta, allora queste sono cose mi è, anche per me non è facile per parlare di queste cose, perché c'è un coinvolgimento anche così, affettivo di ricordi, non sempre anche molto facile... Ecco, e quindi, va bene. Sei carina.

I: Ok, grazie..

R: E quindi ti sto parlando perché mi viene..

I: Ok, sì.. Forse anche il soggetto non è formale

R: Non, non..

I: Non è qualcosa per

R: È molto profondo. Molto profondo.

I: Sì. Sì. Ma ora ho realizzato che non ho chiesto primo che è ok per dire te.

(silenzio).

I: Ah, sì.. abbiamo parlato già che la selezione è un po' difficile, anche leggi un curriculum, e non hai completamente un visto da una persona veramente.

R: Sì, credo che il sempre cosa più valida è stato per esempio Lara perché c'era questa badante della suocera di mia sorella, c'era molto valida. Per cui, lei ha garantito per Lara e allora è stata una sicurezza. E questo.. però non è proprio semplice, hai capito?

I: No.. Ma quindi con lei era un po' una garanzia?

R: Ehh sì, era una garanzia.

I: E con gli altri? Come hai fatto la scelta?

R: Con gli altri.. sto cercando di.. perché avuto poi.. anche con loro perché, si come per esempio sul discorso, come è successo.. Hmm, se loro vanno via ti propongono anche qualcuno per la sostituzione che una persona che conosco. però anche lì, io non è che mi si ha trovato proprio.

I: Voglio chiedere che, non lo so come funziona completamente una scelta come quella, ma per esempio quando veramente leggi una descrizione...

R: ..del curriculum?

I: Sì, ma..

R: .. del esperienze precedenti, poi chi danno normalmente... anche ti fanno parlare. Ecco, una dice: ho assistito questa persona un anno. E quindi, ci sono le referenze, quale che si chiama le referenze.. per cui, normalmente ti metti anche in contatto telefonico, al telefoni a questa persona che hanno curato la mama. Quindi, hai questo contatto telefonico con la persona che avuto un'impressione da questa badante.

I: Sì, ok, quindi non è un momento per scegliere, ma...

R: Ci sono varie steppe, sì.

I: Sì, esatto.

R: È una scelta impegnativa. Quindi, poi fai anche una prova per ore.. Per l'attiva. Richiedi anche quello del tempo perché, per vedere le cose effettivamente funzionano o non funzionano. Ci vuole anche un periodo di rodaggio.

I: E.. l'aspetti che hai visto che funzionano, non funzionano, erano le stesse aspetti che hai detto prima?

R: Hmm?

I: Non.. ehm, quando tu hai fatto una scelta, quali aspetti erano importanti per vedere? Che è funzionano con questa persona o no?

R: Allora, sì.. in tanto la capacità. Poi ci stato varie periodi per mia mamma era in situazione diverse, però per esempio anche la che forse in grado di fare correttamente certe cose. La precisione, sulle medicine, sui i pasti, sul.. ecco queste cose, qui l'attenzione.. Queste cose e poi.. aspetto un po caratteriale che per mia mamma è molto importante.

I: Tra tua madre e la badante, o tra la badante e te?

R: Mia mamma e la badante. Non lo so, io.. ripeto, mia mamma non era una carattere facile, però una volta in cui litigavano, e questo è una cosa che non dovrebbe succedere. Poi, siamo tutte persone e quindi c'è aspetto.. Però, qualcuna era propria esasperata, poco professionale da punti di vista, è capitato una volta una badante ha telefonato da notte, che ha cominciato da me al telefono.. Come mamma, era esasperata probabilmente. Però, io mi sono precipitata ma insomma.. e quando la persona non la vede più come un malato, ma come.. poi ripeto la tuonante sono tante perché, sono persone che hanno questo lavoro per necessità anche, ripeto famiglia lontano, quindi grossi disagi.. Ecco. E anche comprensibile che ci sono delle difficoltà. Però, comunque è impegnativo e difficile.

I: Sì. È difficile, forse la situazione è difficile per loro per queste cose, ma anche è difficile quando la cura per tua madre non è come vuole.. Hm.. Sì. Anche un lavoro,

R: Sì, lo so. È un lavoro che ha.. c'era un periodo per esempio che mamma non dormiva, ch'era più in difficoltà, perché loro avevano due stanze, un periodo che mamma non dormiva, e lì dovuto prendere qualcuno che fosse la notte per forza.. è un poi, avere una persona sta di giorno e poi.. Quindi è stata proprio un periodo anche abbastanza rumoroso perché hanno anche un'infermiera, e dormiva propria in camera con mia mama. È stata pene, lei tornata all'ospedale.. Ecco, anche per questa ternanza inevitabile, perché casa tu puoi pretendere che ci siamo una persona che pazzia. Comunque, delle ore per esempio di uscire, c'era un periodo di vedovo lei andava la spesa o comunque staccava. Allora, hai di lavoro, per cui, ogni giorno lei avevo un interruzione chiaramente, non è che stava per la mamma.

(silenzio)

I: Sì, penso..

R: Senti, vabbè, riguardando puoi fare altre domande o più qualcosa che non hai capito, mi chiami hè?

I: Sì... mille grazie veramente, molto valizzata..

R: Non ti ho offerto niente.. Vuoi bere qualcosa?

I: Aaah, no grazie.