

PROBLEMS AND VISIONS IN SOCIAL CARE

Collection of Abstracts

Editors: Majda Hrženjak and Mojca Frelj

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PROBLEMS AND VISIONS IN SOCIAL CARE

Ljubljana, September 14 - 15, 2016

at the premises of The Association of Free Trade Unions Slovenia, Dalmatinova 4

Due to changing demographic, social and economic imperatives regimes of social care, which are an important element of the welfare system and a factor of equality including the position of women in society, have been transforming profoundly in the EU over the past decades. New boundaries concerning redistribution of costs, work and responsibilities for care between family, state, market and community are being negotiated by introducing new modes of financing, contributions, allowances and conditions for the rights to be cared for and to care for. Research reveals some worrying trends in these developments: instead of thorough institutional reforms states are withdrawing from institutional and formal provisions of care by substituting them with monetary subsidies, tax reductions, and encouraging family-based or other informal solutions for care. Familisation of care implies women's responsibilities for provision of unpaid care while at the same time labour market policies target women to participate more and work longer in paid employment. Care is consequently increasingly outsourced also from the family while concurrently creating precarious pseudo employment statuses in private households manifestly supported by specific welfare, employment and immigration policies. Growing informal and private markets of care are nested in and further reproduce wider social inequalities along the axis of class, race/ethnicity, gender, and citizenship status. These contradictions represent a profound social and political challenge but at the same time also create new sites of resistance, imaginaries of social change and locations of transformative actions.

The conference aims at creating space for discussion the following topics:

- Current policy changes in providing and/or financing care;
- Current developments in rights to receive and to give care;
- Assessment of deinstitutionalisation of care from the perspective of informalisation and re-familisation;
- Studies of commercial care industry including transnational companies;
- Modifications of employment statuses in home-based care and developments of pseudo- and semi-employment statuses;
- Home-based elder care and its impact on women;
- Transnationalisation of care and interplay between migrant and local care workers and different actors;
- Evidence from the Balkan, Eastern European and former Soviet Union countries;
- Visions of integrating care in transformative politics (caring democracy; caring masculinity; universal caregiver; citizenship and care; transnational feminist ethics of care; relations between production and reproduction).

The conference is organised by the Peace Institute in cooperation with the University of Ljubljana - Faculty of Social Work within the framework of the fundamental research project 'Care Work between Individualization, Socialization and Globalization' and is supported by Slovenian National Research Agency.

PROGRAM

FIRST DAY (SEPTEMBER 14, 2016)

8.30 – 9.00 Registration (+ Morning Coffee/Tea)

9.00 – 9.30 Introduction

Majda Hrženjak, *Peace Institute*

Vesna Leskošek, *University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Work*

9.30 – 10.15 Keynote speech:

Helma Lutz – *Neoliberal Contingencies: Cash-for-Care and the Universal Employer*

Moderator: Mojca Pajnik

10.15 – 11.05 Session 1:

Restructuring of Care Policies in the Context of Post-Socialist former Yugoslavia States

Zorana Antonijević – *Framing the Care Policy at the Semi-Periphery: the Case of Parental Allowances in Serbia*

Majda Hrženjak – *Comparison of Childcare and Eldercare Policies in Slovenia from the Perspective of (De)Familiarization and Gender Equality*

Moderator: Neža Kogovšek Šalomon

11.05 – 11.30 Coffee/Tea Break

11.30 – 13.10 Session 2: Ambiguities of Care as a Paid Work

Anneli Stranz – *Illuminating the Dimensions of Redistribution and Recognition in the Everyday Realities of Care Work*

Lorena Poblete – *The Ambivalence of Labour Regulation in Latin America*

Lenore E. Matthew – *Does Labor Formalization Impose Externalities on Informally Employed Women?: Considering Unpaid Care*

Vesna Leskošek – *Wage in Private Care Sector: the Case of Family Care Assistants*

Moderator: Veronika Bajt

13.10 – 14.30 Lunch Break

14.30 – 15.15 Keynote speech:

Bernhard Weicht – *State, Market, or back to the Family? Nostalgic Struggles for Proper Elder Care*

Moderator: Majda Hrženjak

15.15 – 16.30 Session 3: Homecare Practices: Negotiations, Struggles and Challenges

Helene Brodin and Elin Peterson – *“If Men Had Been Overrepresented Among Workers and Owners, Things Would Have Been Different.” Experiences of Small Homecare Entrepreneurs in Stockholm*

Duga Mavrinac – *Practices of Care: Domestic Space and Elder Care Work in Contemporary Croatia*

Olga Tkach – *Kin-Related Elder Care in Russian Families: Challenges for Home*

Moderator: Vesna Leskošek

19.00 Joint Dinner

SECOND DAY (SEPTEMBER 15, 2016)

9.30 – 10.15 Keynote speech:

Eleonore Kofman – *Gendered Migrations, Care and Life Courses: Who Cares for the Carers and Their Social Reproduction*

Moderator: Mojca Pajnik

10.15 – 11.55 Session 4: Experiences of Caring Abroad

Tanja Višić – *Who Actually Cares? An Ethnographic Study of Female Migrant Domestic Workers from Serbia in Germany*

Boncilă Anca Mădălina – *The Case of Romanian Women Working abroad for Elderly People - A Feminist Methodological Approach Focused on the Role of the Caregiver*

Noreen M. Sugrue and Lenore E. Matthew – *Analyzing and Explaining Migration Decisions of Unskilled Care Workers*

Veronika Bajt – *Transnationalisation of Care Work: Ethnicity, Gender and Nationalism in Slovenia*

Moderator: Iztok Šori

11.55 – 13.30 Lunch break

13.30 – 14.15 Keynote speech:

Marta Szebehely – *The Nordic Caring State – Ideals and Realities*

Moderator: Majda Hrzenjak

14.15 – 15.05 Session 5: (De)Institutionalization of Elder Care from Micro and Macro Perspective

Nataliia Sherstneva – *The Choice of Institutional Care as a Biographical Project*

Albert Banerjee – *Innovation or Caring Innovation? Articulating a Vision of Care as a “Cosmology” to Imagine Effective Solutions to Problems with Care in Nursing Homes*

Moderator: Živa Humer

15.05 – 15.20 Coffee/Tea Break

15.20 – 16.35 Session 6: Visions of Caring Society

Elli Scambor – *‘Caring Masculinities’ – Do Men Really Care in Europe?*

Brunella Casalini – *Vulnerable Families and Careworkers: Why Care Labour Should Be Remunerated, but Not For Sale*

Zuzana Uhde – *Caring Revolutionary Transformations*

Moderator: Darja Zaviršek

16.35 Conclusion

LIST OF ABSTRACTS **(according to the programme)**

HELMA LUTZ: Neoliberal Contingencies: Cash-for-Care and the Universal Employer

Welfare state policies in the EU are increasingly turning towards commercialisation of care, including privatisation of care obligations to family members through family directed care allowances. At the same time, they are facilitating outsourcing of these obligations to third parties, along with deregulation/absence of regulation of working conditions in private households, introduction of special rules for work arrangements of caregivers, etc. As a result, a boosted *care market*, which has developed into the most significant labour market for (female) migrant workers, has gradually emerged as a binding link between the East and the West, the South and the North of Europe. The flow of workers, however, is not equally distributed; to the contrary, we still observe a misalignment. A large majority of care receiving and employing households are those in the ‘Old EU’ whereas majority of caregivers originate from Eastern, Central and South Eastern European, the ‘New EU’ or bordering countries. Some of the latter, such as Poland, are now sending and receiving migrant care workers simultaneously.

In the lecture, the author will critically inquire the logic of ‘cash-for-care’ policies, which lead to a situation where persons in need of care are more or less obliged to turn to the market and care-recipients are ultimately turned into private employers. The receipt of good care, in particular at old age, gradually becomes a privilege that displays social cleavages and income stratifications. Author examines these phenomena as new faces of transnational social

inequality emerging from the privatisation of care as a new commodity. With reference to Nancy Fraser's 'Universal Care Giver', the author termed this development the 'Universal Employer' model. In the article *After the Family Wage: A Post-industrial Thought Experiment*, Fraser questions the common logic of capitalist societies' organisation of work and (private/family) life; she criticizes in particular that employment conditions in waged work have developed into a situation where the demands (time, flexibility and mobility) of the workplace have become the pacemaker for private/family life. By using feminist interventions – as those of Fraser, Williams and others – author will show that there are – at least in theory – alternatives to the Universal Employer Model. These, however, require a re-conceptualisation, re-evaluation and re-assessment of care work, a redistribution of resources and a new way of representing the work-life balance.

ZORANA ANTONIJEVIĆ: Framing the Care Policy at the Semi-Periphery: The Case of Parental Allowances in Serbia

The aim of the paper is to explore how care policies are framed in post-conflict, post-socialist context at the semi-periphery (Hughson 2013, 2015). The concept of care policy is understood as a set of measures and policy interventions aiming to support parenthood of women and men to achieve egalitarian relationships within the family and structural change in gender roles in private and in public sphere. These measures can include changes in welfare support system for the families with children including social services for small children or the elderly. The author explores discrepancies between policy formulation and implementation through a case study on regulations of parental allowances in Serbia. The Law on Financial Support for the Families with Children regulates

parental allowance with a primary objective to reduce costs of having children. A case study will examine prevailing public discourse around the issue as well as narratives used in legal documents in Serbia. Author will also discuss the role of different policy actors in bending and stretching the meanings of gender equality (Lombardo et al. 2009) and the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion in policymaking. The latter is examined through the application of the concept of masculinity (Connell 2005, Hearn 2004) in care policy. Changes in discursive practices of parental allowances are observed within the period of 15 years that comprise the time during which the EU accession and transition have been under way in Serbia. Author argues that this process is manifested as a neo-liberal transformation, as “de-development” and the unreachable moving target of EU membership (Blagojević Hughson 2013:40-45).

MAJDA HRŽENJAK: Comparison of Childcare and Eldercare Policies in Slovenia from the Perspective of (De)Familization and Gender Equality

Within the framework of feminist reflection of welfare system developments in the EU and based on the analysis of care policies in Slovenia, we compare childcare and eldercare systems in Slovenia and argue that they follow a different logic of modernisation and creates a different scope and manner of public social care. The analysis points out that while care for children remains based on socialist inheritance public, universal and defamilialistic, care for the elderly remained underdeveloped during transition and follows the principles of privatisation, residualism and refamilisation. Consequently, child and elder care have very different effects on women’s position in the labour market, on women’s economic autonomy and on gender equality in general in Slovenia.

ANNELI STRANZ: Illuminating the Dimensions of Redistribution and Recognition in the Everyday Realities of Care Work

Eldercare services constitute an important labour market and care workers are a key resource for the welfare system in Sweden. Care sector is often considered very important for the welfare of older people and the quality of care is a frequent issue in the political debate. Despite the fact that the quality of care is closely related to the quality of work, working conditions of care workers are less discussed. In this paper care workers' perspective on their work will be analysed focusing on the possibilities of giving good care, reasons for leaving or staying at work and what kind of changes they wish for in the eldercare sector. Empirical data is based on the NORDCARE-project, a survey study that was carried out in 2005 and 2015. The questionnaire included fixed and open ended questions covering work tasks, employment conditions, characteristics of the clients they worked with, the intensity of work, whether or not they had considered leaving care work, and some personal characteristics. Nancy Fraser's *two-dimensional approach to gender justice* is used as a model to understand how everyday realities and conditions of care workers can be understood as imbricated conflicts between struggles for recognition and redistribution. Using results from the analysis of the questionnaire (both quantitative and qualitative) the paper aims to outline a platform for a feminist theoretical discussion focusing on 1) a critical perspective of the image of Nordic welfare states as women-friendly with focus on the welfare state as the employer and organiser of care; 2) whether a dualistic perspective of (gender)justice can be fruitful when studying the situation of paid care workers; and 3) whether a dualistic perspective of (gender)justice can promote the possibilities of working towards a just paid care work.

LORENA POBLETE: The Ambivalence of Labour Regulation in Latin America

In Argentina, like in most of Latin American countries, caregivers are principally women working in poor conditions. Despite Argentina's social security system being one of the most developed in the region, care activities are considered a family issue. Hence, Argentina's social security system promotes the familisation of care and households manage it in a very idiosyncratic way. When the provision of care needs is to be outsourced, households generally use direct hiring, mostly in an informal manner. Frequently, care and cleaning work are considered the same work. Cleaning houses and taking care of elderly people or children is perceived as the same job. Informality in the sector is due to the way of hiring, but also to a lack of regulation. Before 2013, care activities performed in households were mostly excluded from legal regulation. One of the innovations in 2013 legislation was the inclusion of non-medical caregivers. Despite the change in legislation, in practice caregivers continue to be excluded from legal protections. This exclusion results principally from a mischaracterisation of care work. The aim of this paper is to analyse, from a historical perspective, how care work was characterised in regulations since 1956. The objective is to understand how categorisation and characterisation of care work contribute to making it invisible for the law and consequently make the law unable to consider it.

LENORE E. MATTHEW: Does Labour Formalisation Impose Externalities on Informally Employed Women? Considering Unpaid Care

Across countries of the Global South, upwards of 80 percent of workers are informally employed, most of whom are poor women. Informal employment is also on the rise in Global North, particularly among immigrant populations and

youth. With increasing recognition of the scope of the informal sector, labour formalisation strategies have gained policy support at the international and national levels. Increasing women's participation in the formal labour force is at the forefront of this strategy.

Classic economics theory predicts that labour formalisation will improve the livelihood of informal workers, particularly of poor women. Such perspective emphasizes competitive production and utility maximisation, but overlooks one critical aspect of women's being and economic productivity: unpaid care.

This paper examines assumptions of the formalisation thesis by considering externalities of formalisation on female workers. It argues that out of choice, necessity, or a combination thereof, informally employed women engage the informal market to manage demands of paid work and unpaid care. Formalisation restructures informally employed women's caregiving-worker strategies in ways that introduce new care costs. Such costs are financial, time-oriented, effort-based, psychosocial, and even health-related in nature. Although labour formalisation stands to extend socioeconomic benefits and labour market opportunities to poor women, considering the externalities of care demonstrates ways in which formalisation may not achieve these outcomes in full.

Given the extent of women's unpaid care, the negative externalities that formalisation may impose and the potential exclusion of women from programmatic benefits, policy considerations of care are imperative. Accessible care should be made a component of formalisation policies, which could be achieved through at least two approaches: providing state incentives to enterprises that subsidize workers' care and hire women transitioning from the informal economy, and mandating a quota of spaces in care facilities for women transitioning into the formal labour market.

VESNA LESKOŠEK: Wage in Private Care Sector: The Case of Family Care Assistants

Care sector is creating new jobs relying mostly on inexpensive labour in Slovenia. The presentation will focus on personal care performed in private homes of care receivers; it will take a closer look at the regulation of family care assistant and assess how this semi-formal status structures carer's relation toward labour market and economic independency. Considering the fact that most of the carers are women, we argue that the concept is highly gendered and strengthens or relies on traditional gender scripts. Women left labour market to care for a family member but entered a precarious situation that affects their material and social circumstances.

BERNHARD WEICHT: State, Market, or back to the Family? Nostalgic Struggles for Proper Elder Care

Historically, states and societies have found different answers to increasing care needs ranging from family provision to publicly financed institutions and the market. In recent times, demographic and social processes put pressure on family-based solutions, while simultaneously states reduce or at least refuse to increase their expenditure on long-term care. Importantly, however, this materialist explanation needs to be accompanied by a focus on the ideological argumentation, which underlies current welfare state changes in which an economisation strategy (based on the imperative of individual choice) is often seen as both solution and aim. If the family (and historically this means women within families) cannot and the state does not want to fulfil the arising care needs, is marketization the logical consequence? Are commodification and marketization of care desirable or even possible?

Starting from the normative concern that commodification can cause threats to well-being author will examine recent policy changes in different care and welfare regimes in order to identify possible logics and practices of marketization and commodification. Author will utilize Polanyi's and Fraser's concepts of commodification processes and in particular their discussions of "fictitious commodities". It will be shown that executing one's own choice has been a fundamental component of most countries' argumentation strategies for new legislation, which means an individualist, atomistic logic of the market has informed the design of policies and regulations. Author will argue that while these conceptualisations of commodification help to capture changes in the logics and practices of care, they are missing a crucial element that defines any affective labour: the moral dimension of what care actually means to people. Starting with an ideal concept of care, based on a productive rather than regressive nostalgic sketch, the moral dimension should compel us to imagine new forms of communal care that move beyond the market logic of individualisation and choice.

HELENE BRODIN AND ELIN PETERSON: "If Men Had Been Overrepresented Among Workers and Owners, Things Would Have Been Different." Experiences of Small Homecare Entrepreneurs in Stockholm

This paper examines the dilemmas and possibilities of small care enterprises in the context of increasingly popular customer choice model in Sweden. Implementation of customer choice in publicly funded eldercare was motivated by the idea of breaking the oligopoly of the Swedish homecare market. To stimulate competition based on quality and to generate more diverse services, e.g. companies with different service profiles, a new law from 2009 favours the development of small-sized care companies. This law was also expected to encourage women to become

‘care entrepreneurs’, thereby increasing gender equality. Previous studies show, however, that customer choice still favours economies of scale. Small homecare enterprises have therefore severe difficulties to survive the strong competition.

This paper presents a case study of Stockholm, focusing on how gender and diversity shape the business strategies and survival of small homecare companies competing for clients in the city. Quantitative and qualitative methods are combined, using a mapping of all care companies in Stockholm and drawing on interviews with owners and managers of small companies representing variations with respect to gender and ethnic background.

The results show that New Public Management in combination with the low social status of care work affects the agency of small care enterprises. For example, though all interviewed owners and managers claim to be motivated by creating better care for older people and better conditions for the workers, these ambitions are hindered by low funding and fixed time templates for service delivery (e.g. 30 minutes for a shower). Women in general and women with immigrant background in particular also tend to put more emphasis on corporate social responsibility, for instance, in relation to recruiting personnel. These different approaches to entrepreneurship in the field of homecare affect both the possibilities to company growth and survival on the market.

DUGA MAVRINAC: Practices of Care: Domestic Space and Elder Care Work in Contemporary Croatia

In the last decade, Croatia has shifted from being a sending to a receiving country in the sector of elderly care as well as a local care chain market. Many

economic, cultural and social factors contributed to the increase in demand for private domestic services, such as women's changing social and economic roles, demographic changes, poor welfare state and so on. Many contemporary studies across the world have shown various aspects and hidden dynamics of the marketisation of home. In fact, the latter became a site of struggle, negotiation, new gendered division and exploitation (Henschall Momsen 1999, Salazar Parreñas 2001, Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002, Grilli 2013).

However, the goal of this paper is to approach the subject from a different angle and focus on the specific locus of informal elder care work – the domestic space. The latter, as a site of employment, makes domestic work unique in the field of labour. Here domestic space is negotiated and recreated by the worker, and new definitions of domesticity and subjectivity are being created. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to take the research behind “closed door” (Miller 2001) in order to investigate everyday activities and routines, practices of elder care, strategies of coping and negotiating. By doing so, a unique insight into the practices and cultural meanings of elder care as well as the hardships and struggles of the workers is gained.

OLGA TKACH: Kin-Related Elder Care in Russian Families: Challenges for Home

This paper is an outcome of a research carried out by the Gender Program of European University at St. Petersburg, Russia (2009-2011, funded by the Ford Foundation). Research studied organisation of elderly care in the families living in three Russian cities: Arkhangelsk, Kazan, and Samara. The research applied qualitative methodology. The sample used consisted of 24 in-depth focused

interviews with people who once came to the decision to move in together with their elderly/sick relatives to take care of them on a daily basis.

In Russian society, the arrangement of elder care has its specifics due to several reasons, such as lack and underdevelopment of public social care, high costs of residential paid care and private services, undeveloped market of professional live-out nurses working for personable payment, etc. In addition, in Russia elder care remains a private issue to be solved by family members for this realm has been highly ethically charged. In such circumstances, home represents a site of kin-related elder care where several generations cohabit and younger relatives take care of elderly ones. Moving in together has a dramatic impact on home in terms of housing, dwelling, domesticity and affective home space. Meanings and space of home have been multiplied and fragmented in practical and symbolic terms. This paper analyses these changes and challenges that construct kin-related elderly care in Russian families.

ELEONORE KOFMAN: Gendered Migrations, Care and Life Courses: Who Cares for the Carers and Their Social Reproduction?

Dominant approach in the analysis of gendered migrations and care has been on the making up of the deficit of care provision through labour provided by the regional and global transfer of migrant labour. There has been virtually no systematic analysis of who cares for the carer in relation to different categories of migrant care workers (EU/non-EU; documented/undocumented; types of migration flows) in households and public institutions and their ability to sustain their own reproduction. The resources of social protection required may be sourced transnationally and in the country of residence and combined across the life course.

TANJA VIŠIĆ: Who Actually Cares? An Ethnographic Study of Female Migrant Domestic Workers from Serbia in Germany

Based on ethnographic data and biographical interviews this revealing study presents a realistic account of Serbian female domestic workers who commute in order to perform cleaning and provide care for children and elderly in German private households. The paper investigates the ways in which migration changes relations between the genders and generations. What care arrangements emerge in the new migratory contexts? How and why domestic and care work is being outsourced to female migrants and with what outcomes in terms of gendered and intergenerational relations for both sides, employers and employees? How does mobility (commuting within a period of three months with tourist visa), which becomes a life strategy, induce women's ability to use social knowledge and experience? Moreover, how this mobility, work arrangement, border crossing and transnational linkages allow women to sustain their lives in their country while maintaining a regular status and an irregular job in the informal sector of domestic work in Germany?

The paper brings together specific characteristics of informal domestic work highlighting the specific position of Serbian care workers at German informal care market and necessity for a better qualitative understanding of multiplicity of dimensions of social reality that shape migrant workers' experiences and lives apart from gender – age, nationality, religion, citizenship, different social and educational background and geopolitical location. The paper aims to show how studying irregular domestic work raises relevant questions, both on social and methodological challenges of ethnographic fieldwork.

BONCILĂ ANCA MĂDĂLINA: The Case of Romanian Women Working Abroad for Elderly People – A Feminist Methodological Approach Focused on the Role of the Caregiver

Since 2007, having the opportunity to move freely within the EU labour market, thousands of Romanian women, mainly from rural communities, travelled abroad, working as home based caregivers mostly for elderly people in Western European countries. In Romania, this phenomenon was researched several times, but only considering maternal issues, the underlying impact of such separation for the children left at home, without measuring and discussing social and political consequences for the women working as caregivers and for their extended family.

Therefore, firstly, this paper will try to present briefly two different contemporary regimes of social care related to elderly people in Italy and Austria, and how these regimes supported the migration of Romanian women willing to take responsibility of Italian and Austrian families' needs regarding eldercare and whether these women have been given any kind of integration support. Author will try to correlate this with the existing literature on what the rights of migrant women offering paid care in private households are.

Secondly, based on several case studies located in Timiș County (Romania) paper will try to describe how women living in rural areas perceived the time spent abroad working as caregivers and how they incorporate that experience into their life narratives. Moreover, by interviewing them the author will look to identify existing patterns in what re-adaptation meant for them when they returned back home and how taking care of elderly people impacted them.

Thirdly, the study sought to identify who replaced them in their own domestic responsibilities, many of them paradoxically related with home based care

too, while they have been working abroad. Consequently, author will try to conceptualise how an informal network of caregivers was formed in the same family, on one hand by the Romanian immigrant women working abroad and on the other hand by their replacer back home, usually a woman too, part of the family, a mother or a sister.

Based on a feminist methodological approach and focused on the role of the paid caregiver, the paper aims to contribute to the feminist theories developed within the social care field that are constantly seeking for both normative and practical solutions to recognize and protect the migrant woman paid for offering care to vulnerable individuals.

NOREEN M. SUGRUE AND LENORE E. MATTHEW: Analysing and Explaining Migration Decisions of Unskilled Care Workers

Today's globalised societies are spaces characterised by shifting populations with ever-increasing demands for care needs. These demands for care are met, in large part, by the mass migration of both skilled health care workers and unskilled care workers.

This paper focuses on unskilled care workers who provide both essential personal and medically related care (e.g., assistance with activities of daily life; ensuring medication is taken as prescribed; personal care such as bathing and toileting; cooking and feeding; basic household chores).

Specifically, this paper provides a new model for understanding the migration decisions of unskilled care workers. Although much research was focused on the

migration of skilled care workers, such as nurses and physicians, scant attention has been paid to unskilled workers. Little is known about why unskilled care workers migrate or why they opt to stay. This suggests a need for both conceptual clarification and further empirical research.

In order to address this gap in our knowledge and in the literature, it is imperative that we simultaneously study and model the decision to migrate and the decision not to migrate. In other words, we must be able to answer the questions: Why do unskilled care workers decide to migrate? Why do they decide not to migrate?

Our work elucidates the complicated decision-making processes and identifies a large array of push-pull factors associated with whether or not an unskilled care worker migrates. It also challenges assumption that migrating or not is entirely economic or familial driven decision. This paper will concentrate both on expanding the micro level push-pull factors examined and incorporating analyses of the labour policies and conditions found in both sending and receiving countries. By including an examination of the labour policies and conditions in both sending and receiving countries, we are in a better position to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between labour policies and conditions on one hand and the migration decisions of unskilled care workers on the other. The analysis proposed in this paper provides theoretical and empirical foundations required for conducting further empirical studies as well as designing and implementing more comprehensive and appropriate public policies.

VERONIKA BAJT: Transnationalisation of Care Work: Ethnicity, Gender and Nationalism in Slovenia

Research shows that women make up as much as 90 per cent of the care workforce. Moreover, the ranks of paid caregivers are disproportionately comprised of women, racial minority women, and migrant women. According to existing data, however, this is not entirely the case for Slovenia, where female migrants do not yet represent a majority of care workers (yet women with “migrant background” possibly do). The paper will draw on interviews conducted with care workers in Slovenia who can be described as “migrants” or having a “migrant background”. Transnationalisation of care and interplay between migrant and local care workers will be examined through three main questions: 1) who are the carers that work in provision of social care in Slovenia; 2) what role does one’s formal status and in particular ethnicity and nationality play in terms of one’s access to the in/formal labour market as well as provision of social welfare; and 3) how does the concept of nationalism and nationalisation of public sphere affect the gendered inequality, disparity and potential for agency of care workers. The interplay between nationalism, ethnicity and gender is nestled in traditionalist ideals where the love of family has been perceived as the model for loving one’s country. The specific positioning of women as not only biological but also cultural and symbolic reproducers of the nation hence needs to be further examined. The prevailing ideological constructions of women as carers and moral touchstones of the family and ultimately of the nation have namely importantly demonstrated how historically the reshaping of so-called subaltern women to fit middle-class norms of female caring was integral to efforts to control racial, ethnic, and lower-class Others. The growing market of care is embedded in and reproduces wider social inequalities along the axis of class, race/ethnicity, gender, and citizenship status. Have we surpassed the times when the divide between independence and dependence was drawn along race

and gender lines or are we simply repackaging the same patterns of subjugation and exploitation of the Other?

MARTA SZEBEHELY: The Nordic Caring State – Ideals and Realities

In the 1980s, Norwegian feminist politician and political scientist Helga Hernes characterised a women-friendly welfare state as one in which ‘injustice on the basis of gender would be largely eliminated without an increase in other forms of inequality’. Taking Hernes’ ideal as a starting point, this presentation analyses recent trends in care services in the Nordic countries. These services are conceptualised as social infrastructure – important for society as a whole, and of crucial importance for three large, women-dominated groups: people who need care, their families (‘working mothers and daughters’; Anttonen 1990) and paid care workers. The focus is on care for older people, with some comparisons to childcare.

When Nordic eldercare services are compared to care systems in other countries, it is usually stressed that the services are provided on a universal basis; i.e. that comprehensive, publicly financed and mainly publicly provided services of high quality are available to all citizens according to need rather than ability to pay, and that same services are directed towards, and used by all social groups. This presentation considers the trajectory of development in Nordic elder care in recent decades, assessing the extent to which the universalistic ideal has been sustained – or indeed has ever been true. Three de-universalising trends in eldercare — re-familialisation, privatisation and marketisation — are identified, along with their inequality consequences for the three parties involved. These trends are evident to different degrees in the Nordic countries, which suggest

internal differentiation within the Nordic social care model. Further, and in contrast to developments in eldercare, childcare has become more universal in the Nordic countries in recent decades, suggesting that Nordic welfare states are more women-friendly to working mother than to frail older women and their working daughters, and least so to the eldercare workforce. This adds a further layer of complexity in understanding the evolution of the Nordic caring state.

NATALIIA SHERSTNEVA: The Choice of Institutional Care as a Biographical Project

The paper is based on a team research that was conducted in one of the elderly homes in St. Petersburg. The main objective was to understand how the regime care in this home is organised. The author focused on the subjective perceptions of elderly people who had decided to abandon their autonomous life, either within family or alone, in favour of institutional care. The research question was, how do the elderly make the decision to move to a boarding house and the reasons for such decision.

Theoretical framework of the research was based on the Alfred Schütz's notion of "biographical situation". Author stresses as important that the research situation is formed by the person's entire previous experience, family and cultural context, educational level, career path etc., because such components can affect the expectations of ageing people. Therefore, author assumed that firstly, biographical situation of her informants has determined and set their perspective of moving from one stage of the life course to another. Secondly, it has given them horizon of options when faced with the necessity to decide for the institutional of care. Thus, the author understood the choice of the institutional care of her informants

as one of the crucial moments in their biography. In analysing the biographical situation of elderly people, author took into account some notions of Everett Lee's theory of migration, such as the "factors of origin" and of "destination" that attract people and hold them within an area or push them off and make them move, and the notion of "intervening obstacles" that cause obstructions or make additional opportunities for life strategies.

The methodology of research was based on the biographical research methods. The data presented and analysed in the presentation was obtained through two or more hours long biographical interviews with elderly people who are/were living in the boarding house where the research was conducted. The interviewees were 59 to 94 years old. Women and men were interviewed, although there was an obvious gender imbalance in favour of women.

Research revealed two scenarios of biographical project based on the choice of institutional care. One is interpreted by elderly people as a preparation to sickly old age and death. In the other scenario institutional care of the elderly is considered as a possibility to keep their autonomy and as a source of new opportunities for life.

ALBERT BANERJEE: Innovation or Caring Innovation? Articulating a Vision of Care as a "Cosmology" to Imagine Effective Solutions to Problems with Care in Nursing Homes

In the context of ageing societies and financial crises, long-term residential care for older persons has gained a prominent place on the EU political agenda. Concerns about escalating costs have led to various forms of marketization

and growing concerns about quality have led to an increase in auditing (e.g., standardisation, measurement and monitoring). However, there is mounting evidence indicating that marketization and auditing have not led to better care. Indeed, in many cases, these approaches have exacerbated the very problems they are trying to solve. To understand this contradiction, this paper turns to feminist scholarship that recognises that care has its own distinct qualities that must be taken into consideration if it is to be effectively improved. Specifically, author draws on the concept of a “cosmology” to engage with this diverse body of feminist research – from the ethics and logic of care literatures to feminist epistemology and feminist political economy – in order to articulate a vision of care that may act as a resource for understanding problems with care and re-imagining authentically caring policies, institutions, and practices. In this paper, author clarifies the concept of a cosmology and differentiates it from related concepts (e.g., ethics, logic, rationality). Author also examines some of the promises and dangers of approaching care at this level of abstraction. To ground this theoretical inquiry, author draws on data from a seven year international study of nursing homes to illustrate how approaching care as a cosmology can help us understand the failures of marketization and auditing. Author also uses examples from this study to illustrate how thinking of care as a cosmology can open paths for authentically caring innovation – innovation that does not reproduce the assumptions behind the problems it is trying to solve but respects and supports the unique world of care.

ELLI SCAMBOR: ‘Caring Masculinities’ – Do Men Really Care in Europe?

Based on recent studies, such as the Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality, this paper discusses the question, in what way did man’s role change

in Europe over the last decades. In many European countries, women are increasingly participating in higher education, labour market and career positions. As gender system is relational, these developments affect men – traditional concepts of work slowly disappear and men's share of care work as well as a gender equal balance becomes visible in some parts of Europe.

The Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality shows insights into a promising development concerning care and the role of men in gender equality, with large variations across European societies. While especially in Northern countries of Europe, men became more involved in care-giving roles, decreases in men's share rates are reported for some Southern and post-socialist countries. Despite the variety and plurality of country patterns concerning parental leave and care it became obvious, that the concept of 'care' is an important issue in gender equal societies and a counterpart to traditional concepts of male power.

Especially among young men in urban areas of Europe 'caring masculinity' emerges as another concept of 'being a man', and one that is increasingly taken up in practice, together with women's increasing education and professional role, and rising expectations of gender balanced task divisions. But there is much more 'in it' for men than realized so far – and much more in it for Europe developing gender equal and caring masculinities.

BRUNELLA CASALINI: Vulnerable Families and Careworkers: Why Care Labour Should Be Remunerated, but Not for Sale

The concept of vulnerability has become a ubiquitous concept in the contemporary literature, sometimes loosing clarity and perspicuity. In moral

philosophy, for example, authors such as Goodin, MacIntyre, Ricoeur, Lévinas and many feminist writers, use it referring to our common vulnerable human nature seen as a positive resource to build a new idea of moral responsibility and obligation. In social science more often, it is used to indicate the position of particular groups, such as disabled people, children, elderly people, etc. To avoid this difficulty, author refers to Catriona MacKenzie's taxonomy. What author wants to address are "pathogenic" vulnerabilities caused by social arrangements like institutional settings or in particular, the vulnerabilities produced by the contemporary care market. Contemporary welfare state in most European states has responded to the care crisis, caused by women entering the labour market and the contemporary aging of population, not with new public services but mostly by cash for care and thus implementing the market of care labour. Hence, author argues that care cannot be left to the logic of the market. The reason is not only due to the fact that nowadays present market origins in the poor conditions of migrant female care workers, but also due to its very nature. As education and health care, "care labour" is a very specific good: these are all goods "necessary if citizens are to be equals and should be guaranteed as a right" (see: Satz 2010, p. 6 – but she does not consider care labour). Cash for care not only reduces the citizen to the role of a consumer, weakening the dimension of social rights, it also creates vulnerable family care givers, vulnerable care workers and care receivers. A deeper analysis of the very nature of the good "care labour" (as that which has begun to be conducted thanks to the many qualitative researches done on migrant care workers, family caregivers and care-receivers) is necessary to imagine future and effective reforms of our welfare system.

ZUZANA UHDE: Caring Revolutionary Transformations

The quarter of century that passed after the fall of former Eastern Bloc provides us with an opportunity to reflect upon tensions that arise during the capitalist transformation in the region of Central Europe. The paper focuses on processes of commodification of care in order to identify unintended consequences and analyse social inequalities at local, regional and global levels arising from the dynamic of expansion of the market into the area of social life that was previously excluded from market relationships. Based on this analysis author develops the notion of caring revolutionary transformation, which combines the strategic implementation of smaller changes within a pragmatic *realpolitik* with a radical social change needed in order to develop caring society. The author proposes the combination of a public model of care based on participatory principles of the ethics of care and an introduction of unconditional basic income. Whereas the first has the capacity to question the gendered division of labour, the latter challenges the limited understanding of meaningful work as a paid employment. Both of these conditions are necessary in order to recognize care as a crucial social contribution and a central aspect of social life. While insufficient when introduced separately, the combination of these two remedies provides the basis for caring revolutionary transformation.

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- Helma Lutz (2011), *The New Maids*, London: Zed Books.
- Helma Lutz, Maria Teresa Herrera Vivar & Linda Supik (2011) (eds), *Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Helma Lutz (2008) (ed.), *Migration and Domestic Work. A European Perspective on a Global Theme*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Zorana Antonijević graduated in Serbian literature and language and attained her masters' degree in public management. Currently, she is a PhD student in Gender Studies at the Centre for Gender Studies, University of Novi Sad, and a visiting

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- Stranz, A. (2013) *Omsorgsarbetets vardag och villkor i Sverige och Danmark. Ett feministiskt kritiskt perspektiv*. [The everyday realities and conditions of care work in Sweden and Denmark. A feminist critical perspective] PhD Thesis in Social Work, Stockholm University.

- Erlandsson, S. Storm, P. Stranz, A. Szebehely, M. & Trydegård, G-B. (2013) Marketising trends in Swedish eldercare: competition, choice and calls for stricter regulation. I: Meagher, G. & Szebehely, M. (red.) Marketisation in Nordic eldercare: a research report on legislation, oversight, extent and consequences. Stockholm Studies in Social Work 30. www.normacare.net

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Helene Brodin holds a PhD in Economic History (Umeå University, 2005) and is a senior lecturer of Social Work (Stockholm University). Her main area of research is eldercare, with a special focus on the consequences of marketisation in relation to gender, class and ethnic diversity. She has published her research in monographs, anthologies and journals and has also written

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Marta Szebehely is a professor of Social Work at Stockholm University in Sweden. She has been studying the gendered consequences of the decline in and restructuring of public care services for 30 years, and she has been partnering and leading several Nordic and international comparative research projects on eldercare, ethnographic as well as social policy oriented. Together with professors Anneli Anttonen and Gabrielle Meagher she is convening the Nordic Research Network on Marketisation in Eldercare (www.normacare.net) and she is the PI for the research programme Individualised Care and Universal Welfare: Dilemmas in an Era of Marketisation, involving more than 20 Nordic and Anglo-Saxon scholars. Her most recent publication is 'How institutions matter for job characteristics, quality and experiences: A comparison of home care work for older people in Australia and Sweden' in *Work, Employment and Society* (Meagher, Szebehely & Mears, 2016).

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