

**The future of the welfare state: paths of social policy innovation
between constraints and opportunities**

Urbino, 17-19 September 2009

Nordic and British research on informal elder care

Zechner Minna

Paper presented at the 7th ESPAnet conference 2009
Session: nr. 2B - Paths of innovation of care policies in european welfare states

Nordic and British research on informal elder care

Paper for 7th Annual ESPAnet Conference
17-19.09.2009 Urbino

Minna Zechner
University of Tampere, Finland
minna.zechner@uta.fi

A preliminary manuscript; please do not quote without permission.

Introduction

Care of older persons became a major research subject during the 1980's when feminist researchers stressed the importance of studying women's everyday activities. Feminist researchers had a mission to make women's unpaid care work at home visible and make its societal value known (Wærness 1978; Handley & Hatch 1981; Finch 1993). Care is here understood as activities and relations involved in meeting the needs of older persons who need assistance in managing necessary everyday activities (cf. Daly & Lewis 2000, 285). It can be divided to informal and formal care where latter refers to care given in services while informal care is given by family members, relatives, friends and other close ones.

Already in 1978 Kari Wærness defined informal care as the invisible welfare state. She also stressed that invisible and visible welfare states are interconnected (Wærness 1984, 67-68). The relation between informal and formal care is important while the less public care services there are, the more there is need for informal care (Hernes 1987, Szebehely 1996). Informal care is also the main source of care for elders in any given society (Wiener 2003, 3).

I am looking at research on informal elder care in The United Kingdom and in the Nordic countries approximately from the 1980's until present. Research concerning informal elder care gives a certain kind of picture on the informal care that takes place in the given time and place. In addition the research reflects the social policies that govern both informal and formal care of the times. These social policies make the institutional framework for informal care. I am interested in research on informal care and how it is studied in certain historical moments.

As a result of this study I argue, that research on informal care can be divided into three trends. The first trend I have titled *intimate informal care* where the majority of research concerns care at home by the families and it is presented as intimate activity. The second trend is called *formalizing informal care* where informal care and formal care become more intertwined and negotiated. The last trend is *globalizing informal care* where migration and transnational activities are essential. These trends which may be loosely located to certain time frames will be explained and presented in detail in the subsequent chapters. Before that I shall shortly discuss the main concepts and describe how the study has been done.

Glance backwards: Nordic and British research on informal care

I have gone through numerous Nordic and British mainly empirical studies on informal elder care from 1980's until today. I have also been able to make use of reviews that other researchers have done regarding care research (for example Ungerson 1990, Twigg 1998, Szebehely 2005). What makes comparing Nordic and British care research interesting is the variation in policy contexts and different emphasis that researchers in these two regions have had. British research on care has, especially during the early years, been focusing on informal care whereas Nordic research on care has concentrated on formal care and especially on home help (Wærness 2006, 25).

I have attempted to choose the most influential pieces of research into my data. Nordic research refers mainly to Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish pieces of work since my skills in reading Icelandic are fairly poor. After having browsed a large number of researches through I was able to group them according to their similarities. I put emphasis on the dimension of social policies as a context to informal care. Social policies give strong incentives to people how they are supposed to behave in terms of caring for elders (Finch 1989).

As mentioned in the introduction, care is the main concept here. A central problem in the concept of care is that it only includes giving care, but not receiving. Care is often understood as a specific type of work and as a result the person in need of care is the work site of the carer. Disability researchers have criticized care researchers for portraying those in need of care as helpless and unable to make decisions concerning their own lives (Morris 1991; Keith 1992, 172). They are often shown as passive recipients of care. To lessen such understanding Liz Forbat (2005, 13) has developed a concept of caree that I am using instead of care recipient. Caree as a concept gives more room for the activity of the person in need of care.

Intimate informal care

For the feminist researchers the aim for studying informal care in the 1980's was to make the unpaid work that was performed by women at homes visible and that its societal value would be acknowledged (Hadley & Hatch 1981, 87; Finch 1993, 10; Anttonen & Zechner 2009, 18). When care was defined as work it became more difficult to see it as something that naturally belongs to women (Leira 1993, 10). Instead it was stressed that care is connected to family relations and it is part of the gendered division of labour where care work is given to women as unpaid work at home (Finch & Groves 1980, Finch 1993, 10).

When work and intimate relations were connected in definitions of care, care was named as labour of love. Labour of love was seen as a specific type of work that combines both emotional and practical elements (Rose 1983, Graham 1983). Especially British care researchers connected positive emotions with care work and hence it was considered in the 1980's that formal care work was not really care (Ungerson 1990, 19). Still, Hilary Graham (1983, 16) did stress that in informal care not only positive emotions are present but that also negative emotions are possible and care relations may be also abusive and even violent (cf. Land & Rose 1985).

At the same time Nordic care researchers had broader understanding of care and they included also formal care work under the definition of care. Also a majority of Nordic research on care has during the 1980's until now focused on formal care (Wærness 2006, 25; see for example Nordhus *ym.* 1986; Olsen & Gregersen 1988; Simonen 1990; Sjöbeck 1991; Szebehely 1995; Tedre 1995, 1999; Eliasson 1996; Eliasson-Lappalainen 2003; Kainlauri 1998; Tenkanen 2003).

In 1993 British researcher Janet Finch posed the question whether British care researchers should go on using the term caring to mean only unpaid caring. She was wondering if the use of concept this way obscures the common features that exist between paid and unpaid care (*ibid.* 18). Norwegian Arnlaug Leira (1993, 33) saw the everyday production of care as a continuous fitting together of private and public, informal and formal elements. The division of labour between informal and formal and between different actors within informal and formal demands continuous negotiations (cf. Kröger 2009) and at times also conflicts have emerged.

The idea of negotiations has been seen as essential part of research on care, be it informal or formal. Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason (1993) found out that family responsibilities are not fixed, but they are a result of implicit and explicit negotiations. Implicit negotiations are ways or patterns of helping that have evolved during the joint history of people. Those who have earlier helped and cared for others are more likely to be asked to help again and also to be helped themselves. Explicit negotiations are direct discussions about who should help and care for, whom, how and when (ibid. 62–65).

The need for negotiations is important for the understanding of care since it shows that care is somehow unspecific. It is not possible to make strict standards for care, what amount or type of care is good enough for an individual. Each older person in need of care is different in her or his life experiences, preferences, illnesses, capabilities and incapacities. The need for negotiations arises also from the fact that care for older persons is given in various services: social and health services as well as housing services. Also welfare benefits such as carer's allowance, care leaves, pensions and housing support all may have a role to play in elder care. On top of this, the needs for care often change at times in a fairly quick pace.

What feminist researchers managed to do in the 1980's, was to make informal care a societal and political question instead of it being hidden in the privacy of families. Informal care was connected to larger societal issues and activities such as employment and production. Still, most of the research British on informal care concentrated on caring activities of individuals and especially on white middle-class women. Other social divisions like ethnicity, social class and sexual orientation as well as the position of carees were mainly not studied (Graham 1993, 465–466). In addition the care work that was to great extent also done by men, did not gain much attention in research (Arber & Gilbert 1989).

Majority of the British research on informal care during 1980's portrayed care as an individual activity taking place in the intimate relations of family and other close ones (see Finch & Groves 1983; Ungerson 1987; Lewis & Meredith 1988; Qureshi & Walker 1989; Finch 1989). The social policies and other institutional structures framing informal care were often not an object of empirical research. This probably reflects the reality of British welfare state not giving much support in terms of services and benefits to those caring in the community (see Wright 1986, 181).

At the same time Nordic care researchers were busy studying mainly formal care work (see Wærness 1983, 1984; Eliasson 1984; Sundström 1984; Isaksen 1984; Daatland 1987; Simonen 1986 & 1990; Gough 1987; Thulin 1987; Olsen & Gregersen 1988; Heikkinen 1989). Lennart Johansson wrote in 1993 that “So far, research on informal care has not been given a high priority within the public resources spent on research in Sweden” (ibid. 104). It was pointed out that formal care services were relieving the Nordic women from some care responsibilities while giving them an opportunity for employment (Hernes 1987). Some research on informal care was done and because of the broader understanding of the concept of care, the social policies were often very concretely present abreast informal care (see Karjalainen 1980; Kalve 1985; Johansson 1986, 1993; Lingsom 1987; Sundström 1980, 1984; Thorsen 1980, 1999; Thomas 1986; Sundström & Samuelsson 1987; Gothóni 1990, 1991). Kari Wærness paid attention in 1984 that sociologists claim that the growth in public care-giving services is emptying the functions of the family. She contemplated that the explanation is inadequate from the women’s perspective and therefore there is need to look at the institutional settings where women perform care-giving work (ibid. 73). This notion may be behind the Nordic interest in formal care and in the connections between informal and formal care.

Formalizing informal care

At the dawn of the 1990’s Both British and Nordic researchers were fully aware of the different emphasis that care researchers in those regions had. Arnlaug Leira (1993) was of the opinion that the reason why Nordic researchers found it important to study formal and informal, public and private as well as paid and unpaid care work was that the boundaries between these spheres of care were seen fluid and therefore they became an object of negotiation. These negotiations were to define the obligations between individuals and welfare states. She also emphasized that informal care is not necessarily of better quality than formal care, which is more professional and systematic. Also when the positive aspects of the emotional tie between informal carer and the caree are emphasized, it may according to Leira, obscure the collective interests and their conflicts that are present in the organization of care (Leira 1993, 24, 28–29).

One of the early pieces of British research where attention was specifically given to the negotiated relation between informal and formal care was Julia Twigg’s and Karl Atkin’s 1994 first published research on carers in the service system. They stated that there was already much research on informal carer and carers, but little was known about how they fit in the service system and how

carers' needs are accommodated in the services. They saw service receipt as a process of negotiation between the service provider and the carer.

Another novelty in the above mentioned study was the greater emphasis given to carees. Even though they only studied carers, they acknowledged in a novel way also the carees: "Carers' are constituted as a subject by the relationship of obligation and care that they have with a disabled person. They feature in public policy by virtue of that relationship. They have always, therefore, to be seen in the context of it, and the perception of their needs can never wholly transcend that relationship." (Ibid 1996, 10)

These were new emphasis that became more and more visible in the British as well as in the Nordic research on care during the 1990's. The relation of informal and formal care became understood as negotiated and negotiable and the role of the caree was more central in the process of care (see Sundström 1984; Nordhus ym. 1986; Qureshi & Walker 1989; Sinclair & Williams 1990; Allen ym. 1992; Szebehely 1995; Magnússon 1996; Lewinter 1999, 2003; Twigg 2000; Jensen 2002; Høeg 2003; Forbat 2005; Dunér 2007; Zechner 2008b; Gunnarsson 2009; Valokivi & Zechner 2009). For the more central position of carees one may to great extent be thankful to disability researchers (Oliver 1986, 1990; Morris 1991; Keith 1992) and their critique on carer-centred research. Still, even in 2009 the majority of empirical research on informal care is done from the carers' point of view both in the UK and in the Nordic countries.

The 1990's brought a convergence between British and Nordic research on informal care. Nordic researchers became more interested in informal care (see Karjalainen 1980; Kalve 1985; Johansson 1986; Lingsom 1987; Sundström 1980, 1984; Thorsen 1980, 1999; Thomas 1986; Sundström & Samuelsson 1987; Gothóni 1990, 1991; Mangnússon 1996; Sand 2000; Jensen 2002) whereas British research on informal care started to take the formal care structures more concretely into account in their informal care research activities (see Maclean & Groves 1991; Ellis 1993; Baldock & Ungerson 1994; Twigg & Atkin 1996; Nolan et. al. 1996; Barnes 1997; Bornat et. al. 1997; Twigg 1997, 1998; Heaton 1999). The boundaries between informal and formal care became more blurred and the interconnections and interdependencies of informal and formal care became focal points in research on informal care.

Globalizing informal care

Coming to the 21st century, British and Nordic research on informal care got an influential impulse from United States. Arlie Russell Hochschild (2000) came up with the idea of global care chain. Global care chain refers to a situation where women from less developed countries move to more affluent countries to do care work mainly in the grey market sector. These women often leave behind their young and old family members in need of care. As a result, a care deficit in affluent countries is solved by assumed care overflow in the less developed countries. In fact, often a care deficit is created in the less developed country (Hillman 2005).

Hochschild is an American researcher, but her new concept encapsulates the latest turn in care research fairly well. It shows that both salaried care work as well as informal care is increasingly international in its nature. Looking at research on care this is demonstrated in two main types of research.

The one type of research comes close to the idea of global care chains and researchers focus on care work of immigrants who are employed in the formal and grey market care services (see Isaksen 1998, 2007; Anderson 1997, 2000a, 2000b; Platzer 2002; Ackers 2004; Williams 2004; Yeates 2004, 2005, 2009; Kofman 2006; Kofman & Raghuram 2006; McGregor 2007; Laurén & Wrede 2008; Näre 2008). A great deal of this research is done outside United Kingdom and the Nordic countries, especially in the United States (see Romero 1992; Hondangneu-Sotelo 1994, 2001; Salazar Parrenas 2001, 2003; Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2002). Most studies concern child care, but a small amount of research has been done on elder care as well.

The other type of research regarding globalizing care is about immigrants and non-immigrants who arrange, give and receive care transnationally. Transnational activities take place in social fields crossing geographical, cultural, political and nation-state borders (Faist 2000; Vertovec 2004). This strand of research is more concerned about informal care than the above mentioned one (see Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Ryan 2004; Warnes ym. 2004; Reynolds & Zontini 2006; Torres 2006; Zechner 2006, 2008a; Eastmond & Åkesson 2007, Åkesson 2007). Transnational caregiving is characterized by the crossing of national borders and the maintenance of relationship in at least two sites (Baldassar et. al. 2007, 203).

Research on transnational informal care activities show how the relations between informal care and formal structures of care have become more diversified and social policies of more than one

country are at play. When informal care is given across the borders of nation-states, social policies of the country where the carer as well as the ones from the caree's country of residence, are both important (Zechner 2008a). Social care policies are still, even in the European Union level, national.

Irene Hardill and her colleagues (2005) have for example studied British nationals who have retired in Spain. Their research showed very clearly that the notion of European citizenship is build around the ideal of citizen worker. Economically inactive migrants have to comply with national legislation regarding for example access to health and social care services (Dwyer 2001, 315). British government does not take the responsibility to provide care for its citizens residing outside United Kingdom, even within European Union (Hardill et. al. 2005, 773).

Retired migrants may face, especially with ailing health, economical problems. Also limited knowledge about local service provision and language together with social isolation may lead to very complicated situations when care needs arise. The chances to receive informal care from local networks in the country of retirement are thin if most of the social networks consist of other retired migrants. Many retired migrants in addition have only few connections to the country of departure, therefore the possibilities to return are difficult to arrange (Hardill et. al. 2005). Being able to receive both informal and formal care presumes knowledge and social connections, which maybe sparse for retired migrants.

There are also other groups of migrants that may face unexpected difficulties when needing care in old age. Refugees and asylum seekers who have migrated later in life often have multiple disadvantages of low education, income and language skills in addition to weakened family networks due to migration, wars and other harsh life experiences. Another disadvantaged group may be labour migrants, many of whom may be illegal residents and do not have an access to social welfare systems at all. Also many legally residing labour migrants face similar challenges as refugees and asylum seekers (Ackers & Dwyer 2004; Warnes et. al. 2004; Warnes & Williams 2006). Not only migrants face transnational elements in care, also family members of migrants who have stayed put may have a role as care receivers or care givers as members of a family or a kin of a migrant.

The systems of social policies for transnational informal care are rather complicated and difficult to grasp. There is no such thing as European Union care policies and the situation of those caring transnationally and coming from outside EU, is even more complicated. The requirements

concerning visas, residence permits and travel documents are stricter. Giving informal care across nation-state borders may be very difficult, not only due to distances and possible lack of resources, but also because many institutional structures may rather be hindering than supporting these activities (Ackers & Dwyers 2004; Zechner 2008a).

Conclusions

This brief review of Nordic and British research on informal care has been able to identify three prevailing trends. The first trend especially present in Britain, has stressed informal caring as an intimate activity taking place inside the family and kin relations. This trend, *intimate informal care*, was strongest during the 1980's and it never had such a strong foothold in the Nordic countries. Nordic research on informal care has been and still is fairly small scale activity.

The second trend, *formalizing informal care*, of research on informal care has approached the study object as an activity where both informal and formal elements of care are present. This combination has been projected as something that demands negotiations. Research that can be placed inside this trend has become common mainly in the 1990's both in the UK and in the Nordic countries. I allege that a majority of research on informal care also in present can be placed within this trend.

The third trend, *globalizing informal care*, is present mainly in the 21st century both in UK and in the Nordic countries consist of research on informal care that takes place in transnationally, across the borders of nation-states. Global movement of people, which as such is not a new phenomenon (Sarti 2008), has brought new insights to research on informal care. New in global movement of people are improved travel connections and lower level of expenses as well as the possibilities of cheap and fast information exchange. These changes have had an impact on informal care as well as research on it. Informal care has become more international and transnational whereas social care policies still are national. This forces the actors of informal care and care researchers as well, to take a stance towards care policies of several countries and international decision making bodies such as the ones of European Union. Also other formal structures like the ones that are designed to control immigration, emigration and international movement, have a role in transnational care activities. The boundaries between informal care and formal structures are multiple and they spill over the limits of destined care policies.

In the future research on informal care there is still need to gain better understanding on the experiences of elders who are in need of care. In addition care of certain groups of elders has gained little attention so far. These groups are for example elders with mental disabilities, those who have problems with substance abuse, very small social networks, scarce or generous economical resources, no contacts to services, members of sexual minorities and various groups of immigrants. Regarding informal care in general there is still need to understand the consequences of the marketization of formal care to actors within the informal care. Also abuse and violence in informal care is not much researched.

Regarding larger trends in research on informal care the tendency has been to expand, from intimate relationships to relations between informal and formal actors as far as international and transnational processes. From the last one, there is little room to expand therefore I believe that there will be sort of a turn inward within research on informal care. Focus would then turn to for example in the variety of informal care situations as listed above.

References

- Ackers, Louise (2004) Citizenship, migration and the valuation of care in the European Union. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(2), 373–396.
- Ackers, Louise & Dwyer, Peter (2004) Fixed laws, fluid lives: The citizenship status of post-retirement migrants in the European Union. *Ageing and Society* 24(3), 451–475.
- Anttonen, Anneli & Zechner, Minna (2009) Tutkimuksen lähestymistapoja hoivaan. Teoksessa Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva – tutkimus, politiikka, arki*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 16–54.
- Anderson, Bridget (1997) Servants and slaves: Europe's domestic workers. *Race and Class* 39(1), 37–49.
- Anderson, Bridget (2000a) Different roots in common ground: Transnationalism and migrant domestic workers in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27(4) 673–683.
- Anderson, Bridget (2000b) *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Arber, Sara & Gilbert, Nigel (1989) Men: The forgotten carers. *Sociology* 23(1), 111–118.
- Baldock, John & Ungerson, Clare (1994) *Becoming consumers of community care: households and the mixed economy of welfare*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Barnes, Marian (1997) *Care, communities and citizens*. London: Longman.
- Bornat, Joanna, Johnson, Julia, Pereira, Charmaine, Pilgrim, David & Williams, Fiona (eds.) (1997) *Community care: A reader*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Daatland, Svein Olav (ed.) (1987) *Gammel I eget hjem. Norske erfaringer om betingelser og tilrettelegging for en selvstendig boform i eldre år*. København: Nordisk Ministerråd.
- Daly, Mary & Lewis, Jane (2000) The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology* 51(2), 281–298.
- Eastmond, Marita & Åkesson, Lisa (eds.) (2007) *Globala familjer. Transnationell migration och släktskap*. Gidlunds förlag.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara & Hochschild, Arlie Russe (2002) (ed.) *Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Eliasson, Rosmari (1984) *Att arbeta inom äldreomsorgen, att vara pensionär och att möta varandra*. FoU-rapport nr. 3. Stockholm: Stockholms socialförvaltning.

- Eliasson, Rosmari (1996) Introduktion. In Rosmari Eliasson (ed.) *Omsorgens skiftningar, Begreppet, vardagen, politiken, forskningen*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 195–201.
- Eliasson-Lappalainen, Rosmari (2003) En reseberättelse: fyra städer, fyra arbetsdagar. Teoksessa Marta Szebehely (toim.) *Hemhjälp i Norden –illustrationer och reflektioner*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 119–161.
- Ellis, Kathryn (1993) *Squaring the circle: User and carer participation in needs assessment*. York: Joseph Rowntree foundation
- Faist, Thomas (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Reprinted 2004. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Faist, Thomas (2000) Transnationalisation in international migration: Implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23(2), 189–222.
- Finch, Janet (1989) *Family obligations and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Finch, Janet (1993) The concept of caring: feminist and other perspectives. In Julia Twigg (ed.) *Informal care in Europe*. Proceeding of a conference held in York. York: University of York, 5–22.
- Finch, Janet & Groves, Dulcie (1980) Community care and the family: a case for equal opportunities? *Journal of Social Policy* 9(4), 487–511.
- Finch, Janet & Groves, Dulcie (ed.) (1983) *A labour of love: women, work and caring*. Lontoo: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Finch, Janet & Mason, Jennifer (1993) *Negotiating Family Responsibilities*. London: Tavistock/Routledge.
- Forbat, Liz (2005) *Talking about care. Two sides of the story*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Gothóni, Raili (1990) Vanhusten sosiaaliset verkostot ja sosiaalinen tuki. Tutkimus kalliolaisten ja kiteeläisten vanhusten elämäntilanteesta, sosiaalisista verkostoista ja tuesta. *Julkaisuja* 1990:2. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö.
- Gothóni, Raili (1991) Omaiset –loppuunpalaneita ihmisiä vai käyttämätön voimavara. *Kehittämisosaston julkaisuja* 1991:14, Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö.
- Gough, Ritva (1987) *Hemhjälp till gamla*. Forskningsrapport 54. Stockholm: Arbetslivscenter.
- Graham, Hilary (1983) *Caring: A labour of love*. In Janet Finch & Dulcie Groves (eds.) *A labour of love: Women, work and caring*. London: Routledge & Kegan, Paul, 13–30.
- Graham, Hilary (1993) Social divisions in caring. *Women Studies International Forum* 16(5), 461–470.
- Hadley, Roger & Hatch, Stephen (1981) *Social welfare and the failure of the state*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Hardill, Irene, Spradbery, Jacqui, Arnold-Boakes, Judy & Marruguat, Maria Luisa (2005) Severe health and social care issues among British migrants who retire to Spain. *Ageing and Society* 24(5), 769–783.
- Hillman, Felicitas (2005) Migrants' care work in private households, or the strength of bilocal and transnational ties as a last(ing) resource in global migration. In Pfau-Effinger, Birgit & Geissler, Birgit (eds.) *Care and social integration in European Union*. Bristol: The Policy Press, 93–112.
- Heaton, Janet (1999) The gaze and visibility of the carer: a Foucauldian analysis of the discourse of informal care. *Sociology of Health and Illness* 21(6), 759–777.
- Heikkinen, Riitta-Liisa (1989) Iäkkäiden sosiaali- ja terveystalveluiden käyttö kuudella eurooppalaisella alueella. *Gerontologia* 3(3), 191–200.
- Hernes, Helga Maria (1987) Women and the welfare state: The transition from private to public dependence. In Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed.) *Women and the State. The Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private*. London: Unwin Hyman, 72–92.
- Hondangneu-Sotelo, Pierrette (1994) *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hondangneu-Sotelo, Pierrette (2001) *Domestica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2000) Care Chain. *American Prospect* 3, 32–36.
- Isaksen, Widding Lise (1984) *Omsorg i grenseland. En analyse av hjemmehjelpsklienters forhold till offentlig og privat avhengig. hovedfagsoppgave i samfunnsvetenskap –våren 1984*. Bergen: Senter for kvinneforskning.
- Isaksen, Lise Widding (1998) *Omsorgskrise og globalisering*. Teoksessa Lise Widding Isaksen (ed.) *Omsorgens pris. Kjønn, makt og marked i velferdsstaten*. Trondheim: Gyldendal Akademisk, 185–197.
- Isaksen, Lise Widding (2007) Gender, care work and globalization: Local problems and transnational solutions in the Norwegian welfare state- Teoksessa Marjorie Griffin Cohen & Janine Brodie (eds.) *Remapping gender in the new global order*. London: Routledge, 44–58.
- Johansson, Lennarth (1986) *Omsorg i det tysta. Anhörigas roll i äldreården*. Spirrapport 200, Stockholm.

- Johansson, Lennarth (1993) The state and the family: Policy, services and practice in Sweden. In Twigg, Julia (ed.) *Informal care in Europe. Proceedings of a conference held in York.* University of York, 103–108.
- Kainlauri, Anne (1998) Kohtaaminen kotityön näyttämöllä. In Riitta Haverinen, Leila Simonen & Irma Kiikkala (eds.) *Kohtaamisia sosiaali- ja terveystalouden areenoilla. Raportteja 221.* Helsinki: Stakes, 183–198.
- Kalve, Trygve (1985) *Privat omsorg - offentlig ansvar?* Oslo: SIFF, Gruppe for helsetjenesteforskning.
- Karjalainen, Pirkko (1980) *Vanhusten kontaktit, avuntarve ja palvelujen saatavuus.* Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveystaloudenministeriö.
- Keith, Lois (1992) Who cares wins? Women, caring and disability. *Disability, Handicap and Society* 7(2), 167–175.
- Kofman, Eleonore (2006) Migration, ethnicity and entitlements in European welfare regimes. In Audrey Guichon, Cristien van den Anker & Irina Novikova (eds.) *Women's social rights and entitlements.* Houndmills: Palgrave, 130–154.
- Kofman, Eleonore & Raghuram, Parvati (2006) Gender and global labour migrations: Incorporating skilled workers. *Antipode* 38(2), 282–303.
- Kröger, Teppo (2009) Hoivapolitiikan rajanvetoja. In Anneli Anttonen, Heli Valokivi & Minna Zechner (eds.) *Hoiva – tutkimus, politiikka, arki [Care –research, politics and everyday life].* Tampere: Vastapaino, 99–125.
- Land, Hilary & Rose, Hilary (1985) Compulsory altruism for some or an altruistic society for all? In Philip Bean; John Ferris & David Whynes (ed.) *In defence of welfare.* London: Tavistock Publications, 74–96.
- Laurén, Jeannette & Wrede, Sirpa (2008) Immigrants in care work: ethnic hierarchies and work distribution. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration* 3 (3), 20–31.
- Leira, Arnlaug (1993) Concepts of care: loving, thinking and doing. In Julia Twigg (ed.) *Informal care in Europe. Proceeding of a conference held in York.* York: University of York, 23–39.
- Lewis, Jane & Meredith, Barbara (1988) *Daughters who care. Daughters caring for mothers at home.* Lontoo: Routledge.
- Lingsom, Susan (1987) *Fragmenter I samspill. Den offentlige og private hjelpen I elders hverdag.* In Svein Olav Daatland (ed.) *Gammel I eget hjem.* København: Nordisk Ministerråd, 196–220.
- Macleán, Mavis & Groves, Dulcie (eds.) (1991) *Women's issues in social policy.* London: Routledge.
- McGregor, Joann (2007) 'Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners)' Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5), 801–824.
- Morris, Jenny (1991) *Pride against Prejudice: Transforming Attitudes to Disability.* London: Women's Press. (third edition 1996)
- Nolan, Mike; Grant, Gordon & Keady, John (1996) *Understanding family care.* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Nordhus, Inger, H.; Widding Isaksen, Lise & Wærness, Kari (1986) *De fleste gamle er kvinner.* Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
- Näre, Sari (2008) Ylirajaiset hoivajärjestykset. Puolalaisten naisten kokemuksia koti- ja hoivatyöstä Napolissa. In Tarja Tolonen (ed.) *Yhteiskuntaluokka ja sukupuoli. Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, Nuorisotutkimusseuran julkaisuja 83.* Tampere: Vastapaino 274–299.
- Olsen, Henning & Gregersen, Ole (1988) *De ældre og hjemmehjælpen.* Köpenhamh: Socialforskningsinstituttet rapport 88:1.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva (2003) (ed.) *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies and Transnational Relations.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Platzer, Ellinor (2002) Kulturellt utbyte eller billig arbeidskraft? Au pair i Sverige. *Sociologisk Forskning*, (3–4), 32–55
- Qureshi, Hazel & Walker, Alan (1989) *The Caring Relationship. Elderly People and their Families.* Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Reynolds, Tracey & Zontini, Elisabetta (2006) *A Comparative Study of Care and Provision Across Caribbean and Italian Transnational Families.* Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group Working Paper No. 16. London: London South Bank University, <http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/workingpapers/familieswp16.pdf> [retrieved 06.03.2009]
- Romero, Mary (1992) *Maid in the U.S.A.* New York: Routledge.
- Rose, Hilary (1983) Hand, brain and heart: A feminist epistemology for the natural sciences. *Signs* 9(1) 73–90.

- Ryan, Louise (2004) Family matters: (e)migration, familial networks and Irish women in Britain. *Sociological Review* 52(3), 351–370.
- Salazar Parrenas, Rhacel (2001) *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Salazar Parrenas, Rhacel (2003) The care crisis in the Philippines: Children and transnational families in the new global economy. Teoksessa Barbara Ehrenreich & Arlie Russell Hochschild (eds.) *Global woman*. London: Grant Books, 39–54.
- Sarti, Raffaella (2008) The globalisation of domestic work –An historical perspective. In Helma Lutz (ed.) *Migration and domestic work. A European perspective on a global theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 77–97.
- Showstack Sassoon, Anne (1987) Women's new social role: Contradictions of the welfare state. In Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed.) *Women and the State. The Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private*. London: Unwin Hyman, 158–188.
- Simonen, Leila (1986) Naisten huolenpitotyö ja kodinhoitajan ammatti. In Rantalaiho, L. (ed.) *Miesten tie, naisten puuhut*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 208–232.
- Simonen, Leila (1990) Contradictions of the welfare state, women and caring. Tampere: Acta Universitatis Tamperensis ser A vol 29.
- Sjöbeck, Barbro (1991) Kvalitet i den sociala hemtjänsten ur brukarperspektiv. *Gerontologia* 5(3), 173–182.
- Sundström, Gert (1980) Omsorg oss emellan –omsorg i informella relationer förr, nu och i framtiden. Stockholm: Sekretariatet för framtidsstudier.
- Sundström, Gert (1984) De gamla, deras anhöriga och hemtjänsten. En studie av gränslandet mellan informell och formell omsorg. Rapport i socialt arbete 22/84. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, Socialhögskolan.
- Sundström, Gert & Samuelsson, Gillis (1987) Om hjälpformer, omsorgsresurser och kvarboende. In Svein Olav Daatland (ed.) *Gammel I eget hjem*. København: Nordisk Ministerråd, 171–195.
- Szebehely, Marta (1995) Vardagens organisering. Om vårdbiträden och gamla i hemtjänsten. Lund: Arkiv förlag.
- Szebehely, Marta (1996) Om omsorg och omsorgsforskning. In Eliasson, R. (ed.) *Omsorgens skiftningar, Begreppet, vardagen, politiken, forskningen*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 21–35.
- Szebehely, Marta (2005) Sammanfattning. In Szebehely, M. (ed.) *Äldreomsorgsforskning i Norden. En kunskapsöversikt. TemaNord 2005: 508*. Köpenhamn: Nordiska ministerrådet, 13–20.
- Tedre, Silva (1995) Julkinen auttaja yksityisessä kodissa. Teoksessa Eräsaari, L.; Julkunen, R. & Silius, H. (eds.) *Naiset julkisen ja yksityisen rajalla*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 150–170.
- Tedre, Silva (1999) Hoivan sanattomat sopimukset. Tutkimus vanhusten kotipalvelun työntekijöiden työstä. Joensuun yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisiä julkaisuja Nro 40. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.
- Tenkanen, Raija (2003) Kotihoidon yhteistyömuotojen kehittäminen ja sen merkitys vanhusten elämänlaadun näkökulmasta. Rovaniemi: Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis.
- Thomas, Carol (1993) De-constructing concepts of care. *Sociology* 27(4), 649–669.
- Thorsen, Kristen (1980) Grenser for omsorg: kvinner, aldring og omsorg Oslo: Norsk gerontologisk institutt.
- Thorsen, Kirsten (1999) Om å gjøre den uformelle omsorgen for eldre mer formell. In Thorsen, Kristen & Wærness, Kari (eds.) *Blir omsorgen borte? Eldreomsorgens hverdag i den senmoderne velferdsstaten*. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal, 63–85.
- Thulin, Ann-Britt (1987) Arbetsförhållanden inom hemtjänsten. FoU rapport no. 80. Stockholm: Stockholms socialförvaltning.
- Torres, Sandra (2006) Elderly immigrants in Sweden: 'Otherness' under construction. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 32(8), 1341–1358.
- Twigg, Julia (1997) Deconstructing the 'social bath': Help with bathing at home for older and disabled people. *Journal of Social Policy* 26, 211–232.
- Twigg, Julia (1998) Informal care. In Miriam Bernard & Judith Phillips (eds.) *The social policy of old age*. London: Centre for Policy on Ageing, 128–141.
- Twigg, Julia & Atkin, Karl (1996) *Carers perceived. Policy and practice in informal care*. Buckingham: Open University Press. (first edition 1994).
- Ungerson, Clare (1987) *Policy is personal: Sex, gender and informal care*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Ungerson, Claire (1990) The language of care. Crossing the boundaries. In Claire Ungerson (ed.) *Gender and caring. Work and welfare in Britain and Scandinavia*. Herfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 8–33.

- Vertovec, Steven (2004) Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation. *International Migration Review* 38(3), 970-1001.
- Wærness, Kari (1978) The invisible Welfare State: women's Work at Home. *Acta Sociologica supplement* 21, 193-207.
- Wærness, Kari (1983) Kvinnor och omsorgsarbete. en kvinnoperspektiv på människovård och professionalisering. Stockholm: Prisma. (first edition 1982).
- Wærness, Kari (1984) Caring as women's work in the welfare state. In Harriet Holter (ed.) *Patriarchy in a welfare state*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 67-87.
- Wærness, Kari (2006) Research on care: what impact on policy and planning? In Carole Glendinning & Peter A. Kemp (eds.) *Cash and care. Policy challenges in the welfare state*. Bristol: Policy Press, 21-31.
- Warnes, Anthony, M. Friedrich, Klaus, Kellaher, Leonia & Torres, Sandra (2004) The diversity and welfare of older migrants in Europe. *Ageing & Society* 24(3), 301-326.
- Warnes, Anthony & Williams, Allan (2006) Older migrants in Europe: A new focus for migration studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32(8), 1257-1281.
- Wiener, Joshua M. (2003) The role of informal support in long-term care. In Jenny Brodsky, Jack Habib & Miriam J. Hirschfeld (eds.) *Key policy issues in long-term care*. Geneva: World Health Organization and JCD-Brookdale Institute, 3-24.
<http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2003/9241562250.pdf> [Retrieved 10.10.2008]
- Williams, Fiona (2004) Trends in Women's Employment, Domestic Service, and Female Migration: changing and competing patterns of solidarity. In Trudie Knijn and Aafke Komter (eds.) *Solidarity between the sexes and generations: transformations in Europe*. London: Edward Elgar.
- Wright, Fay, D. (1986) *Left to care alone*. Gower: Aldershot.
- Zechner, Minna (2006) Hoivan paikat transnationaalisissa perheissä. In Tuomas Martikainen (ed.) *Ylirajainen kulttuuri. Etnisyys Suomessa 2000-luvulla*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 83-103.
- Zechner, Minna (2008a) Care of older persons in transnational settings. *Journal of Aging Studies* 22(1), 32-44.
- Zechner, Minna (2008b) Kykyjä kyvyttömyyden tasolla: hoivan vaiheet vanhusten kertomana. *Janus* 48(16), 295-310.
- Yeates, Nicola (2004) A dialogue with 'global care chain' analysis: nurse migration in the Irish context. *Feminist Review* 77 (1), 79-95.
- Yeates, Nicola (2005) A global political economy of care. *Social Policy & Society* 4(2) 227-234.
- Yeates, Nicola (2009) *Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Åkesson, Lisa (2007) "Det är otaksamma!" Transnationella skyldigheter ur de kvarboendes perspektiv. In Erik Olsson, Catarina Lundqvist, Annika Rabo, Lena Sawyer, Östen Wahlbeck, Lisa Åkesson (eds.) *Transnationelle rum*. Umeå: Boréa, 91-113.