



Greenwich Academic Literature Archive (GALA)
– the University of Greenwich open access repository
<http://gala.gre.ac.uk>

Citation for published version:

Reynolds, Tracey and Zontini, Elisabetta (2014) 'Transnational Families: Migrant Youths 'Doing' Families across Proximities and Distances'. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 3 (2). pp. 251-268. ISSN 2046-7435 (Print), 2046-7443 (Online) (doi:10.1332/204674314X14008543149532)

Publisher's version available at:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1332/204674314X14008543149532>

Please note that where the full text version provided on GALA is not the final published version, the version made available will be the most up-to-date full-text (post-print) version as provided by the author(s). Where possible, or if citing, it is recommended that the publisher's (definitive) version be consulted to ensure any subsequent changes to the text are noted.

Citation for this version held on GALA:

Reynolds, Tracey and Zontini, Elisabetta (2014) 'Transnational Families: Migrant Youths 'Doing' Families across Proximities and Distances'. London: Greenwich Academic Literature Archive. Available at: <http://gala.gre.ac.uk/14679/>

Contact: gala@gre.ac.uk

research

Bringing transnational families from the margins to the centre of family studies in Britain

Tracey Reynolds, London South Bank University, UK
reynolta@lsbu.ac.uk

Elisabetta Zontini, University of Nottingham, UK
elisabetta.zontini@nottingham.ac.uk

[[This abstract has been copyedited but please reduce it to no more than 150 words as per the journal's instructions for authors]] Britain, alongside other Western contemporary societies, has undergone important social and demographic transformations resulting from increased migration, ethnic plurality and multiculturalism. One important change is that family life is increasingly practised across national borders. Research on transnational families, specifically within the field of migration studies, has been pivotal in highlighting the maintenance of family networks across national borders and geographical distance, as well as the mechanisms, processes and practices sustaining these family relations. Yet, rather surprisingly, a detailed analysis of family relationships that are practised across international borders is a marginal field of enquiry within British family studies. In this article, therefore, we argue the case for bringing transnational family studies into the 'mainstream' academic field of family studies, by highlighting the importance of transnational families as an analytical concept for understanding contemporary family life in Britain. We do so by drawing on examples from our respective studies on Caribbean and Italian transnational family relationships to (re)frame concepts typically associated with British family studies, such as for example what is meant by the 'normative family', everyday practices involved in 'doing family' and the notion of 'families of choice'.



key words transnational families • migration • ethnicity • family practices

Introduction

[[as per the journal's instructions for authors, the number of key words has been reduced to 4 ~ are you happy with these 4]] Britain alongside other Western contemporary societies has undergone important social and demographic transformations resulting from increased migration, ethnic plurality and multiculturalism (Goulbourne et al, 2010). One important change is that family life is increasingly practised across national borders as family members migrate, leaving behind in Britain their parents, spouses, children, siblings and other kin (Kilkey and Merla, 2013). **[[missing reference]]** research on transnational families, specifically within the field of migration studies, has been pivotal in highlighting the maintenance of family networks across national borders and geographical distance, as well as the

mechanisms, processes and practices sustaining these family relations (Bryceson and Vourela, 2002; Parreñas, 2005; Baldassar, 2007). Yet, rather surprisingly, a detailed analysis of family relationships that are practised across international borders is a marginal field of enquiry within British family studies. Leading scholars writing on family and intimate relations (Heath et al, 2001 **[[missing reference ~ or do you mean 2011 as cited later and listed in the References]]** mieson, 2011; Morgan, 2011) have commented on the relative absence of transnational families from the current trend of sociological enquiry, which focuses on exploring the factors that shape and constitute the diversity of everyday family life. In this article, therefore, we argue the case for bringing transnational family studies into the 'mainstream' academic field of family studies.

[[there were several very long paragraphs and these have been broken where considered appropriate so that the text looks less dense for the reader ~ if you can see any other paragraphs that can be broken please indicate where]] Many of the themes on transnational families that we present here will resonate with scholars working in the field of migration studies. We are not seeking to generate new knowledge for this audience; rather, what we are attempting to do is to increase the visibility of transnational family studies as a field of enquiry within British family studies by arguing the case for the importance of transnational families as an analytical concept for understanding contemporary family life in Britain. We will do so by drawing on examples from our respective studies on Italian and Caribbean transnational family relationships, which we have been researching for the last 10 years (see, for example, **authors' references; blinded for review purposes [[please replace with the relevant citations]]**)

Engaging transnational families as an analytical tool can be usefully applied to (re) framing concepts typically associated with British family studies, such as, for example, what is meant by the 'normative family', everyday practices involved in 'doing family' and the notion of 'families of choice'. This discussion further highlights the subjective and culturally specific nature of family life (and what constitutes a family) by drawing attention to the way these wider framings have been obscured from analysis in recent times. Our discussion of Caribbean and Italian transnational families highlights the complex interplay between emotional and geographical distance and proximity and the way in which constructions of 'the family' are located at these intersections, alongside boundaries of gender, 'race'/ethnicity, social class and nation. We further attend to the sociocultural and structural environment that shapes transnational family relationships by briefly reflecting on how the current neoliberal political climate, alongside increased restrictions on immigration for non-European migrants through legislation, influences transnational kinship practices.

Research background

This article is based on our ongoing research of Caribbean and Italian transnational families in Britain, which originated out of two qualitative studies conducted by a research group of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), as well as on our theoretical engagement with the field of transnational migration and transnational families more specifically.¹ The group's work focused on the dynamics of family change and processes of social capital, paying particular attention to identities and values, trust and reciprocity and caring for and about. Our broad perspective on understanding

transnational families led us to examine the lived experiences of family members who are scattered across national boundaries and the issues this raised about migration, identities, communities, resources and relationships in the contemporary world.

The Caribbean project investigated processes of identity formation among Caribbean diaspora youth, looking at how these young people utilised social capital resources within their family relationships and community networks. The material was collected through 30 in-depth interviews with second- and third-generation Caribbean young people and 50 kinship/family members across all age groups in the United Kingdom (UK) **[[you seem to use the terms 'Britain' and 'the UK' interchangeably and yet Britain does not include Northern Ireland ~ use one or the other?]]** and the Caribbean (principally the regions of Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica). The Italian project explored various aspects of family life and social capital. These included the functioning of mutual and reciprocal relations related to care, the role of rituals and the formation of transnational identities. The material was collected through participant observation and 50 in-depth interviews in a number of sites in both the UK and in Italy. Italians from the three main migration flows to the UK (pre-war, post-war and recent student and professional migrants) were interviewed, including both first-generation migrants and their offspring. Since this programme of work ended in 2006 we have developed both joint and individual projects that focus more specifically on transnational networks at specific stages of the lifecourse, such as young adulthood (Reynolds, 2007, 2010; Reynolds and Zontini, 2013a; Reynolds and Zontini, **in press [[please clarify whether this is either in press or forthcoming ~ if in press, this can be replaced with 2014, if forthcoming and to be published this year, then 2014: forthcoming]]**) and old age (Zontini, 2012, 2014).

Caribbeans and Italians are clearly ethnically distinctive groups. We believe that these differences make the two groups, and their family types, suitable for comparison, because through looking at them in relation to each other we can draw attention to the subjective and culturally specific nature of family life, which is often missed from wider sociological debates on family life, and which tend to be 'methodologically nationalist' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002 **missing reference**) The most immediate and marked difference between the two groups is that they are racially different from one another and as such they occupy a different radicalised and ethicised status in British society.

There has been a plethora of policy debates that have attended to the changing nature of minority ethnic groups and communities in the UK; and the impact on indigenous communities of migrant communities originating from other European states, former Eastern European territories as well as those resulting from Britain's colonial ties to, for example, African, Caribbean and South Asian nations (Solomos and Bulmer, 1999; Gilroy, 2004; Modood, 2007 **missing references x3**) It is not our intention within this article to examine these debates. However, it is important to point to these debates as a way of contextualising the degree of slippage between the concepts of 'race' and ethnicity that we invoke throughout our analysis when drawing comparisons between the two groups.

In Britain, the conceptually distinctive categories of race, ethnicity and national identity have been conflated and collapsed into each other, and the 'contextual slipperiness' of these terms has contributed to problematical and contested understandings of diverse migrant groups in policy debates. Italians, for instance, have

1 been placed in different racial groups at different times in history and geographical
 2 contexts. For example, their 'whiteness' was not always assumed in the United
 3 States (US), where they were located at the border of the 'colour line' (Stella, 2002;
 4 Guglielmo and Salerno, 2003). **[[missing references x2]]** Today, Southern European
 5 migrants' 'whiteness' offers them privileges in contemporary Britain where they can
 6 benefit from a different immigration status from mainly 'black' migrants originating
 7 from the global South, offering them greater freedom of movement. Yet processes
 8 of racialisation continue to be at play for migrants from former Eastern European
 9 territories. Those ethnic communities that are constructed as 'white Europeans'
 10 enjoy racialised privileges in terms of educational attainment and labour market
 11 experiences compared with their 'black' counterparts (see, for example, Heath et al,
 12 2008; Platt, 2011). There are, for example, significant variance between Italians as
 13 'white Europeans' and Caribbeans as black citizens, with regard to differential access
 14 to public and welfare services.

15 In our previous studies we also explored the way in which Italians enjoy the
 16 racialised privileges afforded by their 'whiteness' and European citizenship, which in
 17 a way are not available or afforded to black Caribbeans on account of their racially
 18 subordinated location (Zontini and Reynolds, 2007; Goulbourne et al, 2010; Reynolds
 19 and Zontini, 2013b). We have similarly focused attention on conceptualisations of
 20 Caribbean and Italian family structures to show the dominant typologies of Caribbean
 21 and Italian families, and the way in which these are underpinned by ethnic, racial and
 22 cultural constructions (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006, 2007). Caribbean families, for
 23 instance, are characterised as adopting a more individualist approach to family life,
 24 resulting in fluid and diverse forms of networks and household patterns.² Yet within
 25 this individualised framework, the self is always understood as relational and situational
 26 to others within kin networks (Reynolds, 2006a). Italian and Southern European
 27 families, more generally, are understood as having particularly strong intergenerational
 28 solidarity whereby the individual is interconnected and interwoven into 'the family'.
 29 Despite increased diversity in living arrangements and the disappearance of the
 30 traditional extended family households, Italian family members continue to live close
 31 to one another, maintaining important economic and emotional links (Zontini, 2006;
 32 Baldassar and Gabaccia, 2011). **[[You now move from the present tense to the
 33 past tense ~ in the next two sentences are you referring to one of the above
 34 studies, or to the research on which this article is based? Clarification/
 35 rewording needed]]** The emphasis on care as central to family lives and the framing
 36 of kinship networks as relational and interconnected illuminated points of convergence
 37 between the two ethnic groups with regard to their transnational family practices. It
 38 also facilitated insights into the ways in which ethnic specific values are attached to
 39 the emotional work, reciprocal care and intimate exchanges transcending national
 40 borders, and which have not been the primary foci of British family studies.

42 Understanding family relations in a transnational context




43
 44 A recent trend among academic scholars researching within the field of British family
 45 studies has been to extend the boundaries of intimacy research in order to assess
 46 the divergent understandings of what constitutes a 'family' and the ways in which
 47 individuals live their personal lives (McCarthy-Ribbens and Edwards, 2011; McKie
 48 and Callann, 2012). In particular, the individualisation thesis provides the bedrock



1 of much of contemporary family studies and the conceptual framework through
2 which family and intimate relations are understood, analysed and contested (Gabb,
3 2010: 71). This thesis advances narratives of choice, globalisation, the liberalisation of
4 personal attitudes (Giddens, 1992) and the democratisation and detraditionalisation
5 of interpersonal relations (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). Even those critics
6 negatively equating individualism with family breakdown, selfish individuals, the loss
7 of family values and the moral decline of society continue to expound the elasticity
8 and stretching boundaries of personal life (Davies, 1993; Morgan, **[[D or P?]]** 96).

9 Questions have also been raised about the extent to which families have been
10 really transformed into individualised and voluntary networks of interpersonal
11 relationships. Gillies' work (2006), for example, calls attention to the privileged
12 status afforded in society to a very specific (white) middle-class formation of family
13 life. She also recognises that the increasing salience given to individualised, intimate
14 and partnered relations risks undermining the important ways in which families are
15 politically, ethically, culturally, morally and structurally located (Gillies, 2011). While
16 it is certainly clear that 'the family', as constituted by a nuclear household unit, is no
17 longer the most prevalent pattern of family and intimate life in the UK today, this
18 particular family form still has a powerful role in popular, media and policy discourse,
19 and is still positioned and conceptualised as the 'normative family'.

20 Recent studies on black and migrant families (eg, Kofman et al, 2012 **[[missing**
21 **reference]]**; Rollock et al, 2013), gay and lesbian families (eg, Weeks et al, 2001;
22 Taylor, 2009) and working-class parenting and families (Gillies, 2006; Vincent and
23 Ball, 2006 **[[missing reference]]**) have been pivotal in challenging this (hetero)
24 normative paradigm, highlighting the complexities and diversities of the way in
25 which families are structured, located, practised, enacted, negotiated and interpreted
26 across historical time and changing social contexts. Migration studies, which have
27 advanced research on transnational families, also contribute another critical lens in
28 disrupting and de-centring the 'normative' status of the 'the family' (see Goulbourne
29 et al, 2010). Yet, and despite of the synergies and parallels with family studies, the study
30 of transnational families continues to be regarded as a separate academic discipline
31 (Heath et al, 2011). In our attempt to draw on the range of family literature across
32 a range of fields, it is readily apparent that both 'mainstream' British family studies
33 and transnational family studies in the UK context have been heavily influenced by
34 David Morgan's work, particularly by his concept of 'family practices' (Morgan, **[[**
35 **or P?]]** 1996). This concept explores the relational connections that express the
36 everyday reality of family relations, including the routinised activities and practices
37 that take place within family networks. Analysis also draws attention to how families
38 are created through sets of caring and intimate relationships and exchanges, and the
39 way different acts of care facilitate the maintenance of relational ties (Morgan, 1996
40 **[[D or P?]]** Williams, 2004). The relationality and fluidity in the definition of family
41 boundaries is a point also developed by Finch (2007: 66–7), who highlights the need
42 for both 'doing' and 'displaying' families.

43 Framed in this way, we can see how transnational families extend the boundaries
44 and ideological gaze of family studies to generate ideas around connectedness,
45 relationality and 'networks of intimacy' (Jamieson, 1998: 76) of family practices
46 that operate and transcend geographical borders. Studies focused on transnational
47 families, for instance, have long since relied on displaying families through the use
48 of visual artefacts, such as photographs and videos, to maintain social connections

1 among geographically dispersed family members (Reynolds, 2006b) **[[Just 2006?**
 2 **There is no a or b in the Referen**  and also to reaffirm cultural and social
 3 belonging (Zontini, 2004; Reynolds and Zontini, 2013b). Yet, transnational family
 4 studies as an academic field of enquiry deepen our understanding about the level of
 5 complexity involved in maintaining the multi-stranded social relations, networks and
 6 processes actively linking together, and simultaneously connecting, migrants to two
 7 or more nation states (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). A primary characteristic of
 8 transnational families, for instance, is having members spread out across nation states
 9 but still maintaining a sense of collective welfare and unity. Bonizzoni and Boccagno
 10 **[[please check spelling ~ spelt Boccagni in the References]]** (2013) talk of 
 11 transnational families as those that are involved in everyday attempts to socially and
 12 emotionally bridge distance and re-establish proximity and practices to this end. Other
 13 empirical studies investigate family practices involving multidirectional, reciprocal and
 14 relational networks that span nation states as well as virtual/‘real world’ borders (Erel,
 15 2012; Lutz and Palenga-Mollenbeck, 2012; Baldassar and Merla, 2013). The family
 16 practices that flow and are exchanged across distances also bring to the fore gender,
 17 ethnic, generational and class divisions, as well as differences between ‘poor’ migrant
 18 workers and the professional elites (Foner, 2002; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Coles
 19 and Fecther, 2007 **[[missing reference ~ there is a Coles and Fecther reference**
 20 **in the References but it's stated as 2012?]]**; Grillo, 2008; King and Christou,
 21 2010 **[[missing referen** ; Ryan and Mulholland, 2013).

22 There is little doubt that changes in roles and responsibilities and the patterning
 23 of relationships and household structures directly result from migration (Bryceson
 24 and Vourela, 2002; Goulbourne et al, 2010; Baldassar and Gabaccia, 2011). Previously
 25 explored in the literature, for instance, has been the way migration may encourage
 26 the intergenerational ‘care deficit’ as parents migrate, leaving behind their children
 27 to be cared for by adult kin (Parreñas, 2005), or equally adult children leaving
 28 behind their older relatives to be cared for by non-kin (Vullnetari and King, 2006;
 29 Baldassar et al, 2007 **[[**  **ng reference]]**), and also the devolution of parenting
 30 responsibilities to migrant children in the country of destination (Phoenix and Bauer,
 31 2012). Yet, transnational families also clearly demonstrate the resilience of family ties.
 32 We suggest that rather than fragmenting or disintegrating as a result of migration,
 33 family relationships simply transform and are reconstituted in new forms such as
 34 for example in the case of ‘Skype mothering’ (Madianou and Miller, 2011; Palenga-
 35 Möllenbeck, 201  **missing reference]]**) where mother-child relationships and
 36 practices of intimacy are conducted from a distance and in mediated form. By drawing
 37 attention to the way families become reformed we acknowledge that there is a danger
 38 of dichotomising old versus new types of family formation, and reifying families from
 39 ‘here’ versus families from ‘there’ in invoking this argument. Nonetheless, we feel
 40 that there is value in highlighting the reformulation of families following migration
 41 because it raises important ideological questions about what it means to be a family
 42 in contemporary Britain, and the cultural specificity that underpins understandings
 43 and meanings around notions of ‘the family’ among different ethnic groups.

44 In the following sections, we use for illustrative purposes, material collected from our
 45 interviews with Caribbean and Italian families to investigate how their transnational
 46 family networks question our understanding of the ‘normative family’ ideal. We then
 47 assess how practices of intimacy are practised across distance and the interplay between
 48 structure and agency in determining family relations and practices.

Rethinking 'normative family' practices

In recent years, much of the discussion within family discourse has been about the differences that exist between our experiences of family life (the families we live with) versus the idealised images of what we think our families ought to be like (the families we live by) (Gillis, 1996). It is argued that the normative family is what people aspire to, the ideal that guides their behaviour, which is a discourse that is quite distinct from the practice and reality of everyday lived experiences (Morgan, 2004; Williams, 2004). The study of transnational families raises a whole range of important issues about the way the 'normative family' gets reconstituted and reconceptualised in society.

Many migrants involved in family practices across distance are actively engaged in sustaining the idealised 'normative family' image through their economic care labour **[[state simply as paid care work]]** in their country of origin. While migration studies recognise the economic care labour **[[paid care work]]** provided by poor female migrant workers from the Global South (Parreñas, 2001), a relatively unacknowledged issue is the way that privileged, often middle-class women and men in the Global North directly rely on and benefit from migrant workers living within the idealised model of family life of the nuclear household (Pelechova, **unpublished PhD thesis**). **[[please replace with the relevant year and add to the References]]** Delegating care to these workers (as nannies, au pairs, cleaners, carers and domestic workers) at cheap and affordable rates means that family care practices do not rely on members living within extended kin households (Zontini, 2010 **[[a or b?]]**; Pojmann, 2011). The contribution of migrant workers in reproducing this heteronormative model of family life for the privileged groups in society, and the way they enable these groups to derive social, moral and economic benefits from living the 'normative' family ideal, are rarely highlighted in analyses.

Typically ignored and downplayed in British family studies literature are also the different understandings attributed to what constitutes the 'normative family' (the family we live by) resulting from 'race', ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Our interviews with Italian families highlighted that among our participants 'the family' they idealised and aspired to be was constructed in dialogue, and often in opposition, to what is perceived to be 'the normative family' for the 'majority' (ie, White-British) population. In the Italian study, Rosanna, **[[have all names been changed to protect anonymity? – it would be useful to say something to this effect]]** for instance, used the example of her son who has an Italian and English grandfather to highlight what she regarded as the 'normative' and distinctive features of the Italian family: strong intergenerational relations, intimacy and closeness even across geographical and linguistic barriers:

'It's really strange because when I look at my son, his relationship with my father is quite touching 'cos he sort of knows his grandfather... [H]e's kind of seen him over the years since he was eight months old ... he's been to Italy. And my father is typical Italian and is very tactile with children... The last few years when Tim visited ... it's quite sweet ... they just sort of played cards together, which is quite touching. But with his other grandfather ... his Yorkshire grandfather, it's interesting because they speak the same language, share the same English culture and yet they are totally strangers ... he's [English grandfather] very cold and not very affectionate towards my son....'

1 In the same study, Francesca similarly described her family values, centred on
 2 cooperation and intergenerational solidarity, as opposed to those of individualism that
 3 in her view characterised the idealised image of a normative British family:

4
 5 'It's a very positive thing that I'm able to not be completely selfish. I remember
 6 when my father went into hospital, some of my English friends were saying:
 7 "Why do you have to go every day and you live so far from the hospital?"
 8 For me it would be bad not to go. This is very Italian that yourself is part of
 9 an extension of something very bigger like *the family*.'


10
 11 The 'Italian family' ideal is characterised by adult children visiting their parents often
 12 and doing small favours for them. When parents become elderly or frail, it is the
 13 children's responsibility (usually women) to look after them, ideally at home. Parents
 14 for their part are expected to provide economically for their children well into
 15 adulthood. They will normally pay for their marriages and buy or help put down a
 16 deposit for their first house. The Italian participants we interviewed used this ideal
 17 – and not the nuclear individualised family – to judge their own and other people's
 18 behaviour. As Baldassar and Gabaccia (2011) have pointed out, families and particular
 19 ways of leading intimate lives are at the heart of what it is to be Italian both in Italy
 20 and especially in the diaspora. **[[do you mean 'especially in the Italian diaspora**
 21 **community'?]]** Ethnic and national identities are associated with specific family
 22 practices – such as 'dedication to close family relations, frequent contact with family,
 23 and a commitment to mother–daughter bonds (Baldassar and Gabaccia: 2011: 15) –
 24 which are explicitly contrasted with what are perceived as the cold, individualistic
 25 and less close attitudes of the majority populations (Wessendorf, 2011).

26 We observed that among those Caribbean and Italian participants whose notion of
 27 normative family did not fit within the British cultural framework there were negative
 28 feelings of hurt, guilt and anxiety as they attempted to reconcile their culturally
 29 specific norms and expectations of family life with British norms and values. We also
 30 observed across both of our studies the internal conflicts within groups as members
 31 negotiated and tried to accommodate different and sometimes conflicting normative
 32 ideals. Gabriella, for example, a participant in the Italian study, based her normative
 33 expectations of family practices on the dominant British cultural model. Consequently,
 34 she had the expectations that her career aspirations should take precedence and that
 35 her parents would support her through childcare provision. Her parents, however,
 36 relying on Italian normative values, believed that it was the younger generation that
 37 had the duty to support the older generation, so when they retired to Italy after
 38 years of hard work in London, they expected Gabriella to migrate back with them
 39 or at least to travel frequently for extended periods to Italy to provide care in their
 40 old age and keep the family united. This case was one of several examples of unmet
 41 expectations, which resulted from family members having different and in some cases
 42 conflicting expectations around 'normative' family practices.

43 Migrants' normative family ideals offered belonging and a sense of identity but
 44 also, as we have seen, were the cause of many tensions. Individuals from both groups,
 45 for instance, felt pressures to conform to particular family or cultural practices that
 46 they felt were unjust or limiting. The following example, from the Caribbean study,
 47 shows how the normative cultural expectation of affluent family members living in
 48 the UK (and other Global North countries) to provide financial remittance to family

1 members ‘back home’ created conflict and breakdown in family relationships. Tamera,
 2 a second-generation migrant and newly qualified medical doctor, commented:

3
 4 ‘My cousin [in Jamaica] lost her job but she also had some big financial
 5 problems, and was in serious debts to the point where she was on the verge
 6 of losing her home. I loaned her some money to get her back on her feet.
 7 But this backfired because it sort of became expected by her and my aunt
 8 [cousin’s mother] that I would take care of her, and take on this responsibility
 9 of taking care of her family by sending her money every month ... until it
 10 got to the point that she stopped looking for jobs and waited for my money
 11 to arrive to feed her and her children. It was affecting my health as I was
 12 feeling bitter and resentful that this burden was falling on me ... so I just
 13 decided to stop sending it and it caused so much problems and bad feelings
 14 with the family on both sides [in Jamaica and the UK]. Because of that I
 15 decided I needed to distance myself from my family because they expect
 16 too much but give nothing back in return.’
 17

18 We argue that the study of transnational families acts as a corrective to the long-held
 19 prominent viewpoint in British families studies literature that households structured
 20 around parent–child relationships or adult coupling, as well as issues of proximity and
 21 co-presence, represent important dimensions of intimacy in families. This contrasts
 22 with our analysis, which showed that for Caribbean and Italian migrant families,
 23 their understanding of a ‘normative family’ entailed them having extended kinship
 24 networks living in different countries and who they did not physically see for long
 25 periods of time. Studies focused on the transnational kinship networks of other migrant
 26 communities in Britain – such as for example Erel (2011) **[[missing reference]]**
 27 on Turkish families, Ryan (**[[year?]]**) **[[missing reference]]** on Polish families and
 28 Bedu-Addo (2010) **[[missing reference]]** on Ghanian families – support this claim.
 29 Our interviewees provided a wealth and range of everyday, routinised transnational
 30 family practices and rituals that individuals were engaged in to maintain family and
 31 intimate relationships. This included, for example: 

- 32
- 33 • frequent care provision;
 - 34 • financial remittance;
 - 35 • ‘return’ migration;
 - 36 • regular visits to their homeland.

37 Regular communication using various technologies (eg, mobile phone calls, texting,
 38 Skype and email) also featured heavily in their accounts. These very mundane,
 39 routinised activities that took place with family members living overseas represented
 40 for these individuals ‘normative’ features of everyday family experiences. These
 41 activities acted as a way to unite family members and sustain close emotional bonds
 42 across borders. We have written extensively about the mechanisms and processes
 43 that individual family members draw on to maintain such practices, and have looked
 44 in detail at specific transnational care practices, including care provision, financial
 45 and cultural remittance flows, and return migration (Reynolds, 2006b, 2010, 2011;
 46 Reynolds and Zontini, 2006, 2013b; Zontini and Reynolds, 2007; Zontini, 2008,
 47 2010b; Madziva and Zontini, 2012).

48 Particularly relevant to our analysis are Bryceson and Vourela’s (2002) concepts of
 ‘frontiering’ and ‘relativising’. ‘Frontiering’ refers to ‘the ways and means transnational

1 family members use to create familial space and network ties in a terrain where affinal
 2 connections are relatively sparse' (Bryceson and Vourela, 2002: 11). 'Relativising' refers
 3 to the ways 'individuals establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with specific family
 4 members' (Bryceson and Vourela, 2002: 14). Our analysis of Caribbean and Italian
 5 first-generation migrant families demonstrates 'frontiering' in practice. Individuals
 6 across these ethnically diverse communities established fictive kin relationships with
 7 people from the same ethnic groups in the UK. Our findings revealed how across
 8 both ethnic groups it was neighbours and friends who became aunts and uncles for
 9 the participant's children. These relationships were often formalised through special
 10 roles given at baptisms and weddings (Reynolds and Zontini, 2013b). In the Italian
 11 study, for instance, Giulia explained her kinship networks, and how her first-generation
 12 parents' friends became family following migration to Britain:

13
 14 'My parents' generation, they have good strong friendships, which replicates
 15 a sense of family, given that we don't have any direct family here. They are
 16 really good to each other. They share things and make wine together and
 17 cook together and bring presents to each other when they visit. They have a
 18 strong sense of friendship being like family, and I think it was very important
 19 in giving them a sense of continuity and familiarity.'

20
 21 The concept of 'relativising' actively demonstrates the resilience of family ties.
 22 Crucially, family rituals and celebrations, usually coinciding with cyclical festivities
 23 such as Christmas and Easter, and important life-cycle events such as weddings, funerals
 24 and anniversaries, also provided the opportunity for transnational links to develop.
 25 We have previously expanded on this issue elsewhere in our analysis of Caribbean
 26 and Italian transnational family relationships (Reynolds, 2006b; Zontini, 2010 **[a or**
 27 **b]** Reynolds and Zontini, 2013a, 2013b). As our examination of Caribbean families
 28 illustrates, a whole industry has developed around the family reunion whereby kin
 29 members gather from across the globe. A principal aim of these family reunion events
 30 is to strengthen family ties and connections that could be potentially lost if family
 31 members do not make a concerted effort to maintain them (Sutton, 2004). In the
 32 following example, Michael, a second-generation migrant, described how the family
 33 reunion centred on Christmas and the family ritual of kin-members travelling to the
 34 grandparents' home in Jamaica, as a means of sustaining and reformulating kinship
 35 ties spread across geographical distance:

36
 37 'I always make sure I go home [to Jamaica] for Christmas. Usually about
 38 five or six of my uncles and aunts go home also. It's a family tradition that
 39 we meet up at my grandparents' house in Kingston, and then travel down
 40 to my uncle house in MoBay [Montego bay] on Christmas Eve. Usually
 41 my uncle from Germany is there. Last Christmas my aunt from New
 42 Zealand came also who I had spoken to and seen photos of but had never
 43 met before. I promised I'd go and visit her over there, and I've promised to
 44 return the favour and invite her over to visit the English connection; she's
 45 never met many of her younger cousins who live here, so I see it as a way
 46 of expanding the family connections to the next generation ... also some of
 47 my dad's aunts from the States and three cousins and their kids who live
 48 in Canada came so it was rammed [crowded]. Our family 'get togethers' are

1 important, it keep us emotionally close, it's a chance to catch up on family
 2 news, meet new and old family.... My grandparents have said when they die
 3 they're going to keep the house for us to use, a base for family to meet and
 4 keep returning to. I'm going to continue that tradition with my children.'

5
 6 This account by Michael shows how he and his family members utilised these trips
 7 as an important social capital resource in maintaining inter/intragenerational and
 8 cross-cultural connections, and also as an opportunity to establish a bond with family
 9 members he had never met before, which meant a reformulation of his existing
 10 networks to bring in these new members. For Michael, the family trips to the
 11 homeland reinforced his ethnic and family ties to the region, signifying and locating
 12 the trips as a family practice invested with emotional meaning. This example of the
 13 family reunion and other family events and practices that take place across borders
 14 with family members living in different nation states highlights the interplay between
 15 (physical and emotional) proximity and distance a crucial element driving the motor
 16 of the transnational family experience. Different kinds and conceptualisations of
 17 intimacy come into play, which we highlight in the next section of our discussion.

18
 19 **Interrogating practices of intimacy and 'choice' across distance**
 20

21 British family studies literature conceptualises 'the family' as an affective space of
 22 intimacy (Smart, 2004 [missing reference]) Sociological research in this area
 23 has tended to draw attention to embedded and relational attachments, reciprocity,
 24 multidirectional 'networks of intimacy' (Jamieson, 1998) and 'the role of the family home
 25 in shaping interactions and practices of intimacy' (Gabb, 2010: 66, emphasis [[added or in
 26 original? Much of the research in British family studies on intimate practices –
 27 whether it is in regard to individual self-fulfilment, the relationships between parents
 28 and children, and love and sexual relationships between adult partners/couples –
 29 foregrounds proximity and national-cultural contexts (Gabb and Silva, 2011). But
 30 what happens when, as is the norm with transnational families, intimate practices
 31 within families operate not on the basis of proximity but across distances? How do
 32 relationships that are understood as the norm take place outside of the confines of
 33 national borders and encompass different national-cultural contexts?

34 Certainly, relatively inexpensive flights and affordable travel have played their part
 35 in allowing families the opportunities to conduct intimate family practices across
 36 space, nations and time. In the Italian study, several participants would use cheap
 37 flights to visit family members for an extended weekend, or to seek medical and
 38 dental treatment back in Italy. While distance prevented those in the Caribbean study
 39 from travelling to their homeland as frequently, we were struck by the number of
 40 participants who would visit there two or three times a year, or would 'come and
 41 go' every six months in order to divide their time between family members living
 42 in the UK, Caribbean or other countries (most principally Canada and the US). We
 43 also observed many elderly retired Caribbean migrants who had returned back to
 44 the Caribbean booking appointments with the UK's National Health Service and
 45 welfare services that coincided with their bi-annual trips to see their children and
 46 grandchildren 'left behind' in the UK.

47 As we have also explored in depth elsewhere (Reynolds and Zontini, 2013b),
 48 advancements made in online technologies – such as Skype, instant messaging, social


1 networking sites and other internet and mobile phone-based platforms – have also
 2 transformed practices of intimacy across distance by allowing people to cross borders
 3 in new ways. Migrants with diasporic and transnational connections utilise a range
 4 of new media to maintain both ‘real’ and symbolic relationships within a particular
 5 locality (Horst, 2011; Madianou and Miller, 2012). As a number of studies also show,
 6 online technologies change transnational movements from the actual to the virtual, and
 7 shape how people imagine and belong to their home and host countries (Diminescu,
 8 2008 **[[missing reference]]**; Miller, 2011; Anderson, 2013 **[[missing reference]]**)

9 Of course, not every family member wants or has access to online technologies and
 10 this sometimes acts as a barrier to geographically dispersed family members staying
 11 connected. Such constraints on transnational family practices have encouraged us to
 12 question more generally the extent to which transnational families contest patterns
 13 of intimacy framed in British family studies as emerging out of democratisation,
 14 detraditionalisation and the individualisation of interpersonal relationships (Beck and
 15 Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). It is argued that the ‘transformation of intimacy’ (Giddens,
 16 1992) increases individual flexibility and choice, with individuals freed from familial
 17 ties of obligation and practices of family intimacy becoming more participatory and
 18 democratic (Beck-Gernsheim, 1999). Although there have been many critics of the
 19 detraditionalisation thesis for overstating the case (Smart and Shipman, 2004; Gross,
 20 2005 **[[missing reference]]**; Smart, 2007), it still remains the dominant overarching
 21 narrative of family life in recent times

22 In one sense, research on transnational families contributes to this discourse by
 23 championing Bryceson and Vourela’s (2002) concept of ‘frontiering’, which emphasises
 24 the idea that people are actively creating their families to reinforce notions of
 25 belonging and affinity. In the previous section, for instance, and in related studies we
 26 commented on how first-generation migrants create new families in the new country
 27 comprised of friends and fictive kin usually sharing the same ethnic, cultural or regional
 28 background (Reynolds and Zontini, 2013b). That being said, however, we also believe
 29 that the ideas of democratisation and detraditionalisation in interpersonal relationships
 30 disguise key structural and cultural processes that underpin transnational family life.

31 Research evidence suggests that structural inequalities associated with gender,
 32 race and social class, for example, govern family migration practices in Britain and
 33 also determine how these families operate within the jurisdictional context of the
 34 nation state (Kofman, 2004). **[[missing reference]]** Under the current neoliberal
 35 political agenda, we are witnessing a backlash against migrant families as sites of
 36 multiculturalism. Within education and social welfare policy debates, for example,
 37 there is a prevailing discourse that low-educated migrants become mothers, reproduce
 38 social inequalities and the ‘wrong’ type of social capital, and as a result there is an
 39 increasing demonisation of their cultural and family practices (Erel, 2012). Current
 40 policies, supported by the media, promote the viewpoint that family migration is ‘out
 41 of control’ and therefore in need of intervention. Indeed as Kofman (2012) argues,
 42 a long-term objective of policies setting out to increase the immigration control of
 43 non-non-European Union (EU) (and Global South) migrants could ultimately be
 44 to disrupt and curtail their transnational family relationships and practices.

45 This interplay between structure and agency demonstrates that individuals’ choices,
 46 decisions and practices are influenced and constrained by intersecting relational,
 47 social/cultural, material and institutional factors (Duncan et al, 2011). **[[missing
 48 reference ~ or do you mean Duncan, 2011, as stated in the References?]]**

1 The tightening of immigration laws – through immigration restrictions on pre-entry
2 tests, visa restrictions on non-EU citizens and proposed increases to the sponsorship
3 and income requirement threshold – directly inform whether non-EU migrant
4 couples and families live together or apart. Sixty-one per cent of non-EU migrant
5 women will not be able to match the income requirement compared with one third
6 of men, and the income threshold favours professional elites and skilled migrants,
7 clearly demonstrating the inherent gender and social class inequalities built into the
8 system (Migrants Right Network, 2013). **[[missing reference]]** 

9 Transnational family practices are becoming increasingly complex in the face of
10 such stringent immigration legislation. They will, for example, be further determined,
11 regulated and enforced by institutional and government legislation rather than simply
12 being a result of familial ‘choice’ and decision making. As mentioned above, some
13 migrant groups from the Global South will be subjected to increased legislation that
14 will curtail transnational family practices. For Caribbean migrants, for example, this
15 will mean restriction in family reunification and visits by family members coming
16 from this region in order to provide family care. In contrast, migrants from the Global
17 North territories (eg, Australia, Canada and the US) and the EU will continue to
18 traverse borders and nations with greater ease and frequency. Under the current
19 global economic crisis, however, some EU migrants are also feeling more vulnerable
20 about their ability to traverse national borders. For example, due to recent discussions
21 initiated by Prime Minister David Cameron about limiting EU citizens’ freedom of
22 movement, Italian migrants, who until recently felt secure of their European citizenship
23 rights, now realise that their rights could be curtailed and their privileges removed
24 (Reynolds and Zontini, 2013a).

25 26 **Conclusion**

27
28 In this article we have attempted to show how transnational families should occupy
29 a more central focus in British family studies rather than existing as a marginal
30 and separated field of enquiry within migration studies. British family studies have
31 long since recognised family diversity, change and boundary-crossing in everyday
32 lives. Transnational families contribute significantly to this debate by encouraging a
33 rethinking of family practices in relation to and beyond the boundaries of the nation
34 state. We drew on examples of two groups that are culturally and ethnically distinct
35 from one another – Caribbeans and Italians – to show how transnational family
36 practices take place in everyday family interactions among a range of groups settled in
37 Britain. Through our examples we raise important ideological questions about what
38 it means to be a family in contemporary Britain. Specifically, these examples allow us
39 to rethink the cultural specificity that underpins constructions and understandings of
40 the idealised (but often contested) ‘normative family’ in British family studies, moving
41 them beyond methodological nationalism.


42 Fundamentally, through our focus on transnational families, we challenge the
43 underlying assumption of British family studies that see proximity, co-presence and
44 households structured around parent-child relationships or adult couple relationships
45 as representing ‘normative’ features of family and intimate life. Our analysis shows
46 that for transnational migrant communities, a ‘normative family’ entails having family
47 members living in different countries that they may not physically see for long periods
48 of time. The very mundane, routinised activities taking place with family members

1 living overseas – for example daily phone calls, Skype calls and family remittances –
 2 represent for them ‘doing family’ in everyday life and across distances.




3 We also want to bring attention to the interplay between agency and structure,
 4 and to the fact that families, and in particular transnational families, operate within
 5 the jurisdictional context of the nation state. This raises questions about the extent
 6 to which individuals in contemporary Britain are afforded greater ‘choice’, flexibility
 7 and freedom in defining their family lives. Our analysis identifies how immigration
 8 legislation confines and restricts practices of care and intimacy among transnational
 9 families. Particularly among Caribbeans in the UK with non-EU family members from
 10 this Global South region, stringent immigration legislation is increasingly curtailing
 11 some aspects of cross-border family practices. It could be argued that a long-term
 12 objective of increased immigration control of non-EU (and Global South) migrants
 13 is to disrupt their transnational family relationships and practices. In addressing
 14 some of these complex issues surrounding transnational families, the one thing that
 15 clearly emerges is the resilience of family ties. In spite of these increased difficulties,
 16 our research has shown that rather than fragmenting or disintegrating as a result of
 17 migration, family relationships simply transform and are reconstituted in new forms.
 18 Given migrant communities’ growing presence in Britain as well as their theoretical
 19 significance for reframing current debates, we argue for the study of transnational
 20 families to be brought from the margins into the centre of British family studies.



21 Notes

22 ¹ The research forms part of the Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group
 23 programme of work (ESRC award reference: M570255001).


24 ² This diversity in family patterns also reflects the fact that individuals and families have
 25 had to culturally adapt themselves as a result of enforced and then subsequent waves of
 26 voluntary migration (Smith, 1996 **[[missing reference]]**; Goulbourne, 2002 **[[missing**
 27 **reference]]**; authors blinded for review, 2005 **[[what reference should be cited**
 28 **here?]]**). 


29 References

- 30
 31
 32 Baldassar, L, 2007, Transnational families and the provision of moral and emotional
 33 support: the relationship between truth and distance, *Identities* 14, 4, 385–409
 34 Baldassar, L, Gabaccia, D (eds), 2011, *Intimacy and Italian migration: Gender and domestic*
 35 *lives in a mobile world*, New York, NY: Fordham University Press
 36 Baldassar, L, Merla, L (eds), 2013, *Transnational families, migration and kin-work: From*
 37 *care chains to care circulation*, London: Routledge
 38 Beck, U, Beck-Gernsheim, E, 1995, *The normal chaos of love*, Cambridge: Polity Press
 39 **[[Please check spelling of Boccagni ~ cited as Boccagn** 
 40 Boccagni, P, 2013, Care (and) circulation revisited: a conceptual 
 41 transnational parenting, in L Baldassar, M Merla (eds) *Transnational families, migration*
 42 *and kin-work: From care chains to care circulation*, London: Routledge
 43 Bryceson, D, Vuorela, U (eds), 2002, *The transnational family: New European frontiers*
 44 *and global networks*, Oxford: Berg
 45 Coles, A, Fechter, AM (eds), 2012, **[[not cited as 2012 ~ 2007 ~ please clari** 
 46 *Gender and family among transnational professionals*, London: Routledge
 47 Davies, J (ed), 1993, *The family: Is it just another lifestyle choice?*, London: IEA Health
 48 and Welfare Unit

- 1 Duncan, S, **[[cited as having other authors?]]** 2011, Personal life, pragmatism and
 2 bricolage, *Sociological Research Online* 16, 4, 13, www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/13.
 3 html
- 4 Erel, U, 2012, Engendering transnational space: migrant mothers as cultural currency
 5 speculators, *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19, 4, 460–74
- 6 Finch, J, 2007, Displaying families, *Sociology* 41, 1, 65–81
- 7 Foner, N, 2002, Second generation transnationalism, then and now, in P Levitt, M
 8 Waters (eds) *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*,
 9 New York, NY: Russell Sage
- 10 Gabb, J, 2010, *Researching intimacies in families*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- 11 Gabb, J, Silva, E, 2011, Introduction to critical concepts: families, intimacies and
 12 personal relationships, *Sociological Research Online* 16, 4, 23, www.socresonline.org.
 13 uk/16/4/23.html
- 14 Giddens, A, 1992, *The transformation of intimacy*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 15 Gillies, V, 2006, *Marginalised mothers: Exploring working class experiences of parenting*,
 16 London; Routledge
- 17 Gillies, V, 2011, From function to competence: engaging with the new politics of
 18 family, *Sociological Research Online*, 16, 4, 11, www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/11.html
- 19 Gillis, J, 1996, *A world of their own making: Myth, ritual, and the quest for family values*,
 20 Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press
- 21 Goulbourne, H, Reynolds, T, Solomos, J, Zontini, E, 2010, *Transnational families:
 22 Ethnicities, identities and social capital*, London: Routledge
- 23 Grillo, R (ed), 2008, *The family in question: Immigrant and ethnic minorities in multicultural
 24 Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press
- 25 Heath, AF, Rothon, C, Kilpi, E, 2008, The second generation in Western Europe:
 26 education, unemployment, and occupational attainment, *Annual Review of Sociology*
 27 34, 1, 211–35
- 28 Heath, S, McGhee, D, Trevena, P, 2011, Lost in translation: unraveling the
 29 conceptualisation of families and personal life through a transnational gaze,
 30 *Sociological Research Online*, 16, 4, 11, www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/12.html
- 31 Horst, H, 2011, Grandmothers, girlfriends and big men: the gendered geographies of
 32 Jamaican transnational communication, in L Fortunati, R Pertierra, J Vincent (eds)
 33 *Migration, diaspora and information technology in global societies*, London: Routledge
- 34 IPPR (Institute for Public Policy Research), 2010, *Youth unemployment and the recession*,
 35 London IPPR **[[not cited ~ ok to delete?]]** 
- 36 Jamieson, L, 1998, *Intimacy: Personal relationships in modern cities*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 37 Jamieson, L, 2011, Intimacy as a concept: explaining social change in the context of
 38 globalisation or another form of ethnocentrism?, *Sociological Research Online*,
 39 16, 4, 15, www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/15.html
- 40 King, R, Christou, A, Levitt, P, 2011, Links to the diasporic homeland: second-
 41 generation and ancestral 'return', special issue, *Mobilities* 6, 4 **[[not cited ~ ok to
 42 delete? ~ if to be cited, you are citing the whole issue, is this correct?]]** 
- 43 Kofman, E, 2012, Gender and skilled migration in Europe, *European Journal of Women's
 44 Studies*, 19, 4, 490–504
- 45 Kofman, E, Kraler, A, Kohli, M, Schmoll, C, 2011, Issues and debates on family-related
 46 migration and the migrant family: a European perspective, in A Kraler, E Kofman,
 47 M Kohli, C Schmoll (eds) *Gender, generations and the family in international migration*,
 48 Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

- 1 Levitt, P, Glick Schiller, N, 2004, Conceptualizing simultaneity: a transnational social
2 field perspective on society, *International Migration Review* 38, 3, 1002–39
- 3 Lutz, H, Palenga-Mollenbeck, E, 2012, Care workers, care drain, and care chains:
4 reflections on care, migration, and citizenship, *Social Politics* 19, 1, 15–37
- 5 McCarthy-Ribbens, J, Edwards, R, 2011, *Key concepts in family studies*, London: Sage
6 Publications
- 7 McKie, L, Callann, S, 2012, *Understanding families: A global introduction*, London: Sage
8 Publications
- 9 Madianou, M, Miller, D, 2011, Mobile phone parenting: reconfiguring relationships
10 between Filipina migrant mothers and their left-behind children, *New Media Society*
11 13, 3, 457–70
- 12 Madianou, M, Miller, D, 2012, *Migration and the new media: Transnational families and*
13 *polymedia*, London: Routledge
- 14 Madziva, R, Zontini, E, 2012, Transnational mothering and forced migration:
15 understanding the experiences of Zimbabwean mothers in the UK, *The European*
16 *Journal of Women's Studies* 19, 4, 428–43
- 17 Miller, D, 2011, *Tales from Facebook*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 18 Morgan, D, 2004, Everyday life and family practices, in EB Silva, T Bennett (eds)
19 *Contemporary culture and everyday life*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 20 Morgan, D, 2011, *Rethinking family practices*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- 21 Morgan, D, 1996, *Family connections*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 22 Morgan, P, 1996, *Who needs parents?*, London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit
- 23 Parreñas, RS, 2001, *Servants of globalization: Women, migration, and domestic work*, Stanford,
24 CA: Stanford University Press
- 25 Parreñas, RS, 2005, *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*,
26 Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- 27 Phoenix, A, Bauer, E, 2012, Challenging gender practices: intersectional narratives of
28 sibling relations and parent–child engagements in transnational serial migration,
29 *European Journal of Women's Studies* 19, 4, 490–504
- 30 Platt, L, 2011, *Understanding inequalities: Stratification and difference*, Cambridge: Polity
31 Press
- 32 Pojmann, W, 2011, Mothering across boundaries: immigrant domestic workers and
33 gender roles in Italy, in L Badassar, D Gabaccia (eds) *Intimacy and Italian migration:*
34 *Gender and domestic lives in a mobile world*, New York, NY: Fordham University
35 Press, 127–39
- 36 Reynolds, T, 2006a, Caribbean young people, family relationships and social capital,
37 *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, 6, 1087–103
- 38 Reynolds, T, 2006b, Bonding social capital within the Caribbean family and
39 community, *Journal of Community, Work and Family* 9, 3, 273–90
- 40 Reynolds, T, 2007, Friendship networks, social capital and ethnic identity: researching
41 the perspectives of Caribbean young people in Britain, *Journal of Youth Studies* 10,
42 4, 383–98
- 43 Reynolds, T, 2010, Transnational family networks, cultural belonging and social capital
44 among second-generation British–Caribbean ‘returning’ migrants, *Ethnic and Racial*
45 *Studies* 33, 5, 797–815
- 46 Reynolds, T, 2011, Caribbean second generation return migration: identities,
47 transnational family relationships and ‘left behind’ kin in Britain, *Mobilities* 6, 3,
48 535–52

- 1 Reynolds, T, Zontini, E, 2006, *A comparative study of care and provision across Caribbean*
2 *and Italian transnational families*, Families and Social Capital ESRC Research Group
3 Working Paper Series, 16, London: South Bank University
- 4 Reynolds, T, Zontini, E, 2007, Assessing social capital and care provision in minority
5 ethnic communities: a comparative study of Caribbean and Italian families, in R
6 Edwards, J Franklin, J Holland (eds) *Assessing social capital: Concept, policy and practice*,
7 Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press
- 8 Reynolds, T, Zontini, E, 2013a, Transnational families: migrant youths ‘doing’ families
9 across proximities and distances, in T Sanger, Y Taylor (eds) *Mapping intimacies:*
10 *Relations, exchanges, affects*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- 11 Reynolds, T, Zontini, E, 2013b, Care flows in transnational families: cultural and
12 social capitals, identity and belonging, in L Baldassar, L Merla (eds) *Transnational*
13 *families, migration and kin-work: From care chains to care circulation*, Basingstoke: Palgrave
14 Macmillan
- 15 Reynolds, T, Zontini, E, **in press, [[please clarify whether this is either**
16 **forthcoming or in press ~ if in press then this can be replaced with 2014]]**
17 Guest editors of special issue entitled ‘Transnational and diasporic youth identities’,
18 *Identities* **[[any further publication details available?]]** 
- 19 Ribbens McCarthy, J, Edwards, R, 2011, *Key concepts in family studies*, London: Sage
20 Publications
- 21 Rollock, N, Vincent, C, Gillborn, D, Ball, S, 2013, Middle class by profession: class
22 status and identification amongst the Black middle classes, *Ethnicities* 13, 3, 253–75
- 23 Ryan, L, Mulholland, J, 2013, Trading places: French highly skilled migrants negotiating
24 mobility and emplacement in London, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, www.
25 esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-000-22-4240/outputs/read/2ac4cb2f-2426-4a0a-
26 afdc-2dc62523a6fa
- 27 Smart, C, 2007, *Personal life: New directions in sociological thinking*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- 28 Smart, C, Shipman, B, 2004, Vision in monochrome: families, marriage and the
29 individualisation thesis, *British Journal of Sociology* 55, 4, 491–509
- 30 Sutton, C, 2004, Celebrating ourselves: the family rituals of African-Caribbean
31 transnational families, *Global Networks* 4, 3, 243–57
- 32 Taylor, Y, 2009, *Lesbian and gay parents: Securing social and educational capital*, Basingstoke:
33 Palgrave Macmillan
- 34 Vullnetari, J, King, R, 2006, Orphan pensioners and migrating grandparents: the impact
35 of mass migration on older people in rural Albania, *Ageing and Society* 26, 5, 783–816
- 36 Weeks, J, Heaphy, B, Donovan, C, 2001, *Same sex intimacies*, London: Routledge
- 37 Wessendorf, S, 2011, State-imposed translocalism and the dream of returning: Italian
38 migrants in Switzerland, in L Baldassar, D Gabaccia (eds) *Intimacy and Italian migration:*
39 *Gender and domestic lives in a mobile world*, New York, NY: Fordham University Press
- 40 Williams, F, 2004, *Rethinking families: Moral tales of parenting and step-parenting*, London:
41 Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation
- 42 Zontini, E, 2004, Immigrant women in Barcelona: coping with the consequences of
43 transnational lives, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, 6, 1113–44
- 44 Zontini, E, 2006, Italian families and social capital: care provision in a transnational
45 world, *Community, Work and Family* 9, 3, 325–45
- 46 Zontini, E, 2008, Resisting ‘Fortress Europe’: the everyday politics of female
47 transnational migrants in Italy and Spain, *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology*
48 51, 12–27

- 1 Zontini, E, 2010a, Gender and resisting fortress Europe in Italy and Spain, in W Lem,
2 PG Barber (eds) *Class and contention in a world in motion*, New York, NY and Oxford:
3 Berghahn Books **[[not yet cited ~ please indicate where it should be cited]** 
- 4 Zontini, E, 2010b, Enabling and constraining aspects of social capital in migrant
5 families: ethnicity, gender and generation, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, 5, 816–31
- 6 Zontini, E, 2012, Care arrangements of elderly transnational migrants: between family,
7 community and the state, in S Weller, C Rogers (eds) *Critical approaches to care:
8 Understanding caring relations, identities and cultures*, London: Routledge
- 9 Zontini, E, 2014, Growing old in a transnational social field: mobility, identity
10 and belonging among Italian migrants, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, doi:
11 10.1080/01419870.2014.885543
- 12 Zontini, E, Reynolds, T, 2007, Ethnicity, families and social capital: caring relationships
13 across Italian and Caribbean transnational families, *International Review of Sociology*
14 33, 7, 1103–19
- 15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48