15.

Family and kinship in the contemporary mobile world

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on mobility, family, and kinship between Africa and Europe. Mobility produces changes in institutions and in the life of individuals in different forms taking into account the social, historical, and cultural organisation, as well as the development level of the societies under analysis.

At the same time, if the family seems to remain a fundamental base for social organisation, we cannot find a universal definition of family accepted as a socio-anthropological concept. There are many reasons for this. First, the structural and functional organisation is different around the world; second, there is a big difference also in the forms of approaching and solving problems and conflicts inside the family; and finally, the different methods used by Sociologists, Anthropologists, and other researchers in studying this analytical unit make consensus difficult.

Despite the existence of increasingly restrictive migration policies, migratory flows from Africa to Europe continue to be significant. Individuals are often unable to move together with their family and live geographically separated from their family members. The migrant families arising from the migration of its members poses changing dynamics regarding conjugality and the care of children and older members of the family.

The economic and financial crisis that hit the so-called more developed countries has changed the reasons for people moving from one country to another and changed the direction of human mobility. In the younger generations, time outside the country of origin not only appears diversified but also no longer seems an exceptional period in which the luggage that an individual brings is binding or impedes new experiences. The period of migration is increasingly perceived as a period of "stand by", intended to be experienced through other forms of living, working and socialising. Temporary mobility can lead to susceptibility to the rupture of common sense – this is to think and feel about human mobility as a social fact in Durkheim's sense. People move for many reasons; the new mobility has sometimes little or nothing to do with the economic migrations studied by the sociology of classical migrations. There is also a kind of immobility some face through different kinds of crisis around the globe, depending on material means to move around.

Studying social change in family relationships and comparing cultural dynamics and geographical and political contexts with the mobility

approach contributes to understanding the dynamics of social insertion or marginalisation of family members defined by their gender, social category, and ethnicity in an intersectional way. Besides, this approach allows the mobile family to be understood as an organisational concept of contemporary multicultural society.

The empirical case studies referred to in this paper have to be seen as a contribution to the debate on the differences between migration and mobility as operative concepts when studying the changes in conjugality, parenting and care. Through these empirical cases, it is possible to question not only the role of the culture in the organisation of the family but, mostly, the effects of the family at distance on exclusion from or inclusion in the access to resources of the members of the family.

After summing up the state of the art and methodology of this research programme, I will summarise the discussion of a consistent and contextualised database on family, mobility, and kinship dynamics (conjugality, parenthood and care) in the national/transnational mobile spaces between Angola, Cape Verde, and Portugal.

All the research projects referred to in this paper have been conducted in collaboration with a team of junior researchers and are part of a wider research programme and research led training of the "Transnational Lives, Mobility and Gender" Research Group that has been active since 2010 in the scope of a network with the same name, under my coordination at ICS-ULisboa (see: www.tlnetwork.ics.ul.pt). The research group is part of the Life course, Inequality & Solidarity: Practices and Policies Research Laboratory.

FAMILY, MIGRATION, AND MOBILITY

An important conceptual distinction exists between the migratory phenomenon, and mobility even if, according to some authors, mobility includes not only longstanding migration but also long-time territorial movement, with all of them having almost exclusively economic reasons (Peixoto 2001). Perhaps the insistence on circumscribing the phenomenon to this definition of migration does not help the understanding of contemporary transnational mobility. In my opinion this approach, as well as the sole postcolonial approach to the analysis of migration from PALOP in Portugal, is responsible for the almost absent debate in the Portuguese academy on the difference between migration

and mobility, in particular when the flows are between the former Portuguese colonies and Portugal.

According to some authors, the term "migration" seems to suffer from two critical problems. First, it has developed into a pejorative term with a range of negative connotations that tend to associate movement with criminal activity and sees most movers as risky, questionable people. Second, and more importantly, migration does not fully capture the dynamic nature of human mobility (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011; Grassi 2006). Many authors also agree that migration has to be studied as a "process" set in motion through journeys back and forth, and often with no clear end (Vertovec 2007).

Contemporary mobility captures this variability. People move for many reasons and cross international borders not only and always for strictly economic reasons but also for cultural, ecological, political and religious ones. Individuals and their families have the right to move to achieve their goals; but to be able to move, some individuals have restrictions and cannot support the costs that moving from one place to another implies at many levels. Furthermore, it is important to remember that the majority of people in the world never move. According to Jeffrey H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci, in the contemporary world "only a tiny fraction, that is 3% of people live in a country other than the one in which they were born. (…) Only those who are able, capable and resourceful move. Mobility is about ability despite the fact that many people face challenges at home and our debate should focus on how best we can enhance the strengths of movers, potential movers and non-movers rather than demagoguery and fear" (Cohen and Sirkeci 2001, 2).

In migration studies, as well as in media and politics discourse, the majority of authors define immigration as a problem. The performative potential of the discourse in the literature of migration studies and its influence on the policy proposals is the main reason why it is important to change the language and the way to study human mobility. Social and financial remittances are just a result of the mobility that has contributed to human development throughout the world (Ostaijen 2017).

Since the 90s, research has addressed the lives of migrants with regard to either their country of origin or their country of destination, and has focused mostly on changes to the individual and/or their family in the medium term. Other targets of research have been institutions (Lubkemann 2008), paths to development, and the redefinition of feelings of belonging to the multiple

"homes", not only from the geographical point of view (Grassi 2010; Vivet 2010), but also the spiritual (Levy 2002) and cultural ones (Appadurai 2006).

Scholars agree that the transnational lives of migrants demand constant reformulation of the sense of belonging as a meaning for the places where they live, work, and organise their family life.

The research on changes in family studies, which has targeted gender issues as important to understand inclusion/exclusion of individuals from resources, mostly stresses the vulnerability of women in relation to men, even if there is emerging research on masculinity that often refers only to western world settings (Pina-Cabral 2010). Therefore, the position of the actors explains the normative challenge posed in restoring through this framework. As contemporary studies have shown, the restoration of ethnographic techniques to contemporary sociology is crucial in identifying the indicator of the ongoing social change and may be achieved through references to theories put forward by the Chicago School (Sassen 2001; Vianello 2006).

If we are minded to de-colonise the interpretation of data on race, gender, and generation, mostly still nodding to luso-tropical definitions, in understanding contemporary social change in the geographical contexts referred to in this paper, the results of my research point to the potential of intersectionality between the postcolonial theory framework, the transnational and global approach, and methodological contributions also not limited to normative disciplinary models, with the comparison being a crucial tool for the data analysis (Grassi 2017, 15-23).

PARENTHOOD AND THE MOBILE FAMILY

The term "parenthood" was not very common until the 1980s, when many researchers started to study the process of transition towards parenting – mainly with regard to women. The term arose in the 1950s in the USA (Erikson 1950) in studies on severe psychiatric pathologies, "puerperal psychosis", in order to emphasise that the concept of parenting refers to a complex process involving conscious and unconscious levels of mental functioning.

It is only recently that there have been studies on fatherhood, in the juridical institutionalisation of parental responsibility in the case of separation or divorce of the parents, mostly in Western societies.

When one of the parents is geographically separated from their children because of migration to another country or another city, it seems even more necessary to reflect on the difference between the subjective experience of parenthood, the exercise of parental power, and on its practices.

According to Palkovitz et al. (2002, 2), "people who become parents and are involved in the raising of children are transformed and follow a different developmental trajectory from people who do not engage in parenting roles."

Erikson (1950, 130) suggested that "positive adult development reflects care for the next generation, or "generativity," and that parenthood is "the first, and for many, the prime generative encounter". Parenthood has been described as a necessary but not sufficient condition for the achievement of generativity (Snarey, et al. 1987). More recently, sociologists and psychologists have considered forms of child-rearing and the ways that these forms profoundly affect the lives of parents at many levels.

Using ethnographic analysis, anthropologists reveal the subtle dynamics that shape children's socialisation to advance understanding of how cultural ideologies guide mothers' behaviour, reconsidering existing developmental theory on discipline (see Rae-Espinoza 2010, on mothering, children, socialisation, and practices in Ecuador). In migration studies, most authors have also focused on motherhood (see for example, Gervais et al. 2009).

Transnational migration studies report research on the separation of children and parents (Parreñas 2005; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001), but research on parenthood is also mostly focused on motherhood, and most of the authors in this area (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine 1997; Schmalzbauer 2004; Yepez 2011; Zontini 2004; Tolstokorova 2010) assume the primacy of the ethnocentric representations of gender roles inside the family. On the other hand, more recent works on fathering at a distance (Nobles 2011; Parreñas 2005) also question the father's role and involvement in the children's education. These studies reveal a growing interest in the father-focused perspective.

The first of the three axes of the concept of parenting (exercise of parenthood; experience, and practice) (Erikson 1950) refers to the exercise of a right in its legal sense, a domain that transcends individual subjectivity and its behaviour. The rights and duties lie in each individual kinship tie.

The definition of kinship exists in all societies precisely to individualise the organised groups to which each member belongs and by which they are governed by rules of transmission (Erikson 1950, 48). The rules (membership, alliance, affiliation) imply rights and obligations and provide a social space in

which each person may develop, but at the price of some constraint. From the structuralist perspective of Levi Strauss, the elementary structures of kinship in traditional societies determine marriage choices. In modern societies, legal aspects of kinship and affiliation determine the exercise of parenthood. Are we witnessing a weakening of the evolution of symbolic legislation that can lose its central role in organising society?

The dynamics resulting from cultures facing each other change when the site of observation alters and when engaging in a comparison of different contexts. Wide variation in patterns of fathers' involvement after migration suggests an absence of clear rules about fathers' responsibilities. In previous works, we have sought to understand long-distance fatherhood and the father-child relationships in transnational families. For example, it is pertinent to discuss the division of parental duties based on established gender roles (mother as caregiver and father as bread-winner) and how they are reconstructed in the long-distance context. Relational reconfigurations induced by absence are not always expected or controlled, as roles change within the family (Grassi and Ferreira 2016; Grassi Vivet and Marinho 2016; Nobles 2011) and considering that parenthood is a gendered process that adopts specific contextualised characteristics in mobile families between Africa and Europe.

GENDER IN THE MOBILE FAMILY

Migrant experiences derive from differentiation revolving around the gender function and producing differing propensities to migration, as well as different results between men and women (Boyd 2004). The first studies appearing on migrant women as actors visibly autonomous of males (Morokvasic 1983) and on female migratory flows (Kofman et al. 2000) were particularly focused on case studies in which there was a majority of women and did not yet set out a conceptual framework on female migration (Carling 2005, 4). The first consistent analysis of gender (Chant and Radcliffe 1992) highlights that thus far studies on women and migration have restricted their scope to establishing the statistical differences between the sexes in migratory flows without ever substantively analysing differences in terms of gender (Grassi 2015). These authors' research findings on gender and migration pointed to examples of a cross-disciplinary space in which it is possible to interchange the differing insights of each field on this theme. The majority of studies on migration and

development seem to reflect the conceptual point of view that attributes a subject status to women following male forms of conduct (Carling 2005).

Data collected thus far suggests that when men decide to emigrate alone, they rarely leave without the agreement of the partner that they leave behind. In their memories and wishes, such moods remain present, and are transformed by the cultural role into worries about the life strategies for the partner left behind. African countries are specific in terms of gender role organisation in the family and in society (Grassi 2003, 2007). In Portuguese African studies, patriarchal versions of African societies are the most current, and gender power relations are taken for granted even if hierarchies of age (seniority, relational) are often mentioned as more significant than hierarchies of gender (Oyeronke 2001, 48; Arnfred 2007).

Also in Portuguese African studies, gender approach has been frequently concentrated on women (Grassi 2003, 2006, 2007; Andall 1999) with some stimulating exceptions showing that men's studies on African countries mostly reflect power questions focused on black men's political control (Arnfred 2007).

In a "mobile family" approach, male studies lack research into constructions of masculinity. It is crucial to look at the changes inside the conjugal and parental relationship to understand how the construction process of masculinity is renegotiated between man and woman in transnational migration and how the social reproduction "in motion" works in the context under analysis. Critical studies of men (Kimmel 2005) stress that it is impossible to fully understand masculinity without considering its connection with family change and women's change, as well as without men's practices and discourses in their relationships with changing femininities.

Anyway, gender maintains its pertinence in understanding an individual's culture in that it is tied to the position that women and men take in a family structure in a particular culture deriving from the greater or lesser degree of responsibility attributed to them for sustaining and reproducing the family. Hence, stating that migratory flows diversify according to the variable of migrant gender implies the existence of inequalities stretching over the entire migratory experience, right from departure from one's own country through to arrival in the host community and the experiences encountered there. Asymmetries in power between men and women produce differences in the organisation of migrant lives and permeate through social institutions, the family, economy, and politics. Gender inequalities leading to gendered

disadvantages in the destination countries of migratory trajectories may be linked to exploitation and recruitment into illegal trafficking networks.

The origins of migration lie in a practice that, in many cases, emerges out of a family history of geographical relocation as a potential option, already tried by others, discussed and held up as a cause for celebration. Studies on migrant women carried out thus far in Portugal (Grassi 2003, 2007, 2015; Hellerman 2005; Peixoto 2006) report that women carry the responsibility for maintaining links with the country of origin, influencing the behaviour inside their social relationships in Portugal and questioning the bread-winner role of man in the family.

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

The methodology for studying a complex thematic has a strong comparative potential in all the case studies presented here. As I have already stressed, the goal is to capture the different ways in which individuals identify and negotiate across power relations, their conjugality and parenthood structuring the contemporary mobile context of the family. This can only be achieved through comparison between different contexts. Mobility and family relationships at distance can be compared, giving central importance to the collection of data based on different pathways: multiple locations; multiple types of mobility (national and transnational both past and present); multiple family cultures (European and African); multiple places (host, transit and destination countries); combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Multi sited methodology aims to contribute to an epistemological shift in migration, mobility and family studies. Earlier research on transnationalism and migrations from African regions (Grassi 2003, 2007, 2010; Vivet 2010) points to gender, and family differences affecting migration in the source societies. The collection of data in all the countries involved by the migratory flows considered in such research fills the gap in global migration studies of qualitative information in the countries of origin, and transit of migratory flows.

The relevance of the comparison of ethnographic collection of contextualised indicators has to be stressed and identified as a crucial methodological framework carrying epistemological consequences. This methodology allows for the marking of visible specificities of the construction and negotiation

of individuals sharing space, resources, and affectivities in the globalised contemporary world. The understanding of social change induced in the institutions that organise contemporary societies can only be done by giving voice to the people who lead it and propose other organisational and even affective categories that define the contemporary family.

Let's go through the data with some examples.

PARENTHOOD AND CARE OF CHILDREN
IN THE ANGOLA/PORTUGAL MOBILE SPACE[1]

The research project discussed in this paragraph is an Angola/Portugal case study which is part of a European Consortium and project including four case studies. Each combined case study is composed of a pair of countries: a European country, where a part of the family resides and the migrants' African country of origin. These are: Angola/Portugal; Angola/the Netherlands; Nigeria/Ireland; Ghana/Netherlands. Particular emphasis was placed on the methodological challenges presented by the transnational approach. On the one hand, some relevant aspects that emerge from the different "family" cultures that determine the representation of care in child rearing in different ways are discussed. On the other hand, how the "children" belonging to transnational families are not covered by the Portuguese laws governing their reception is discussed: the regulation that exists only covers "children at risk".

The case study focuses on one aspect of family relationships both in the European and in the African country and brings a transnational perspective to the study of contemporary transnational mobility. The analysis presented here has emphasised the characteristics and repercussions of the children and caregivers' lives in the migrants' country of origin, as well as the migrating parent's impact on their destination.

The transnational Angola – Portugal context is replete with contacts between peoples and nations covering the pre-colonial, colonial, and the post-colonial period. Although in different ways, the domination relations between the two countries in the various periods have the contact between individuals

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1   Based on data from an ICS research project survey, "Transnational Child-Raising Arrangements between Angola and Portugal" (TCRAF-EU 2008-2015). See also Grassi and Vivet (2015a; 2015b), Grassi et al. (2014; 2017).

favoured by human mobility in common. This is expressed in different forms according to the historical period and has favoured the knowledge and a certain affinity between cultures and the forms of organisation of the societies influencing each other.

When migration flows from Africa to Europe began to be discussed and studied in the 1990s, migratory flows between Angola and Portugal already had a relevant expression in this European country, conferring peculiar characteristics that still distinguish them from other flows from Africa to the European continent. This specificity has clearly emerged in comparison with the other migratory flows referred to above pointing to historically very important migratory patterns.

The dismantling of Angolan families and their organisation at a distance implies a very difficult picture to study because of the multiple causes of the migratory movement between the two countries, among which the long period of war had a significant role.

The war affected most areas of Angolan society and was the engine of several social changes. The urbanisation of the capital city, Luanda, saw steep population growth, the adaptation of distinct economic survival strategies and family disintegration due to the deaths, flight, mismatch and forced migration of family members. Lack of economic resources and goods and services, however, did not dissipate solidarity (although in the city it appears less intense than in rural areas). The informal reception of children is a common parental practice in Angola, which is based on cultural traditions. As a goal, this practice has the reinforcement of family ties or the creation of other (and new) ties, and it is also often a measure to provide education and training for the child, compensating for the economic limitations of the country and the parents. During the period of armed conflict, this solidarity was quite commonly shown with orphans. Despite the importance of informal reception in Angolan society due to transnational migration and cultural reasons, this is also a consequence of changes in the family structure (the high number of divorces and separations). Nowadays, in Luanda new loving relationships between parents and divorces are the most common reasons for children to be in informal care. However, the decision to "turn in" their children, hoping that they can "grow up" is influenced by the socioeconomic level of the families. It can then be concluded that the family plays a central role in the informal reception of children in Angola, with the other parent or grandparents taking care of them when the parents separate for the various reasons mentioned above.

On the other hand, it can be said that in Portugal the information collected in this project through interviews with Angolan migrant parents points to a very complex image of the mobile family of Angolan origin. Even when we can highlight similar dynamics of family organisation with the family in Portugal, if we look more closely, there are small differences that become evident and that resemble patchwork (Grassi and Vivet 2015b). For example, it is important to emphasise the importance of parents' conjugal status to understand the dynamics of transnational parenting and the reformulation of gender roles in the exercise of parenting.

In our case study, transnational care has strong connotations and gender differences. The overwhelming majority of migrant parents with children in Angola are men and only 20% of all parents are women. Contrary to the traditional image of the transnational family, where the father assumes the role of a "breadwinner" (Barou 2001), in our sample there are very few couples in this situation. On the contrary, a high proportion of families with the migrant father in Portugal have children both in Angola and Portugal, with the father no longer having a marital relationship with the mother of his child. As we have seen, in most cases, care for children in Angola is carried out by biological mothers (73%). The transnational agreements in the families of our sample last more than 10 years and there are relatively few cases of family reunification, all of them initiated in the cases that migrate by the mother of the child. Most of the migrant parents in our sample do not intend to take their children to Portugal because they do not have sufficient resources, have low-paid jobs, are in a relationship with another person and also because their children have always lived with their own mother in Angola.

One of the project research questions aims to understand the effects of transnational parenting on the life chances of parents – (defined in our project as work performance, health conditions and emotional well-being). The results published in (Mazzucato et al 2015) show that in the Angola/Portugal case, there is a significant correlation between being a transnational parent and their life chances, related to performance at work, but especially to mental and emotional well-being.

Regarding performance at work, it is observed that on the one hand, respondents are more likely to have lower levels of monthly family income and to work more hours per week than those interviewed with their children in Portugal. On the other hand, the level of unemployment of migrants with children in Angola compared to the same level of migrants without children

in the country of origin does not show significant differences. In addition, there is no statistical difference between the educational level attained and the type of transnational family.

As for emotional well-being, one can usually argue that being a transnational parent could negatively affect one's mental well-being and happiness. The literature usually refers to discomfort with and emotional distance from their father/child, and when they are the migrating mother, children complain more often about feelings of abandonment (Parreñas 2005, 69).

In general, it can be said that in our context raising children at a distance results in poor relationships between parents and children. The key informants interviewed also underline a certain degree of family disruption and state that communication is extolled as a way of accompanying the child.

Regarding the effects on children, the distance of the migrant parents is mainly felt as moments of sadness although they do not mention any negative effect of their parents' absence on school performance or their health.

The reflection we present here in our case study is a starting point to understand the repercussion of mobility in the family and we can affirm that the analysis of the data that we have collected through the survey of parents, children and caregivers points to the existence of different types of Angolan transnational families in Portugal. We have found few cases in which the transnational family consisted of mothers whose children were in Angola – and when this happens, they are short-term migrants who maintain close contact with their children and claim to have good relations with the person looking after them. They also claim they want to return to Angola to regroup with their children.

Although we may highlight similar dynamics in family organisation, a closer look at the data collected in Portugal reveals small differences that become evident, for example, in highlighting the importance of the parents' conjugal status in understanding the transnational paternity dynamics and the gender roles.

CONJUGALITY AT DISTANCE

The case study on conjugality at distance in the geographical area of Angola/ Portugal gives an account of the conjugal relations of the migrant men who lead the reactivation of an old migratory flow that, in the same space, has

existed for many decades, compared to the inverse flow from Portugal to Angola that has recently seen many Portuguese migrating to this country to work. Although the data that supports this cannot be generalised, it does show some of the trends and dynamics of the two migratory flows.

As previously seen, the existence of transnational families between Angola and Portugal is not recent and has been changing according to the historical periods and the political and economic dynamics of both countries in a context in which the historical links between the two countries persist. The oldest migratory flow from Angola to Portugal has led to the existence of family, and friendship networks that overlap with the emerging networks of new flows from Portugal to Angola and follow the market dynamics. In this scenario, the North-South paradigm is challenged by the transnational division of labour that means rethinking the concept of development, while in the collective memory the perceptions and representations of the colonial memory between the two countries persist.

The results of the project "Places and belongings: conjugality between Angola and Portugal" show the necessity to avoid cultural essentialisms, and points out a difference in the representations of the two groups related to the representations of the conjugal institution, which still persists in both migratory flows, a reproduction of colonial memory gender role stereotypes of the couple and the family (Grassi and Ferreira 2016).

Transnational partnership creates changes in couples' relationships, and gender norms, roles and responsibilities are (re) formulated and (re) negotiated. Both spouses work to manage their daily routines and adapt to new rules and priorities aimed at maintaining a transnational familiarity (Pribilsky 2004).

Both flows also highlighted the importance of ICT in maintaining family ties and how technologies allow social spaces of family life at distance and minimise the impact of distance in space and time. The family is reinvented and thus becomes a shared social space, highlighting, once again, its genesis of active process in continuous change, a product of human interaction.

Social and economic inequalities often determine the frequency and intensity of family relationships at a distance. In the case of the two flows between Angola and Portugal, the economic situation and working conditions of the Portuguese in Angola allow them to maintain transnational practices with their relatives in the country of origin with a greater frequency and intensity: almost regular virtual contacts daily through the use of the Internet; physical contact through frequent visits to Portugal; and regular shipment of remittances.

For the Portuguese migrants in Angola, love and marriage implied fidelity and absence of extra-partner (principal partner) sexual relations. Many of those interviewed also show an attachment to the stereotype of the black African woman of the colonial memory, as well as the associated gender roles. The same is not seen among the Angolans in Portugal, who reveal much greater pragmatism regarding sexual behaviour, while simultaneously confirming the cultural importance of marriage and family in society. Without doubt, it can be concluded that the stereotypes about the conjugal-pair and family gender roles going back to the colonial memory survive in both of the migration flows.

Still, in a broader sense, can be affirmed that transnational conjugality is a contributing factor in the transformation of relations in the conjugal couple, which at a distance are creating a new space for the empowerment of the women who do not migrate, regardless of the direction of the flow. The reversal of flows—from Portugal to Angola–is more recent, and provides us with only a hint of what is happening in the lives of individuals moving between the two countries—and of changes that invite our continued attention.

Globalisation and migration thus pose new challenges for the understanding of conjugal and family life from a holistic perspective, which makes us question the classic units of analysis used in research on living conditions and trans-border dynamics.

The family dynamics of couples living geographically separated cannot, therefore, be studied separately, only in the country of migration or in the country of origin. Only in this way is it possible to understand the processes occurring beyond the boundaries of the nation-state and recognise that family life can be presented in various social and geographical spaces (Faist, 2006): that the comparison between the flows is an effective method for the perception of the contemporary mobility.

THE FAMILY IN THE "CAPE VERDE-PORTUGAL" SPACE

The reflections in this paragraph are related to an exploratory study carried out over the last year regarding a new project that is still awaiting financial support to be completed. With various background projects in Cape Verde and its diaspora[2], this project's lines are here summarised.

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2   See, in particular, Grassi (2003; 2006; 2009).

Looking to mobility and families, and given the geographical separation between parents and children in contemporary mobility between Cape Verde and Portugal, it has to be considered that kinship in this space is not synonymous with consanguinity. Kinship reflects a broader concept than in European contexts, and migrant parents have to negotiate their parental role, considering that parenthood does not have the same meaning in Cape Verde and in Portugal. This process of negotiation can be very hard to manage for immigrant parents in dealing with the specificity of family and mobility in this African archipelago and in Portugal.

Parenthood in Cape Verdean society has a very strong symbolic weight for both women and men. This remains true despite recognising that the father is not in a conjugal relationship with the child's mother, and lives in another place. It does not imply a genuine fatherhood experience in terms of practices. The emotional distress related to parents living at a distance has, therefore, to be understood in this context. Scholars working on parenting and caring at a distance believe that maintaining intimate relationships in transnational families depends on various care practices involving the circulation of objects, values, and persons; and that care practices are structured by geographical distance where the distinction between overseas and overland separation is significant (Leifsen and Tymczuk 2012). In this case, the most important difference can be the type of care that the transnational migrant male parent uses to cultivate the relationship(s) with his children (care at a distance moves through formal and less formal market channels, such as international communication technologies, remittance companies, and transport facilitators, at least in the case of middle and upper class families).

Taking into account the actual situation of the child and the family partners, as well as the symbolic dimension of parenting and affiliation to which the child adheres whenever there is parental failure, we can affirm that families continue to be the child's enrolment place in a genealogy and filiation. It is the place where identity is constructed, and where differences arising from otherness, gender and generation are confronted.

Mobile fathers and mothers are active subjects and both identify challenges regarding the exercise of their parental roles. The roles of both women and men are culturally expected and are also constructed in the society to which they migrate. In this sense, transnational fathers who have their children cared for by their mothers in the country of origin, "appear less focused on

challenges related to the care of their children and problems back home, and were more focused on work and wages" (Avila 2008, 169).

Furthermore, in the Cape Verdean context, long separations between biological mothers or fathers and young children are socially constructed as a normal aspect of transnational lives: "they are a painful necessity, but are not automatically assumed to be traumatic. In an ideal situation, when the mother is the migrant parent, the biological mother and the foster mother play complementary roles in what some authors describe as the transnational fostering triangle" (Akesson, Carling and Drotbohm 2012). Constructions of parenthood roles are fluid and changeable, and have to be renegotiated and redefined in long-distance conjugal relationships.

On the other hand, conjugal relationships at a distance – when the cause of separation is mobility – ask for a redefinition of the roles of the couple and of the family. The impact on these relationships largely depends on a number of specific circumstances, including social position, the existence (or not) of children, the reason(s) underlying the migration, and the adaptive abilities of the individuals involved. Many authors who see migration as a threat to the destination country also see marriage and migration as arrangements of convenience, forced marriage, or trafficking. Others are more inclusive (Williams 2010; Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Levin and Trost 1999; Boyd and Grieco 2003; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Wilding 2006; Grassi 2006), and address the challenges and stereotypes of transnational marriage, describing the ways that couples (re)define their roles, relationships, and family life as they learn and live side-by-side (Pribilsky 2004). The aggregate family unit of analysis, which is most commonly used for obtaining information about individuals and those they live with, was replaced in a previous study by a broader concept: the aggregate of residents, which enables us to include not only family members, but also people close to them and who reside with them.

This project includes the collection of exploratory qualitative data on internal mobility in Cape Verdean islands that has characterised the archipelago in recent years, using a comparable draft for interviews in relation to data on transnational families collected in the destination countries. This is based on the observation of Cape Verdeans' mobility, which is not limited to transnational migrations. People move between islands for different reasons. Internal migration is expected to be less financially beneficial than international migration for individual migrants and their families, as wages are typically lower in Cape Verde and there is a lack of work opportunities.

However, individuals may benefit from such migration significantly, contributing to diversification of livelihoods and development of the wider economy. Research on highly skilled migrants enables a better understanding of the different facets of mobile lives. Qualitative interviews will be compared with the aim of understanding their daily practices, connections to the local and global context, and representations of their multiple "homes". It is important to understand how, in the midst of so many "homes", this new space is constructed: how and in what ways migrants' dwellings become true homes – a space imbued with symbolic value, and what repercussions there are in conjugal and parenthood relationships. We intend to explore the influence of national and cultural gender roles inside the family institution, in comparison with transnational mobility dynamics.

The organisation of the data analysis will focus on the perceptions and representations of the family at distance (the economic and emotional well-being of family migrant male member), on the transnational/national migrant men's perspective, on Mobility/Immobility, and the citizenship framework on the access to resources in the origin country, as well as the place of culture and the generational meaning of "home" in the target group. This will include migrant men and women from Cape Verde internally and internationally (in Portugal). The analysis will consider gender in its intersectionality with generation, class, and ethnicity. We can therefore discuss how and if the condition of being migrants makes a difference in their life trajectories, discussing if, in the different spheres, there is a reproduction of their trajectories. Empirical examples resulting from our team's previous work in recent years covered countries in Africa and Europe (Grassi 2007; 2010; Ferreira 2011) and different modes of mobility and migration can be compared with the results of this proposal, increasing the debate in the area. At the same time, it will stimulate discussion of the negotiation processes and different representations of adult status within the family, adopting a comparative methodology among young people of Cape Verdean descent from collecting data to exploring gendered family dynamics in the Cape-Verdean diaspora, across family members.

Considering conjugality and parenthood relationships, and starting from previous results (Grassi 2010) that show the importance of internal migration in Cape Verde, it is important to reflect on how its consequences in the reorganisation of family relationships are easily comparable to what happens in mobile family situations under study in other contexts (Grassi and Vivet 2015; Mazzucato et al. 2015; Grassi et al. 2016). The data that will be collected

should add to our understanding of the families in this mobile context, which, due to its history and geographical position, is considered by many authors as an excellent place to discuss the organisation of societies and institutions in the contemporary world.

FINAL REMARKS

Before a changing society, relations between individuals, and within the family, tend to organise themselves at a distance in different forms according to contexts. Through case studies in the geographical area of Angola/Cape Verde/ Portugal, this chapter discusses how migrants organise their family relations.

The existence of transnational families between Africa and Portugal is not recent and has changed during the various historical periods and due to the political and economic dynamics in the different countries. The strong historical links between the former Portuguese colonies and Portugal persist in the production of family and friendship networks overlapping the networks being formed in the new flows following the fluctuation of the economy. In this panorama, the north-south paradigm is challenged by the contemporary transnational division of labour, and this concept of development must be rethought. At the same time, the perceptions and representations of the colonial memory between the two countries persist, and this is particularly evident in family and migration studies. The approach proposed here in the study of family and migration dynamics allows us to avoid cultural essentialisms, highlight some differences in the representations between the groups and recognise the persistence of stereotypes about the family roles of colonial memory in the couple and family in contemporary migratory flows. At the same time, it also shows that conjugality and parenting at distance – when analysed as a global concept – contributes to a transformation in couples' at distance relationships that are reformulated; sometimes also creating space for the empowerment of women that do not migrate.

The examples here referred to can highlight some dynamics of individuals' social inclusion and exclusion from mobility access and other resources in their changing familial contexts. Furthermore, they stress the importance of renewing the dialogue between agency and structure: are the case studies' family members presented moving as free agents or in a manner dictated by the cultural concept of family as a social structure?

Finally, studying migration and contemporary human mobility raises relevant theoretical questions by their intrinsic "political epistemology" (Garelli and Tazzioli 2013, 1), which has become a conceptual field denaturalising the categories and regimes of academic knowledge. The aim of studying "migrations" is to challenge government policies by creating a project incorporating both academic and governmental policies. To use the mobility concept to study the changes in family relationships when one of its members is living in another country, the paper also points to the necessity of focusing on language as a performative and constitutive dimension of reality by attributing meanings, norms and power that discipline human agencies into thinking, speaking and acting in a certain way (Foucault 1994; Fisher 2003). Global family relationships are changing and the concepts "mobility" and "migration" applied in the study of this social change are not only two different words for the same empirical phenomenon but represent two different institutional perceptions, interests and authorities, having the constitutive power to be reflected in the political dimension.

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