CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

LETICIA and LORENA

Leticia, a Peruvian migrant from Lima aged 44, was in many ways untypical of the migrant women that feature in this book. Firstly, she enjoyed a relatively privileged social standing marked by ethnic, class and educational status, which facilitated her entry into the tourism industry, obtaining formal employment in Lima's international airport. However, terrorist activity (at is peak in Peru during the 1980s) led to a sharp decline in this sector, prompting her to migrate to the UK. As her mother, Leticia divorced her first husband – though later remarried and had a daughter, Lorena, who was fourteen. Interestingly, rather than partner with a fellow Latin American migrant (as the majority of female migrants that feature in this book), she married an Irishman. Notwithstanding the discrimination that migrants from Ireland have faced historically in the UK, Leticia benefited indirectly from his comparatively higher socio-economic status, which eased her entry into English cultural life and extended her social networks. She also enjoyed a stable marriage unlike many of her female Latin American migrant counterparts. Leticia confided that her mother had always wished for her to become a lawyer – a career that she had eschewed whilst living in Peru. Somewhat to her amusement in the UK Leticia was offered a job as legal advisor for a grassroots organisation. Despite occupying comparatively more favourable employment than her peers, she revealed that her earnings were lower than when working in Peru and additionally that her contract was short-term and insecure. In terms of housing she described the flat she rented as "inadequate" due to persistent damp, though felt fortunate to own a property in Peru that had formerly belonged to her mother.

The ideas and beliefs transferred to her by her mother had largely reflected the

societal mores of the period - including scorn for female headed households: “My mother divorced before I was born…she was fearful, she told me that as a woman without a man you could not live well. She believed … that a woman on her own is not worth taking any notice of, that a woman needed a man to support her”. Notwithstanding the dominance of these gendered societal beliefs, when asked what she had learnt she should be and do as a woman, she stressed how her mother had taught her to assert her agency and autonomy: “She taught me that a woman should ….try to please people, but at the same time to ensure to do what she wants. To be diplomatic, extremely polite, but at the same time firm. Not to let others get away with things… my grandmother could strike a person down with a single look!”. Though she regretted that she had been unable to fulfil her mother’s dream of completing a university degree, Leticia held this aspiration firmly for Lorena, and was actively promoting this via use of material and psychosocial transfers. First, she planned to sell the property in Lima in order to move her daughter to a different London borough with better schools. In the psychosocial domain she adopted a non-taboo attitude to establish trust with Lorena, urging her to consult her on any matter troubling her in preference to seeking advice from peers: “I tell her – if you’ve done things you’re ashamed of, I’ve done worse and you are not going to shock me”. Further, she was eager to cultivate in Lorena the same independence of mind that her own mother had fostered in her: “I want her to become independent and to manage things alone”. When asked what ideas she was most actively instilling in her daughter she suggested it was to be “hard-headed” and to make the most the opportunities that she and her husband had been able to provide. Unlike many of the daughters identified in this book, Lorena had been born and raised in the UK and had fluent English. Untypically, she had also benefited materially from access to paid extra

curricula activities (including dance classes, pony riding and Irish dancing). Similarly, as her parents occupied a relatively more privileged class and educational positioning, they had a good knowledge of the English education system and encouraged activities to support her future career prospects. Leticia spoke for example of stimulating Lorena's interest in drawing by buying her art materials whilst also extending her cultural capital by taking her to galleries in London.

Interestingly, Lorena corroborated Leticia' s account closely, suggesting that she enjoyed open communication with her mother and regularly sought and adopted her advice:

> She's taught me a lot about what to do in social situations, when you go out don't talk to strangers, help with school work. Most migrant mothers cannot provide this as are working all the time and in any case cannot speak English….. social stuff like who you should be friends with, who is good or bad, what to do in certain situations. What not to do – don't expose yourself to strangers, be polite to others and nice but do not forget to be yourself; don't be cautious of what others think of you or what people say. What to do – express yourself, make sure you meet the right people – if you make a negative friend avoid them because they will spread that negativity to you… be confident, be independent. If you want something do it yourself. Don't count on others.

She also suggested that her mother protected her from the night scene within and outside London: "She [Leticia] wants to take care of me - all my friends go out to places like Croydon…[but its] not very safe. She tells me that when I have children I'll only let them go to safe places and won't let them go out on their own". When asked what Lorena would like to pass to her own children should she have a family in the future, she suggested commonalities in the psychosocial transmissions passed by her mother: "Let your children socialise a bit, but not that much, but let them go with their friends but be with them, but avoid peer pressure, don't let them go into drug taking. How to behave – if on the street don't start screaming for no reason. Tell someone if you're upset….She [Leticia] explained these things in a way to make me understand - and put this all into my head". Lorena revealed she was fascinated with

Japanese comics and dreamt of becoming a graphic designer – a career that, she was eager to pursue after completing her studies in the UK.

This portrait of Leticia and Lorena - though comparatively more privileged than many the mothers and daughters that feature in this study – illuminates the central ambition of this book which is to bring together understandings of inter-generational transmission (IGT) that are not solely related to the transfer of material goods, but also include 'psychosocial assets' (such as norms and beliefs that are socially constructed and central to the lives that people value), reflecting a more holistic concept of human-centred development. This book is also informed by human wellbeing theory, which brings together inter-disciplinary insights in such areas as cross-cultural psychology, health and the economics of happiness. This approach is based on conceptualisations of wellbeing developed by Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000), McGregor (2007), McGregor and Sumner (2010) Ryan (1995) and White (2008) which attempts to integrate material and psychosocial dimensions. In this conceptualisation the material domain is concerned with the objective conditions that typify a person's situation (such as income, employment and health status) whilst the psychosocial domain includes both perceptual dimensions (norms, values, perceptions and experiences) as well as the relational dimension (including intimate relations as well as broader social relationships). [1] Interestingly, despite greater engagement of development theorists with human-centred development (including a growing focus on concepts of happiness being integral for national policy (Layard, 2011) and a move beyond development as economic growth to a focus on 'a human life worth living' relating to non-economic aspects such emotions and including what people feel they can do and be' (Nussbaum, 2011), the literature on intergenerational transmission of

poverty and inequality has tended to focus on material aspects of human wellbeing transfer whilst psychosocial aspects have received less attention.

An important dimension of this more holistic understanding of human wellbeing relates to what is passed from parents to children. The portrait of Leticia and Lorena exemplifies that there are strong correlations between transfer of physical assets/ deprivations and psychosocial competencies (as argued by Dercon and Sánchez 2013). Psychosocial competencies (such as attitude, communication skills and levels of motivation) transferred by parents also influence material outcomes such as earning potential (Bowels *et al*., 2001; Cunha *et al*., 2006; Heckman *et al*., 2006). In keeping with a more holistic understanding of human wellbeing, this book examines how far psychosocial transfers can be taken up and used by international migrants.

A second major theme of this book revealed in this first portrait is the gendered nature of intergenerational transmission. This book stresses the importance of a life course perspective rather than a simple generational distinction, centring a more nuanced idea of temporality. Further, it emphasizes how far the possibilities for intergenerational transfer are enhanced or restricted by migrating to another country acknowledging how constructions of human wellbeing may also change as part of migration processes. A final key idea of this book is how intersectional inequalities such as age, gender and class may affect prospects for take up of material and psychosocial transfers and their conversion into human wellbeing outcomes – key themes brought to life in the next portrait.

SALMA AND LEILA

Salma, aged 45, an Ecuadorian from Quito was raised as the youngest of five girls by her mother, a widow. Married at the age of seventeen Salma went on to have four

children. However, on becoming widowed herself and unable to feed her children she decided initially to migrate to Spain. She recalled growing up as fourteen year old girl in Ecuador being expected to iron her family's clothes which in hindsight she viewed as good preparation for her new life a domestic servant in Spain – the only work available to her as an undocumented migrant. Though unhappy in her second marriage, she was proud to have endured it for twenty five years in spite of her husband's infidelities, having successfully followed the advice of her mother who had highlighted the primacy of privileging marriage above all else, she suggested: "I've managed to put my marriage first".

Salma and her second husband (who was working for a natural gas multinational company) worked tirelessly in Spain to provide for their children including "the best possible education, designer clothes, meals out in restaurants, and day trips to cities like Murcia". However, she later regretted providing such luxuries reflecting on how Salma's eldest son had become locked into a consumerist "metrosexual" life style that she believed to be the reason he had failed to apply himself to his studies. Acknowledging how constructions of human wellbeing change as part of migration processes she suggested: "Giving children too much is bad for them - I've seen that neither is abundance good, nor does it lead to happiness. I now realise that we gave them too much". She also reflected on gendered and other intersectional inequalities linked to migration processes:

> My eldest son was very distracted in his education…with Leila as I was working all hours I left her rather alone [in Ecuador] and for that reason she had to repeat a year… when she came to Spain aged 6 she did not know how to read or write and had no English even though I'd paid for her to be in a private school. I don't know if the school was careless or whether my parents were inattentive. So she arrived to a state school in Spain without any of the basics needed to start primary school.

These educational inequalities persisted in Spain where Salma explained she

encountered teachers that had low expectations of Leila based on racialized, classed and gendered stereotypes that prevented her from realising her academic potential: "The teacher in Spain did not push her at all, and just left her. And neither did I want to go against the opinion of her teacher". Salma's account corroborates findings by Rollock et al (2015:62) suggesting how non-white parents overwhelmingly encounter teachers expecting their children to perform poorly: "Teachers act as key gatekeepers to educational opportunity; teachers not only teach, they also assess, separate and decide the academic fate of students who are selected to different teaching groups and forms of curricula from the moment they enter the school system". Interestingly, whereas Rollock's study explores the strategies that Black middle class parents develop to counter their teachers expectations of low performance for their children (including stressing the professional occupational positions that they themselves held for example as lawyers and doctors), Salma in her social positioning as a non-white low-income migrant engaged in domestic work viewed the teacher as an authority figure and did not feel able to challenge their preconceptions. Further, from the vantage point of an onward migrant to the UK she regretted the gendered stereotyping that she herself had reinforced by giving her eldest son too much freedom in Spain - " he lived intensely"- whilst overprotecting her daughter Leila, suggesting: "Because she was a girl we didn't let her go to clubs….we were overprotective…so at the first opportunity…she was careless. She didn't want an abortion… But Leila [we said], and your education?" Leila was seventeen at the time of interview whilst her partner aged sixteen was unemployed, living with his parents in Spain. As Salma herself became unemployed in Spain following the 2008 global economic crisis, and with her husband subsequently also being laid off leaving the family at risk of homelessness, she subsequently migrated to the UK where she had been living for the past four

months. Reflecting the feminized nature of her onward migration to the UK she suggested: “I decided that I would come first to carve out the path for us”. In an effort to keep the family afloat Salma engaged in cleaning from 5-7am, throughout the day and again from 6-8pm after which she looked after Leila’s baby. Yet, despite the sacrifices that she had made both in Spain and the UK to achieve a better life for her children, she remained concerned for Leila, who had been prevented from finishing secondary school in Spain.

This portrait brings to life other key themes in this book – firstly it stresses the importance of examining what human wellbeing means over the life course (Bevan, 2007, White 2008, Wright, 2011b) and how it is constructed relationally. Secondly, it draws out how far the possibilities for IGT are enhanced or restricted by migration. For example, though Leila’s employment prospects were poor in Spain, she also felt incapable of working in the UK as a teenage mother with a four week old baby, possessing little knowledge of English and lacking the social networks she had enjoyed in Spain. Further, given the unaffordability of childcare in the UK context, Salma suggested that they would need to work shifts if she and her daughter choose to remain in the UK. Salma lamented that Leila’s cousins who had remained in Ecuador were already outperforming her children by entering university. Feeling trapped in the knowledge that she could not return to Spain due to widespread unemployment (though mindful of her son’s suggestion that as a last resort she might still find work as a live-in maid) - neither did Salma feel able to enhance her English and improve her job prospects in the UK given the need to provide moral and financial support to Leila and her baby. At this critical life juncture, (as the main breadwinner for four dependent children, in forging a migratory path to the UK and facing the additional burden of her granddaughter’s care) Salma had drawn on psychosocial transfers from

her mother to bolster her resilience: “My mother taught me to be a fighter, not to be knocked down by anything, always to push myself, not to fall down, to keep going. With my daughter now [having a baby] I’ve told myself I have to help her, and I have to be there for her, and that’s what I’ve done, I haven’t told her to get out, I’m still there, attentive to her”.

Interestingly, Salma’s daughter Leila also highlighted that she was actively drawing on the psychosocial transfers passed by Salma to adopt a more optimistic outlook despite the considerable challenges she now faced – both as a young mother and as a recent Latin American migrant to the UK: “[Salma has taught me] to look upon things positively, to think positively, see positively, not think that all will turn out badly, to be brave”. In terms of what she had learnt from her mother about what to be and do as a woman she suggested: “to better myself day by day…and to keep studying to achieve what she never could”. However, forced to interrupt her secondary education in Spain and struggling also due to limited English, it appeared likely that her future employment opportunities would be curtailed. This portrait exemplifies the gendered inequalities in transmission processes –another central theme of this book. Leila justified becoming pregnant young citing strict gendered norms curtailing her mobility in the public sphere that jarred with her desire to experiment as a naturally curious teenager: “She [Salma] never gave me my freedom. I need to make mistakes based on my own experiences to learn to defend myself. My mother was right on top of me, avoiding anything bad happening to me. But you need to know what it is to experiment. As a girl I had a boyfriend and my mother wouldn’t let me spend time with him, naturally you look for that time, you want to see it, to know what it’s like”. It also reveals how far closeness or distancing from their mother affects possibilities for take up of these transfers. Interestingly, unlike in the case of Lorena who regularly

sought advice from her mother, Leila suggested she did not feel sufficiently close to be able to confide in her: “I prefer to keep it [my problems] to myself and not to say anything to anyone”.

Having brought to life the main themes of this book it is argued that this study additionally extends research on Latin American migration to Europe by moving beyond individual perspectives to explore inter-subjective impacts of international migration (Carling, 2008; Wright, 2012) and exploring how lives are linked across two family generations. Interestingly, whilst much research has been concentrated on the Latin American migrant populations in the US, and more recently on Latin American migrants in Spain, in keeping with an increasing interest in studying migrant populations in “unconventional destinations” (Williams et al, 2009) the case of Latin Americans in London (UK) has been selected as though a demographically significant population in the UK (McIlwaine et al, 2011) this population group has only received scholarly attention in the last decade. The choice of Latin Americans and London potentially also potentially moves forward debates on IGT, gender and migration in three main ways. Firstly, though a significant body of existing literature has focused on understanding gendered processes and outcomes of migration, this has not been systematically analysed in the case of onward migrants. Given that the more recent waves of Latin American migrants to the UK are onward migrants from Spain, inclusion of this particular group is potentially useful in exploring how female migrants reconstruct their lives in ways that crosscut spatial boundaries. Secondly, international migration research incorporating a life course dimension has tended to focus either on youth and early adulthood or on the elder years (Bastia 2015; Lloyd Sherlock, 1998; Kilkey, 2018) whilst (with the exception of work by Lulle and King,

2016) that on life transitions of middle age has been relatively neglected. The case of Latin American migrants in London potentially goes some way towards filling in this gap since the majority of the migrants who were mothers that feature in this book were of middle-age. Importantly however this book avoids the risks associated with focusing on a specific 'life stage' by acknowledging research silos associated with studies that examine for example *either* children or the elderly and by instead refocusing attention on how lives are linked and how generations co-exist and overlap in time (Brannen et al, 2004). This is achieved by analysing Latin American migrants who are mothers alongside their daughters to offer insights into how life course junctures are mutually constructed and reconstituted in both historical and current time, across the generations and from a range of social positionings and vantage points. As part of this, it expands the existing literature on the gendered nature of IGT by examining how gendered, ethnicised, and class patterns are shaped, reproduced and reformulated both intergenerationally and as part of broader migration processes. Finally, given the close-knit nature of Latin American societies and the societal importance placed on the family and kinship ties, the case study of Latin Americans in London exemplifies how migration is not seen as an individual decision but rather as a product of interconnected familial and relational networks that crosscut time and space –revealing insights that may be potentially applicable to the study of family migration for other migrant groups in other locations.

This book is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of studies examining the inter-generational transmission of poverty and inequality over the life course highlighting temporal and gendered complexities. It suggests that these might be addressed via consideration of three key concepts – relationality,

intergenerationality and intersectionality. Further, it argues that adoption of the human wellbeing concept might potentially extend understanding of how far psychosocial transfers can be used to overcome the deprivations that low-income populations face.

Chapter 3 examines the contributions of prominent theorists in migration studies who have examined inter-generational transfers and social and occupational mobility outcomes in the context of the US and Spain. It considers how far an inter-generational life course perspective together with a more holistic concept of human wellbeing might complement these existing studies by exploring (i) how inter-generational transfers are constructed and rooted in racial, ethnic, age, class and gender differences and (ii) the gendered processes through which these transfers occur.

Chapter 4 situates the empirical work within the broader socio-economic, and political context of Latin Americans migrating to Europe, highlighting trends such as onward migration from Spain to the UK. It explores the historical context relating to the lives they have left, the reasons for their migration and the objective situation of low-income Latin American migrant women in London in domains such as employment and housing. It next explores the meanings that migrant women and their daughters attach to their experiences that influence subjective wellbeing outcomes. Additionally it offers insights into the kinds of questions asked and methodology applied and how the data was organised using inter-generational chains as the unit of analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine intergenerational transmission processes and outcomes empirically, highlighting how shifts in household composition affect transfer processes. These chapters also explore the patterning of relationships between and across generations (including the extent to which daughters' relationships mirror those of their mothers), enabling identification of continuities and change in relation to intergenerational transmission of gendered roles and ideologies. More broadly, these chapters examine the extent to which daughters felt they were able to use these transfers to achieve human wellbeing.

Chapter 7 examines what this research adds to understandings of IGT, migration and human wellbeing and considers implications for policy. First it suggests that material and psychosocial intergenerational transfers are important in shaping human wellbeing outcomes, but that to advance understanding of their impact, more research is needed examining transfer processes. Second, it argues that there is a need for policy interventions to support international migrant families by taking longer intergenerational relations perspectives (rather than individual perspectives). As part of this it suggests there is a need for broader consideration of how intersectional inequalities are experienced at critical life course junctures in order to reverse negative downward trajectories and enhance human wellbeing outcomes.