Introduction

Heike Drotbohm and Erdmute Alber

In the course of the last two decades, the notion of care has become prominent in the social sciences. A growing amount of literature is now focusing on the intersection of work, gender, ethnicity, affect, and mobility regimes. In anthropology and sociology, in political science, psychology, gender studies, education, gerontology, disability studies, and nursing studies, care is a relevant and timely tool for examining the multiple dimensions of the distribution of gendered and generation-specific care, both within societies and around the globe.

As a result of this proliferation of care as a theme in several disciplinary fields, we are observing not only the expansion of its conceptual meaning but also increasing fuzziness and imprecision in the use of the term. In view of this growing field of literature and of the disciplines that work with the concept our book offers a rethinking of care from an anthropological perspective. Complementing common approaches, we argue that an interpretation of care that is informed by the three different concepts of work, kinship, and the life-course will facilitate empirical and conceptual distinctions between the different activities that are labeled as care.

Our book is structured in accordance with these three concepts. In the first part, entitled "Care as Work," we examine the different contexts in which care is carried out as a professional and commoditized activity. Although these case studies deal with feminized and ethnicized types of care work and hence could be read in line with earlier feminist and neo-Marxist approaches, they highlight multiple dimensions of care that extend beyond the economic sphere. This part examines not only the circulation of care between employees, employers, clients, local support communities, neighborhoods, and distant kin, but also the culturalized perceptions of certain types of care work.

In the second part, "Care as Kinship," we situate care in the context of the anthropology of kinship, here understood as a mode of social belonging. Since kinship, like other forms of social belonging, has to be actively chosen, made, or maintained, care practices are needed to contribute to the making and maintaining of kinship. Therefore, care in these chapters is understood as a social practice that connects not only kinsmen and friends, neighbors and communities, but also other collectivities such as states and nations. In this rethinking of care in the context of kinship, we highlight care as a social and emotional practice that does not necessarily need to be defined in relation to the sphere of work but rather entails the capacity to make, shape, and be made by social bonds. In this context, care can be perceived as a duty or a burden, but also as a pleasure or as a matter of course. In doing so we tackle the notion of care in its wider sense in order to capture the duality between activities and services on the one hand and social relations, emotions, and affects on the other—a dialectics expressed in the English language through the opposition between "caring for" and "caring about."

In the third part, "Care and the Life-Course," we examine care through the lens of a person's lifetime. We highlight the fact that the rights and obligations of care change over time. Part III is connected to Parts I and II in the sense that care has an impact both on one's position within the sphere of work and on one's sense of relatedness and belonging. We direct particular attention to the changing normative expectations of giving and receiving care during the different phases of one's life—an apparently self-evident but often neglected insight.

Generally, we underline the meaningful distinction among these three fields of study and highlight their possible combinations, complementarities, distinctions, and mutual influences. We are also interested in the boundaries between them and in the political consequences of these boundaries. Given the contributions included in this volume, we encourage these fields of discussion to take notice of each other.

CARE AS WORK

In large parts of the social sciences, care has been discussed as a particular type of working activity. Indeed, activities called "care work" encompass a highly differentiated and diverse field. Highly professional "nurturant care work" requiring bodily as well as emotional proximity, as carried out in hospitals, nursing homes, hospices, and funeral homes, or through other kinds of medical services (Brown 2012; Duffy 2011; Gottfried 2013), is labeled care work. A comparable field is the educational context of kindergartens and schools, where younger, dependent members of

society are taken care of. Another type of care work has been identified among service-oriented professionals like flight attendants, employees working in call centers or fitness centers (Hochschild 1983; Parasecoli 2012; Vora 2010), or those working in nail salons, brothels, or hostess clubs (Agustín 2007; Allison 1994; Brennan 2004; Kang 2010). Recently, even types of work that are oriented toward other species, such as plants and animals, were included in the notion (Mol et al. 2010). And finally, unpaid reproductive work for personal consumption or for others, such as housekeeping, informal childcare, or care for the disabled or elderly—often construed as the "female," private, and informal counterpart to productive public work—is also called care work (Abel and Nelson 1990b; Benoit and Hallgrímsdóttir 2011; Boris and Parreñas 2010).

This understanding of care provides a common basis for comparing and differentiating paid and unpaid care work. For instance, neo-Marxist and feminist reflections on unpaid care work within households is grounded in the assumption that care, which is often provided by women, should be valorized as an important part of national economies (Abel and Nelson 1990a; Feder Kittay and Feder 2002; Glenn 1992; Meillassoux 1975).

At the same time, efforts have been made to identify the significance of (feminized) care work within the global world economy: concepts such as the *global care chain* (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002), the *new world domestic order* (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1997), or the *global care economy* (Yeates 2004) place the emphasis on the links between different informal as well as formalized kinds of care work that extend across national borders. These authors argue that family-based care norms and practices and care-related labor[1] markets can no longer be seen as independent of one another. Instead they place the emphasis on the entanglements of care regimes within a globalized economy: more and more women from the so-called Global South are leaving their homes (and their caring obligations) behind to carry out (paid) care work in private households or institutionalized care services in the Global North. By doing so, they leave their family member behind, in order to provide adequate care, often through the sending of remittances. The global extraction of care, here understood as a crucial social and emotional resource, has been labeled the "care drain" (Hochschild 2002; Lutz and Palenga-Möllenbeck 2014).

However, it is important to note that this "care gap" not only concerns migrants who work in the care sector. In any kind of migration, even within a given nation-state, the absence of those who have left for work-related reasons eventually creates voids in the place of origin, where care now needs to be reorganized. As the large body of the so-called global care chain literature has demonstrated, the value of intimate care obligations

in the domestic sphere is replaced by paid and often ethnicized labor and, as a result, by monetary reward (Anderson 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Parreñas 2001, Yeates 2004, 2009). Thus, debates around care often tend to valorize an often underestimated, gendered, ethnicized but definitely central type of work in the global world society.

Along with the valorization of care work in a wide range of professional and domestic activities, the concept of work has been extended into spheres that are not usually labeled as such and hence remain invisible. A good example is Arlie Hochschild's classic term *emotional labour* (1983), which illuminates emotions as necessary elements of professional behavior, particularly in the service sector. Another example might be the term *kin work*, which was first used by network theory–inspired authors to capture networking activities (Di Leonardo 1987; Lomnitz Adler 1987) and later expanded to the kinship literature. *Kin work* refers to social activities within kinship networks, such as the organization of birthday parties, family dinners, or other activities that not only consolidate social networks but also make use of them for economic and political purposes. On a more general level, American sociologist Viviana Zelizer has provided the most prominent examination of the interpersonal linkages that enter into the production, distribution, consumption, and transfer of economic value. In her book *The Purchase of Intimacy* (2005), she made it clear that intimate relations coexist with economic transactions without being corrupted. According to Zelizer, the assumption that human interaction keeps or should keep the sentimental and the rational as two distinct spheres is false because it prevents us from understanding the affective element of social encounters in formal organizations (Zelizer 2005).

In the present volume, we aim to reveal the multiple economic, social, and emotional dimensions of care work, highlighting those aspects that reach beyond the economic sphere of work. While the challenges of a gendered and ethicized type of exploitation have already received lots of scholarly attention, we wish to reflect on the quality of care work and its relationship to other concepts that are emerging in other anthropological fields of study. Is it the quality of an activity that allows it to be labeled as "work," or is it rather the institutional and social framework in which it is performed? Does "care work" refer to the fact that a certain type of activity is delegated to another person who is paid for this activity? In some contexts or institutional settings, such as kindergartens or nursing homes, care is perceived as professional and monetarized work. In other contexts, the same activities, such as spending time with a child and caring for it, are interpreted as an expression of parental responsibility and not necessarily as work. How do they differ from one another?

Several chapters in this volume explore the fuzzy boundaries of work in care-related activities. In Chapter 2, Claudia Liebelt concentrates on Filipina migrants working as domestics in Israel. These women provide care work not only for elderly and disabled Israelis, for which they are employed and paid. Additionally, they care for other people, with whom they get in touch through their labor relations. By means of understanding care as a "gift" in the Maussian sense, Liebelt extends the notion of care beyond the domestic working sphere and includes activities such as remittances sent to families living in the Philippines, the sponsoring of Filipina community events in Israel, or women's activism in church-based charity groups. According to Liebelt, we need to examine care in its multiple dimensions as a material, bodily, affective, and emotional practice, as well as a kind of paid labor. Furthermore, in order to understand how value is created in this particular context, care should be examined in its local as well as its transnational settings.

In Chapter 2, gender and generational roles, as well as normative perceptions of care work, are adapted through "cycles of care" that are related to the life-course: when mothers leave their country and their families in order to work abroad, their husbands who have remained behind have to reestablish their gender roles, while the children grow up with their fathers or grandparents rather than their mothers. Thus, the chapter shows how care work, kinship, and the life-course have to be brought together in order to fully understand the particularities of care in this context.

Several other chapters in this volume deal with care-related labor migration. In Chapter 3, for instance, Anna Skornia concentrates on the situation and perspectives of migrant domestic workers both in Peru and among Peruvian migrants in Italy and on the emerging "entangled inequalities" in this transnational social field. She describes how Peruvians who traveled earlier to Italy and were able to legalize their status often have access to official work permits, whereas those who traveled more recently usually have no access to the formal labor market. Hence, those who work officially in Italy often informally employ family members, who provide domestic care work in these households. In the end, the progress some migrants make as paid workers and mothers in local child-care arrangements is built upon the informal work of a more recent generation of migrants, who flexibly adapt to the needs of the more established migrants, at least temporarily. Against this background, the author argues that intrafamilial inequalities that may shape care-related practices locally do not vanish in contexts of transnational migration. Rather, they are reproduced and deepened as a product of new hierarchies that are emerging from restrictive citizenship and migration regimes. At the same time, migrants' strategies of reconciling multiple and entangled forms of local

and transnational caregiving are also flexibly adjusted according to the conditions and regulatory frameworks of the countries and places in which they carry out their caring practices. Thus, the chapter contributes to an understanding of the complex and highly differentiated types of care work and their dependence on a legalized citizenship status on one hand and kinship relations on the other.

In Chapter 4, Maria Lidola examines Brazilian professional waxing studios in Berlin, focusing on the position of female migrant workers in the context of a globalized waxing industry that is understood as a certain type of *intimate labor* (Boris and Parreñas 2010). Waxing includes various bodily contacts and intensive emotional interaction between client and the servicing person. Far from being the victims of a structure of global exploitation, Brazilian women working in this economic niche commercialize their exotic image as good waxers and stylists and create their own social spaces in the metropolis of Berlin. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, Lidola explores the intersection of gendered and ethnicized stereotyping as encountered in care-related jobs and shows how spatial setting, work wear, and certain emotional distancing mechanisms contribute to the objectifying, controlling, and professionalizing of body labor. In this way, Lidola also includes a debate on sociocultural notions of beauty, hygiene, and corporeality, as well as discussing the impact of the earlier care work experiences of Brazilian migrant women in order to understand the manifold layers of their individual boundary work in Berlin's waxing studios.

CARE AS KINSHIP

The last paragraph situates care in the economic realm and highlights the fuzzy boundaries of "the intimate" and "the monetarized" spheres of human interaction. Kinship studies constitute another scholarly field, one in which care has become prominent in recent years. Here, care has been conceptualized with respect to its social, emotional, and affective dimensions.

Since the introduction of a constructivist perspective, kinship has been understood as constituted by "nature, nurture and law" (Howell 2006: 9)—thus principally not as a given, but as enacted through human behavior and social interaction as well as through subjective interpretations of social relations (Alber et al. 2010; Carsten 2000; Notermans 2004; Parkin and Stone 2004). While some scholars, such as Signe Howell (2006: 9ff.), used the term *nurture* for those types of human action that create kinship, others refer literally to care. Mary Weismantel (1995), in her study of Ecuadorian fostering practices, argued that caring practices such as feeding, nurturing, or spending time under one roof constitute

kinship. Kinship, according to her, is lived and created through care. These understandings of care were taken up by the so-called new kinship studies, which perceive care as an activity that presumes, produces, or confirms kin relations or perceptions of relatedness (Carsten 2000, 2004).

In these approaches, two ways of linking care and kinship can be identified. First, care can be a practice complementing and confirming biological and juridical understandings of kinship. This has been described in the case of parents who are acting as caregivers to their children. By responding to normative understandings of parenthood, providing care makes them "proper" parents and thus reinforces and confirms their parenthood. In this sense, care is the fulfillment of an expected form of behavior associated with a specific kinship role. LeVine and LeVine (1994) especially have shown that norms and expectations about parental caregiving vary with societal context. This has been confirmed by other authors who have looked at the specific expectations of parental care in different societies (Gottlieb 2000; Holloway et al. 2010; Stansbury et al. 2000). Similar arguments about how existing kinship relations can be complemented through care have been made for relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. These types of relationships are likewise characterized by society-specific expectations of both care and practices, the latter fulfilling, but eventually also neglecting, these expectations (Carling et al. 2012; Geissler et al. 2004; Thelen 2005).

Second, anthropological studies of kinship have argued that care not only complements and confirms biological kinship, it also provides an alternative way of creating kinship in the absence of biological ties. This has especially been discussed in the literature on adoption or child fostering (Alber et al. 2013; Bowie 2004; Howell 2006, Yngvesson 2010). For processes that generate kinship through social actions such as adoption, Signe Howell has introduced the term *kinning* (Howell 2006). According to her, the making of kinship in the context of adoption is not a single act but rather a social process that involves several individual actors as well as institutions. For instance, family members other than the parents, namely, grandparents, aunts, or uncles, may "kin" the adopted child by integrating it into their social lives through care. Seen in this way, both ways of connecting people prove that care is a particular type of social action performed among people who understand themselves as belonging to each other by kinship and who are performing belonging through care.

The importance of care in the creation, maintenance, or affirmation of kinship ties seems to have a special weight in transnational families. As the literature has shown, care needs to be understood as the key practice through which kin ties are lived across long distances. In transnational social fields, migrants try to harmonize the duty to work and finance the

lives of others with the different qualities and socialities of several places. Being adult and hence being responsible for others goes along with the obligation to leave one's place of origin and to search for better living conditions abroad. Under ideal circumstances, emigration and the assumption of upward economic mobility will provide the migrant with the capacity to care (Baldassar 2008; Baldassar et al. 2007; Brijnath 2009; Drotbohm 2009). After reestablishing themselves in their countries of destination, migrants care, or wish to care, for those they have left behind. In this key aspect of "transnational care," our understanding is not limited to the sending of remittances. Rather, many migrants develop multiple care strategies to articulate their intimate feelings and make themselves socially present. Established social practices such as calling, sending gifts and cards, and regular visits constitute and reaffirm social bonds which otherwise might suffer under the experience of separation (Drotbohm 2011; Parreñas 2001).

In Chapter 5, Heike Drotbohm highlights care as both a transnational capacity and a duty which changes its meaning according to changing conditions and circumstances among transnational Cape Verdean families. She concentrates her reflections on the links between care and the notion of crisis, understood as a certain moment of accelerated change when care is needed in particular ways. In her reading, crisis not only refers to individual or biographical shifts (such as disease or death), but also to perceptions of radical societal change. Drotbohm shows that contemporary living conditions under the current financial or banking crisis in 2008, with rising rates of unemployment, low incomes, and the state's withdrawal from many programs of social security, can increase the pressures on relatives living in different areas of the world. In moments of state failure, such as can currently be observed all around the globe, earlier forms of social security become relegated (back) into the private realm, where expectations toward care change and where multiple actors, such as communities, neighborhoods, and individual family members, have to (re)turn to informal ways of coping with individual challenges. In this case study, expectations of care between kin change in the course of societal transformations. In the end, however, the attitude and care behavior of other family members remain important points of reference for reflecting on one's own position in the world.

Chapter 5 shows that the modes of belonging produced, transferred, or confirmed through care refer both to the sphere of kinship as well as to other kinds of social belonging. In the other two chapters in this part, care also refers to other types of collectivities, such as communities, nations, or states. In Chapter 6, Jessaca Leinaweaver, working with Spanish parents who have adopted Peruvian children, describes these activities as endeavors

to incorporate the "foreign child" into their own intimate worlds. Unlike the approach developed by Howell (2006), Leinaweaver does not focus so much on the processes of "kinning" through which feelings and perceptions of parenting are produced and legalized, but rather examines other types of caring activities, which these parents also perceive as being crucial for their child and thus enact as a part of their kinship obligations. Spanish adoptive parents try to care properly for their "foreign" child by creating its relatedness to its country of origin. They do so by caring for Peru through the participation in solidarity work and other activities in favor of this nation, and for the community of Latino migrants in Spain. Hence, as they assume a certain type of relationship between their child and the latter's country of origin, Spanish adoptive parents are caring not only for an individual but also for a migrant community and for a nation.

In Chapter 7, on care in rural Romania, Tatjana Thelen examines how the notion of care is used in comparing settings, values, and self-perceptions in different societies. Since care in many cultural contexts needs to be understood as a highly moralized and normative social practice, collective reflections on doing care in "the right way" serve as a backdrop for assessing societies which are imagined to be different. When comparing perceptions of "our" (i.e., Romanian) and "their" (i.e., "Western") ways of caring for elderly family members during the late 1990s with more recent statements, Thelen observes a striking shift: while initially placing an elderly person into a care institution had been considered a "bad" or "immoral" (Western) care practice, ten years later the same type of action was being accepted or even appreciated. Thelen relates this shift to societal changes, such as out-migration, changing self-representations within local communities, and the rising dependence on institutional care in rural Romania. Thus, she not only highlights the changing and highly normative aspects of care, but also shows how these are used to create a moral order that distinguishes between professional care work and kin-based care by classifying them as good or bad, modern or old fashioned, "Western" or "traditional".

What also becomes obvious in Chapter 7 on changing perceptions of care in rural Romania finds its parallels in research on domestic care labor when personal capacities of care, such as patience, obedience, or "service-mindedness" are culturalized (Amrith 2010). In a different but comparable setting, Brazilian *depiladoras* waxing their German clients, who are examined in Chapter 4, by Maria Lidola, are imagined to be beauty specialists who know the "adequate" technical performance and the perfect, nonpainful type of touch. These examples again highlight the fact that care is a highly moralized practice that is framed, enacted, and perceived differently by those providing it and those receiving it.

Discussing care as work and care as kinship, we highlight the potential for fusing these two fields of study, which have been kept entirely separate until today. As a consequence, the prevailing discussions around care work in the social sciences have underestimated the aspect of relatedness and have neglected to question the limits of the concept of work. The possibility of examining care beyond the sphere of work has been more or less ignored. At the same time, kinship studies have underestimated the aspect of work in relation to care, even within the realm of kinship. As a consequence, the questions regarding whether and in what ways the professionalization and commercialization of care changes the meanings as well as the activities which formerly occurred within the realm of kinship have not been discussed extensively.

Care in the Life-Course

The capacity and the duty to provide care and the need to be cared for are closely linked to age-specific requirements and are situated in specific life phases. Life-course-related transitions imply crucial changes with regard to the individual's position in his or her kinship network (Dannefer and Uhlenberg 1999). Birth, childhood, youth, the phase of reproduction, parenthood, age, and death are all understood as going along with changing rights, entitlements, responsibilities, tasks, and needs vis-à-vis others (Elder 2001; Kertzer 1989; Sackmann and Wingens 2001). The roles of kinship in care, as discussed in the previous part, always have a temporal connotation, as they are related to gender- and generation-specific changes of duties and rights throughout the life-course. New kinship roles, such as parenthood or grandparenthood, are created in a given individual's life stage within the life-course. Furthermore, they are always embedded in and related to changing societal expectations, and thus to what Tamara Hareven calls "historical time" in addition to "personal and family time" (Hareven 1991).

The changing rights and duties of care become most obvious in the transition from childhood to youth or adulthood (Christiansen et al. 2006; Tafere 2011). In many societies children are defined as being vulnerable and as needing to be cared for, not only by their kin but also by any member of society (Montgomery 2009; Woodhead 1990). Additionally, the early phase of socialization also entails a specific and often gendered understanding of care. For instance, anthropological studies of childhood in African societies have shown that girls are often supposed to take over household tasks or responsibilities for their younger siblings much earlier than their brothers, who enjoy the freedom to play and to move around independently for a longer period of time (Abebe 2011; Dinslage 1986;

Spittler and Bourdillon 2012). For both girls and boys, the end of childhood and the transition from youth to adulthood and then parenthood are marked by a gradual attribution of changing care duties. In turning into mothers and fathers and accepting these new roles, they are also turning into adults who are in charge of those in need in almost every society worldwide. These obligations not only concern their offspring and the children of others but also the older generation, which may be in need of care too at a certain point in time (Climo 2000).

These insights highlight two interrelated assumptions. First, transitions in the life-course transform the duty as well as the right to provide or receive care. In this sense, care is a life stage–specific practice which cannot be analyzed from an individual perspective, but connects individuals within and across generations (Braungart and Braungart 1986). Second, care contributes to the construction of life stages in a double sense, namely, the normative expectation of receiving care and the duty (or ability) to provide care. In other words, each society and every historical time goes along with specific assumptions regarding the questions of what kinds of care duties are adequate in which life stage and which members of society are eligible to care and to be cared for. Being a respected person means providing support at appropriate times. The opposite also holds true: receiving care at certain moments of need also demonstrates a particular social status (see Coe, Drotbohm, and Häberlein, Chapters 9, 5, and 8, respectively, this volume). Hence, in many parts of the world, neglecting care duties at certain life stages would be interpreted as an expression of disrespect or personal failure.

At the same time, this imagination of life stages through the provision or reception of care is a normative one that needs to be confirmed or questioned through caring activities by concrete individuals. Again, societal change leads to changing practices that can go along with changing norms. In Germany, for instance, there appears to be a new trend toward the "young old" providing care for their elder siblings or parents (Borneman 2001; Thelen and Haukanes 2010). In other contexts, not only are adults expected to provide care but even children may have certain care obligations, such as caring for their younger siblings. Furthermore, not everybody provides care according to general expectations: sometimes constraints, such as conflicting role expectations within the family or economic difficulties, complicate the adequate provision of care. Not respecting the life-course-related care norm, however, can also be an active decision, for instance, when relatives are neglected or abandoned.

Imagining the life-course in clear-cut stages, as in classical anthropological work on initiation rituals or age-grade societies, has also been criticized for being simplistic (Kertzer 1989). Jennifer Johnson-Hanks (2002)

introduced the term *vital conjunctures* for those moments in the life-course when decisions with long-term consequences have to be taken. These can occur, for instance, when unexpected pregnancies of teenage mothers supposedly lead either to marriage and the foundation of a new household or to abortion and the continuation of education. Here, the general openness of the situation and of the inherent decisions is seen as crucial, an openness which also refers to the expected (or rejected) life phases. Building on this approach, Mette Ringsted, who explored the role of teenage mothers in Tanzania, demonstrates how teenage mothers who supposedly had to care for their newborns rejected the new duties involved and relegated them to their own mothers. When teenage mothers neglect their children or hand them over to their own mothers, they chose to continue being "children" by performing children's roles, while the infant's carers—grandmothers in this case—have to resume their mothering roles again (Ringsted 2008). Hence, even motherhood does not necessarily, as is often assumed, bring an end to youth and introduce adulthood—the boundary crossing also proves to be reversible.

In this volume almost all chapters address the impact of the life-course on care and vice versa. Three chapters, however, place the life-course at the center of their argument. In Chapter 8, Tabea Häberlein examines the particular situation of the elderly in Togo who have to rely on the assumptions underlying the so-called generational contract in order to secure their well-being in times of weakness and dependence. Obviously, in a place where hardly any public social security institutions function adequately, this contract cannot be invoked by legal means. Those of the younger generation who provide care tend to refer to a normative understanding of generational reciprocity. In contrast to Liebelt's and Skornia's studies, in which elderly care was performed with the aim of earning money and transferring it to people back in the carer's country of origin, Häberlein describes family members who do not perceive their caring activities as a kind of work. Rather, they consider it to be a kind of generational reciprocity and kinship activity related to the individual's specific age class-related stage within his or her life-course. For this type of activity she uses the expression "kinning by care," which is, according to Häberlein, a key task during the whole life-course.

In Chapter 9, using a different theoretical lens, Cati Coe also focuses on the temporal dimension of care during the life-course, which needs to be "orchestrated" within a family and needs to take into account the different, sometimes interdependent and sometimes divergent, life-course-related transitions of other family members. She argues that Ghanaian transnational migrants try to entrain multiple linked lives because doing so is the key to being a respected person who fulfills what he or she is entrusted with. One way to do this is through migration because one can

accumulate the necessary resources to demonstrate the social maturity of caring for others in more precarious situations. The regulation of cross-border mobility, she shows, complicates this endeavor, as it creates delays that ignore the process of growing up or elderly people's declining health. Coe pinpoints the multiple ways in which Ghanaian migrants adapt to these challenges and create alternative chronotopic strategies for filling care slots and compensating for absences.

In Chapter 10, Pamela Feldman-Savelsberg concentrates on Cameroonian migrant mothers in Germany and the multiple forms of belonging (and nonbelonging) that they forge through their reproductive and care practices. Being pregnant, giving birth, having children, and caring for children tie mothers to different social and institutional spheres. Geographically distant kin, fellow migrants, and German institutions give mothers moral support, practical help, cash entitlements, and social services. Feldman-Savelsberg also shows that striving for the sense of positive value and recognition that comes with belonging affects mothers' reproductive decisions, the care they receive, and how they care for their children.

In addition, she describes how the bureaucratic system of health control can contribute to a structuring of life stages such as childhood or youth. In both Chapters 10 and 4, it becomes obvious that institutions can provide assistance not only with regard to decisions, but especially in matters of practical, technical, and medical concern. In moments of important biographical transitions, but also at times of personal crisis, care institutions are expected to provide emotional backing and reduce the responsibility as well as the burden of the individual carer. At the same time, institutions can substitute for family members and set normative standards for how care should be carried out in an adequate manner. This aspect of monitoring and control, which can go along with care practices, needs to be understood as a possible pitfall of care, which might serve the creation of asymmetric power relations and reinforce patterns of dependence (Robinson 2011).[2]

In Feldman-Savelsberg's example, Cameroonian female migrants understand their position within German society through their caring activities: they read medical documents, such as the *Mutterpass*[3] or *Kinderuntersuchungsheft*,[4] in order to pursue their "mothering career," as she calls it, and also as a way to structure the life-course-related stages through state actors. These medical documents require, and encourage but also eventually force, mothers to visit a medical institution. In general, the notion of care invites us to reflect on the normativity of practices that are meant to respect the order of the life-course. Chapter 10 also shows what happens with these practices and norms if they are reorganized across national borders.

In line with these thoughts, we are particularly interested in both the political and moral connotations of the notion of care and in the processes in which these nuances and standards are produced. These are articulated in debates over "good standards" of care that have to be negotiated between actors of different status groups and power hierarchies. Care in these institutional contexts can even be understood as a fiction, serving the interests of both care providers and care recipients, whose moral positions are defined through expectations regarding the provision or reception of care.

Conclusion

In this volume, care emerges as a notion that transcends categorical boundaries: moving between different institutions and actors, times and places, care connects its recipients and its providers and crosses private and institutionalized settings. In doing so, it brings together individuals, relatives, working relations, communal services, societies, policies, and nation-states. Care traverses national borders and ties together people living in different areas of the world who nonetheless consider themselves as belonging to the same social field and, even more important, as belonging to each other.

In this sense, care connects different categories of anthropological thought: work, kinship, and the life-course. We argue that these categories need to be discussed in terms of their mutual interdependence and constituency. The chapters included in this volume provide examples of how to combine the three in order to arrive at a better understanding of the complex ways in which care is perceived, how it is enacted, and what it contributes to a world in which questions of belonging and relatedness, services, obligations, emotions, and often hierarchical positions of provision and reception refer to constantly changing empirical grounds. Our reflections on the interdependencies among work, kinship, and the life-course could be extended to a more general rethinking of these three key concepts in the social sciences. The next chapters shed light on these complex entanglements and will stimulate fruitful discussions on the multiple meanings of care as a cultural and social practice.

Notes

1. In our volume, the emphasis is not on the conceptual distinctions between labor and work, since these are not differentiated similarly in the literature. We mainly use the concept of work, but refer to labor if others do so.
2. We appreciate Caroline Bledsoe's comment on the meaning of monitoring in the context of care, which she contributed during the conference "Rethinking Care," organized in Berlin in December 2012.

3. A "mother's pass" is a document given to every mother in Germany that documents the health examinations of the mother and the newborn child.
4. A "child's examination booklet" is a document given to every newborn child in Germany, that documents the results of the child's obligatory medical health checks.

References

Abebe, Tabek. 2011. "Gendered Work and Schooling in Rural Ethiopia: Exploring Working Children's Perspectives." In Sandra Evers, Catrien Notermans, and Erik van Ommering, eds. *Not Just a Victim: The Child as Catalyst and Witness of Contemporary Africa*, 147–172. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Abel, Emily and Margaret Nelson, eds. 1990a. *Cycles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*. New York: New York Press.

Abel, Emily and Margaret Nelson. 1990b. "Cycles of Care: An Introductory Essay." In Emily Abel and Margaret Nelson, eds. *Cycles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*, 4–26. New York: New York Press.

Agustín, Laura Maria. 2007. *Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry*. London: Zed Books.

Alber, Erdmute, Bettina Beer, Michael Schnegg, and Julia Pauli, eds. 2010. *Verwandtschaft heute*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Alber, Erdmute, Jeannett Martin, and Catrien Notermans, eds. 2013. *Child Fostering in West Africa: New Perspectives on Theories and Practices*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Allison, Anne. 1994. *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Amrith, Sunil. 2010. "Indians Overseas? Governing Tamil Migration to Malaya, 1870–1941." *Past and Present* 208: 231–261.

Anderson, Bridget. 2000. *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baldassar, Loretta. 2008. "Missing Kin and Longing to be Together: Emotions and the Construction of Co-presence in Transnational Relationships." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 3: 247–267.

Baldassar, Loretta, Cora Vellekoop Baldock, and Raelene Wilding. 2007. *Families Caring Across Borders: Migration, Ageing and Transnational Caregiving*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benoit, Cecilia and Helga K. Hallgrímsdóttir. 2011. "Conceptualizing Care Work." In Cecilia Benoit and Helga Hallgrímsdóttir, eds. *Valuing Care Work: Comparative Perspectives*, 7–21. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Boris, Eileen and Rhacel S. Parreñas. 2010. *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Borneman, John. 2001. "Caring and Being Cared For: Displacing Marriage, Kinship, Gender, and Sexuality." In James Faubion, ed. *The Ethics of Kinship*, 29–47. New Jersey: Rowland and Littlefield.

Bowie, Fiona, ed. 2004. *Cross-Cultural Approaches to Adoption*. London and New York: Routledge.

Braungart, Richard G. and Margaret M. Braungart. 1986. "Life-course and Generational Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 12: 205–231.

Brennan, Denise. 2004. *What's Love got to do with it? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Brijnath, Bianca. 2009. "Familial Bonds and Boarding Passes: Understanding Caregiving in a Transnational Context." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 16: 83–101.

Brown, Hannah. 2012. "Hospital Domestics: Care Work in a Kenyan Hospital." *Space and Culture* 15 (1): 18–30.

Carling, Jørgen, Cecilia Menjívar, and Leah Schmalzbauer. 2012. "Central Themes in the Study of Transnational Parenthood." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38 (1): 55–72.

Carsten, Janet. 2000. "Introduction." In Janet Carsten, ed. *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*, 1–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carsten, Janet. 2004. *After Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christiansen, Catrine, Mats Utas, and Henrik Vigh. 2006. "Introduction." In Catrine Christiansen, Mats Utas, and Henrik Vigh, eds. *Navigating Youth Generating Adulthood: Social Becoming in an African Context*, 9–28. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrika Institutet.

Climo, Jacob J. 2000. "Eldercare as 'Woman's Work' in Poor Countries." *Journal of Family Issues* 21 (6): 692–713.

Dannefer, Dale and Peter Uhlenberg. 1999. "Paths of the Life Course: A Typology." In Vern L. Bengtson and Werner Schaie, eds. *Handbook of Theories of Aging*, 306–326. Broadway: Springer Publishing Company.

Di Leonardo, Michaela. 1987. "The Female World of Care and Holidays: Women, Families and the Work of Kinship." *Signs* 12 (3): 440–453.

Dinslage, Sabine. 1986. *Kinder der Leyla: Kindheit und Jugend im kulturellen Wandel bei den Leyla in Burkina Faso*. Hohenschäftlarn: Renner.

Drotbohm, Heike. 2009. "Horizons of Long-Distance Intimacies: Reciprocity, Contribution and Disjuncture in Cape Verde." *History of the Family* 14 (2): 132–149.

Drotbohm, Heike. 2011. "Die Grenzen geteilter Sorge: Arrangements zwischen den Geschlechtern, Generationen und Rechtsdeutungen in transnationalen kapverdischen Familien." *Freiburger Geschlechter Studien: Migration, Mobilität, Geschlecht* 25: 233–248.

Duffy, Mignon. 2011. *Making Care Count: A Century of Gender, Race, and Paid Care Work*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Arlie R. Hochschild, eds. 2002. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Elder, Glenn H. 2001. "Life Course: Sociological Aspects." In Paul Baltes and Neil Smelser, eds. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 1614–1622. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Feder Kittay, Eva and Ellen K. Feder, eds. 2002. *The Subject of Care: Feminist Perspectives on Dependency*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Geissler, Wenzel, Erdmute Alber, and Susan Reynolds Whyte, eds. 2004. "Lifetimes Intertwined: African Grandparents and Grandchildren." *Africa* 74 (1): 1–5.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 1992. "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18 (1): 1–43.

Gottfried, Heidi. 2013. *Gender, Work, and Economy: Unpacking the Global Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gottlieb, Alma. 2000. "Where Have All the Babies Gone? Toward an Anthropology of Infants (and Their Caretakers)." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73 (3): 121–132.

Hareven, Tamara. 1991. Synchronizing Individual Time, Family Time and Historical Time. In John Bender and David E. Wellbery, eds. *Chronotypes: The Construction of Time*, 167–182. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hochschild, Arlie R. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. London: University of California Press.

Hochschild, Arlie R. 2002. "Love and Gold." In Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R. Hochschild, eds. *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, 15–30. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Holloway, Susan D., Sawako Suzuki, and Yoko Yamamoto. 2010. "What Is a Good Mother? Historical Shifts, Divergent Models in Urban Japan." In Haldis Haukanes and Tatjana Thelen, eds. *Parenting after the Century of the Child: Travelling Ideals, Institutional Negotiations and Individual Responses*, 35–56. Farnham: Ashgate.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierette. 1997. "'I'm Here, But I'm There.' The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood." *Gender and Society* 11 (5): 548–571.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierette. 2001. *Doméstica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence*. London: University of California Press.

Howell, Signe. 2006. *The Kinning of Foreigners: Transnational Adoption in a Global Perspective*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Johnson-Hanks, Jennifer. 2002. "On the Limits of the Life Cycle in Ethnography: Toward a Theory of Vital Conjunctures." *American Anthropologist* 104 (3): 865–880.

Kang, Miliann. 2010. *The Managed Hand: Race, Gender, and the Body in Beauty Service Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kertzer, David. 1989. "Age Structuring in Comparative and Historical Perspective." In David Kertzer and Warner Schaie, eds. *Age Structuring in Comparative Perspective*, 3–20. Hillsdale, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

LeVine, Robert and Sarah E. LeVine. 1994. *Child Care and Culture: Lessons from Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lomnitz Adler, Larissa. 1987. *A Mexican Elite Family 1820–1980*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lutz, Helma and Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck. 2014. "Care Workers, Care Drain and Care Chains: Reflections on Care, Migration, and Citizenship." *Social Politics* 19 (1): 15–37.

Meillassoux, Claude. 1975. *Femmes, greniers et capitaux*. Paris: Editions Maspero.

Mol, Annemarie, Ingunn Moser, and Jeanette Pols, eds. 2010. *Care in Practice: On Tinkering in Clinics, Homes and Farms*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

Montgomery, Heather. 2009. *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*. Malden: Blackwell.

Notermans, Catrien. 2004. "Sharing Home, Food, and Bed: Paths of Grandmotherhood in East Cameroon." *Africa* 74 (1): 6–27.

Parasecoli, Fabio. 2012. "Feeding Hard Bodies: Food and Masculinities in Men's Fitness Magazines." In Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds. *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 284–296. New York: Routledge.

Parkin, Robert and Linda Stone, eds. 2004. *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Parreñas, Rhacel S. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ringsted, Mette L. 2008. "Collisions in Life-courses: Teenage Motherhood and Generational Relations in North-East Tanzania." In Erdmute Alber, Sjaak van der Geest, and Susan Reynolds Whyte, eds. *Generations in Africa: Connections and Conflicts*, 357–379. Münster: Lit Verlag.

Robinson, Fiona. 2011. *The Ethics of Care: A Feminist Approach to Human Security*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sackmann, Reinhold and Matthias Wingens. 2001. "Theoretische Konzepte des Lebenslaufs: Übergang, Sequenz und Verlauf." In Reinhold Sackmann and Matthias Wingens, eds. *Strukturen des Lebenslaufs. Übergang, Sequenz, Verlauf*, 17–48. Weinheim, München: Juventa.

Spittler, Gerd and Michael Bourdillon, eds. 2012. *African Children at Work: Working and Learning in Growing Up for Life*. Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung, Band 52. Münster: Lit Verlag.

Stansbury, James, William R. Leonard, and Kathleen M. DeWalt. 2000. "Caretakers, Child Care Practices, and Growth Failure in Highland Ecuador." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 14 (2): 224–241.

Tafere, Yisak. 2011. "Understanding Children's Well-Being and Transitions Through the Life Course: A Case from Ethiopia." In Sandra Evers, Catrien Notermans, and Erik van Ommering, eds. *Not Just a Victim: The Child as Catalyst and Witness of Contemporary Africa*, 69–94. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Thelen, Tatjana. 2005. "Caring Grandfathers: Changes in Support between Generations in East Germany." In Haldis Haukanes and Frances Pine, eds. *Generations, Kinship and Care: Gendered Provisions of Social Security in Central Eastern Europe*, 163–188. Bergen: University of Bergen.

Thelen, Tatjana and Haldis Haukanes. 2010. *Parenting after the Century of the Child: Travelling Ideals, Institutional Negotiations and Individual Responses*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Vora, Kalindi. 2010. "The Commodification of Affect in Indian Call Centers." In Eileen Boris and Rachel Parreñas, eds. *Intimate Labors: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Care, Sex, and Domestic Work*, 33–48. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Weismantel, Mary. 1995. "Making Kin: Kinship Theory and Zumbagua Adoptions." *American Ethnologist* 22 (4): 685–709.

Woodhead, Martin. 1990. "Psychology and the Cultural Construction of Children's Needs." In Allison James and Alan Prout, eds. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, 60–77. New York: The Falmer Press.

Yeates, Nicola. 2004. "Global Care Chains: Critical Reflections and Lines of Enquiry." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6 (3): 369–391.

Yeates, Nicola. 2009. *Globalizing Care Economies and Migrant Workers: Explorations in Global Care Chains*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yngvesson, Barbara. 2010. *Belonging in an Adopted World: Race, Identity, and Transnational Adoption*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Zelizer, Viviana. 2005. *The Purchase of Intimacy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.