New Europe College Yearbook
Pontica Magna Program
2018-2019

KAHA BAINDURASHVILI
CRISTINA BOBOC
VITALI BYL
OLGA COJOCARU
TAMTA MELASHVILI
ANNA OHANJANYAN
VASILE ROTARU

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

Pontica Magna Fellowship Program is supported by VolkswagenStiftung, Germany.

ISSN 1584-0298

New Europe College
Str. Plantelor 21
023971 Bucharest
Romania
www.nec.ro; e-mail: nec@nec.ro
Tel. (+4) 021.307.99.10

OLGA COJOCARU

Born in 1987, in the Republic of Moldova

Ph.D., University of Warsaw (2020)
Thesis: *Migrant Temporalities: The Case of Moldovan Women Employed in the Domestic Work Sector in Italy*

Research Affiliate, Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw

Fellowships:
Marie Curie Fellowship for doctoral studies (2014-2018)
ERSTE Foundation Fellowship for Social Research (2014-2016)
Visiting student EUI Florence (2017)
CEU MA scholarship (2012-2013)

Participation to conferences and workshops in UK, Norway, Netherlands, Iceland, Finland, Greece, Italy, Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania

Domains of interest: Migration studies, care, temporalities

ON PERMANENT MIGRANT TEMPORARINESS: THE CASE OF MOLDOVANS IN ITALY

Abstract

In this paper, I put forward a temporal approach on migration experiences in terms of life planning. Drawing on narratives of Moldovan migrant workers in Italy, I study how temporary labour migrants co-produce, experience and make sense of prolonged temporariness. I illustrate how migration plans change over time and look into the factors determining this change. More specifically, I provide insights on how projected temporariness as a temporal horizon deeply affects one's lifestyle and crucial life decisions. I show that maintaining a temporary mindset correlates with a halting migrant behaviour in terms of time strategies. I examine how this temporariness is reflected in their everydayness, family life, qualities of time and how it affects long term decision-making in practical domains such as occupational career, access to social benefits, pension and health system. By and large, this paper addresses the time management of those who are not always in the position to "own" time, have a clear vision of what lies ahead and make informed decisions.

Keywords: labour migration, temporalities, temporary migration, temporariness, temporal horizons, migration decision making

Introduction

Moldovan migration to Italy debuted around 20 years ago and grew steadily in pace. Presently there are about 150 000 (Istat Demo 2017) regularized residents of Moldovan origin in Italy. In the aftermath of the Soviet dissolution, Moldovan society underwent a painful and slow transition to the free market which summited with a rampant economic crisis in the late 90s. Salary payments to state employees were delayed to as long as two years. Inability to cover basic living expenses pushed the bulk of Moldovans to look for work opportunities abroad. Leaving was meant to be temporary. As in Tsvetan Todorov's exemplary story,

migration presented itself as a temporary solution to a moment of crisis, an envisioned interval of time to be sacrificed for the sake of restoring the "equilibrium". The stay however, initially envisioned to last no more than one or two years, has been extended indefinitely over the years, while still cherishing return in the back of their minds. In this paper, I look into the paradoxical condition of permanent migrant temporariness, attempting to answer why do migrants overstay and how does the temporary mindset affect their decision-making and life style.

We know that return intentions strongly impact migrants' investments and notions of attachment (Carling 2014), but how does a *postponed return* materialized into a certain temporal outlook impact one's migration project? This paper aims to fill in the gap on how deliberate temporariness deeply affects one's lifestyle and crucial life decisions. I will show that Moldovan migrants fall under the condition of permanent temporariness due to an over-focus on the extended present, while seemingly losing sight of the long-run perspective. Halting as a time orientation yields permanent temporariness. Because there are many factors difficult to account for or (perceived as) outside their control, they concentrate on the current needs and aims against long term uncertain benefits (tradeoff between immediate outcomes and distant ones).

Temporary (the attribute) and temporariness (as a quality) commonly refer to an event or situation lasting for a limited period of time. In this paper, I consider temporariness not in its legal dimension, in terms of status, welfare, provisions of full rights of residence, access to services, benefits, pension schemes etc., but more as an outlook that one has for longer resettlement (Latham 2014). I conceptualize temporariness as the *anticipation* that something will end within a given time frame. Hence, I imply here that the horizon of an (imagined) temporary migrant rests upon the anticipation that he or she will return to the home country within a given time frame.

My approach rests on the assumption that migrants with temporary visions view time and their migration projects differently than those with long-term settlement plans or natives/locals (Harper & Zupida 2017, Dahinden 2016 and others). Feeling like a guest, newcomer, outsider who is on the leave (Villegas 2014) creates contrast with locals, who are the-already-settled and legally assured with citizenry. "Neither a part of nor apart from the receiving society", as Robin Harper put it (2018).

On Temporariness and its Shades or the (Inner) Contradictions of a Temporary Status

Temporariness as an ontologic outlook denotes an increasingly common contemporary condition (Adam 2008 and others) akin to non-permanency, post-modern nomadism, drifting, hanging loose, provisional life decisions, short-term vision, flexibility, open horizons, liquidity etc. *In extremis*, one can see the very act of migration as an act of breaking free from being bound to a place, and routine, as an affirmation of change and assumed temporariness (even if unreflexive, Latham 2014). At the same time, from the legal point of view, the (migrant) temporary status is linked to certain exclusions, limits and insecurities, especially when the constraints are externally imposed.

As such, temporariness can refer to subjective expectations and intentions (and a particular state of mind) or to normative constraints placed on migrants by the state (Bauböck 2011). Therefore, one should distinguish between state-imposed temporariness (as a constraint and disciplinary practice) and deliberate (migrant) temporariness as a voluntarily time-delimited act of migration. Thus temporariness may be either a perceived as a subjective status/situation or may be externally imposed by given (objective) factors, such as legal requirements. Some migrants may find visa time limitations acceptable and be willing to comply with the deadlines, while for others these may prove constraining and thus attempt to stretch the limit. In this case, their main agency is to either consent or not with the imposed temporariness (perceived as limited permanence), and break the contracts and the law (Harper and Zubida 2017, Boersma 2018). On the other hand, migrants who use(d) visa simply as a tool to cross the border, generally would ignore the time constraint and overstay, as was the case with thousands of Moldovans.

Open-endedness is a prominent feature of current forms of labour mobilities, a trend well-documented by migration scholars. This applies especially with regard to migrants with access to cheap travelling options and without legal restrictions, who generally prefer to keep their options open and flexible. Research on migration intentions, especially with regard to post-Enlargement Polish migration to the UK, has revealed that oftentimes migrants keep their plans open deliberately, maintaining the so-called 'intentional unpredictability' (Eade et al. 2007) or alternatively referenced as "deliberate indeterminacy" (McGhee et al. 2012), 'liquid migration', 'lasting temporariness' (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007;

McGhee et al. 2012; Snel et al. 2006). Likewise, in a study on Polish migrants in the UK, Eade et al. (2007: 33–34) showed that Polish migrants have various migration strategies including single, short-term migration to earn money to be spent upon return ('hamsters'), circular migration alternating between work abroad and at home ('storks'), open-ended plans for the future ('searchers'), but also settlement ('stayers'). Furthermore, Polish migration scholars noticed a specific pattern of internal migration within Poland which they called 'incomplete migration' consisting in repeated short-term employment abroad of household members with the purpose of remitting most of the earnings back home where the costs of living are substantially lower (Okólski 2001). This migration is deemed 'incomplete' in the sense that it does not result in settlement (and in many cases, neither in return).

Scholars have complained that states operate with clear cut temporal categories with regard to migrants: permanent migrants are assumed to integrate whereas the temporary ones are expected to leave at some point (Meeus 2012:1777 quoted in Robertson 2014). From the host state perspective, the ideal migrant should conform to a continuous sequence of stages, from arrival to integration/return. Maintaining a condition of temporariness contradicts the expected linear path (or one of the paths) and when coupled with the postponement of return (which may eventually become a 'myth' – Anwar 1979) gives rise to a series of ambivalences in terms of belonging, intensity of ties to 'home' and 'abroad', diasporas and transnational spaces (Roberts 1995; Westin 1998 quoted in King et al. 2006). This suggests that migrants who overstay their initial term seemingly betray the host state's socially expected duration – to borrow a temporal concept of Merton's (1982) social structure – regarding their anticipated length of stay in the new country.

Permanent Temporariness

Bailey et al. (2002: 138) introduce the concept of 'permanent temporariness' as a strategy of resistance employed by Salvadorans under the temporary protective status[1] in the US. Salvadorans, just as Moldovans or other individuals in a legal predicament imposing specific limitations, had a selective presence in the public and careful relations with the authorities. In Bailey's et al. (2008) view, a sense of "permanent temporariness" describes both the static experience of being temporary (i.e., in suspended

legal, geographic, and social animation) and the secretion of strategies of resistance (strategic visibility) in the acquired knowledge that such temporariness is permanent. Salvadorans spoke of being "out of time" in several ways – as a shortage of time to do everything they needed to do (1), as a change in the perception of time (2), as a sense of time-space compression (3)[2].

Being trapped in a contradictory migrant condition has been described in analoguous ways by other scholars. Migrant workers in Beijing's construction industry have also been described as living in a state of "permanent temporariness," where they are neither strongly tied to their home communities nor integrated into their host communities. It has been termed as long-term temporariness by McGarrigle & Ascensão (2017) with reference to migrant workers in Lisbon. In addition, the condition of permanent temporariness is akin to what Boersma (2018) dubbed as "long lasting temporariness". She referred to the type of temporariness experienced by Filipina migrant domestic workers in Singapore, which is maintained through legal limitations, such as the requirement to extend their contracts every two years. Renewing their contracts every two years in an indeterminate loop as well as living and behaving as temporary for every two years creates a juxtaposition of the temporariness of the contract and the permanence of their situation which crucially shapes their experience (Boersma 2018).

Migrants with a "permanent temporary" status fit Vianello's (2015) category of *suspended migrants* out of the three types she identified (the other being migrants in transition and permanent migrants). Thus suspended migrants are in between permanence and migrants in passage and generally may refer to the women who have interrupted their transnational mobility in order to return to Ukraine with the intention of recovering their place in that society, but keeping migration in mind as a possible exit strategy. In another typology, permanent temporary migrants are akin to migrants in transition, similar to the Filipino migrants studied by Parrenas or the Somali studied by Decimo. These are women employed as cohabiting family assistants, middle-aged or approaching retirement age, usually divorced, widowed or single mothers (as Vianello noticed) who prefer to complete their active life in Italy to secure funds for retirement. Ann White calls them semi-settled. The quintessence of their status lies in the short-termness of their migration project, in its transitory condition, focused on a return which they keep postponing, living on the margins of Italian society. Because of their return intentions – their behavior, choices,

jobs, consumption, and lifestyles are geared toward maximum earning and not towards the improvement of their quality of life in Italy.

More strikingly, the condition of permanent temporariness is comparable to the living conditions in refugee camps. A group of artists referred to this state also as "permanent temporariness" to acknowledge the fact that what appears to be a temporary state of (e.g.) Palestinian exile has now been drawn out for 70 years, with people's lives spent stranded in limbo within the refugee camps.

Although I use the same term as Bailey et al. 2002, my approach is different. I look at this condition from the bottom-up perspective, as a manifestation of an apparently *voluntary* temporariness, manifested both in the outlook and in the migration behaviour. Drawing from and building upon growing temporal approaches on migration (Harper & Zupida 2017, Dahinden 2016, Cwerner 2001 and others), I contend that migrants with temporary visions view time and their migration projects differently than those with long-term settlement plans or natives/locals. In what follows, I aim to understand and expose what underlies this seemingly deliberate choice in status.

Fairly related to the above-described examples (Bailey et al. 2002, Boersma 2018), in Moldovans' case, limitations arise from the need to renew their residence permits and the unpredictability of their employment contracts, which can cease anytime (in general they depend on the health of the person they take care of or on the dynamic of the relationship with the employer). These legal factors create a mix of uncertainty and fixity, which dialectically defines their outlook. Moreover, more unpredictability (and openness) is added in the cases of informal work arrangements, which largely persist.

Why Migrants Prolong their Stay? Factors Elicited by Previous Research

Discrepancy between planned and actual return is not a novelty in migration research. Migration aims are varying, complex and often entail mixed and dynamic motivations. By referring to the guest program launched by the German government in the 60s, Castles (2014) emphasizes the dynamic, ever-changing nature of migrant motivations and aims. In the German case, both government and migrants agreed on a temporary plan. Guest workers in Germany worked hard and lived frugally in order

to save enough to improve the livelihoods of the family back home, for example sustaining the family farm, starting a small business, or just by improving their housing, education, health care and nutrition. Intended temporariness was a coping mechanism for migrants also because it helped them avoid facing up the idea of permanent settlement. However, for reasons or factors beyond the control of migrants or the prevention mechanisms of government, migrants do change their original objectives.

What are the factors that lead them to change their goals? Structural factors such as an unsatisfactory political and economic situation in the home environment can keep migrants in a continuous state of indeterminacy and suspended plans. For example, Turkish migrants were deterred from return by the political turmoil (the 1980 military coup) and the unstable economic environment in the home country. Among other factors affecting settlement or re-migration plans, as revealed by previous research, are socio-economic and demographic variables such as relationship status, children, length of stay or employment among others (Janta 2013; McGhee, Travena, and Heath 2015; Ryan 2015; White 2011), as well as the level of social integration and transnationalism (de Haas and Fokkema 2011). Civil status (married or not) and children are essential factors in migrant decision making. Quantitative studies show that involvement in transnational activities significantly reduced the chances of migrants wanting to settle permanently, while age and the level of socio-cultural integration significantly increased their intention to settle. The influence of gender, education and socio-economic status produced mixed results, while labour market participation seemed not to have any influence on migrants' plans (Snel et al. 2015). Drinkwater and Garapich (2015) looked into the migration strategies of Poles in the UK and developed a typology of Polish migrants in light of their planned stay in the UK, factoring in changes in their intentions over time and showing that the length of stay in the UK determines whether migrants change their intentions.

A more general factor relates to life-course. Castles (2014) uses the example of Turkish migrants in Germany who were mostly young and planned to be away for only a few years. The portrait of the Turkish migrant cohort he draws in simple words applies well to the Moldovan case: "They had been attracted by higher wages in Western Europe, but had not been informed about high living costs and tax and social insurance contributions. Saving was much slower than expected. It might be acceptable to live frugally in a migrant workers' hostel for a few years,

but as time went on, people wanted to live with their spouses and children. Family reunification and formation – and life itself – got under way. Once migrants' children went to school and began to speak German (or French or Dutch) better than their parents' languages, parents realised that if they went home, their children might not come with them. Since giving a better future to their children was a powerful motivation for migration, the idea of seeing the family dissolve was to be avoided at all costs: many parents began to realise that their future lay in the new country." (Castles 2014)

In the case of Eastern European migrant domestic workers in Italy, based on my own observations corroborated with previous research (Vianello 2015, Ambrosini 2012, Marchetti and Venturini 2013), I can derive two prevailing reasons for protracted migration. First, their earnings became essential for the family to preserve the social status and the new living standards. Secondly, migrants themselves change, as well as their sense of personality, values, aspirations and identity. New goals appear, ties rarefy, priorities become obsolete until they find themselves suspended between two worlds, sitting in two boats at the same time.

Why Moldovans Stay Longer? A Hesitant Dive into Moldovan Permanent Temporariness

"We came for a year or two" – first years of temporariness

One certain feature of Moldovan migration to Italy – as mentioned already – lies in its intended temporariness. The first migrants from Moldova started to arrive in mid '90s-2000s and they envisioned their stay to last no longer than two or three years. That is why, almost invariably, most of my interlocutors emphasized the imagined short duration of their migration project:

> We came for a year, like anyone else (…) but one year turned into 15 (Tamara, mid 50s)

> The majority of us left with the thought that we would be back home in a year or two. (...) I stopped counting the days and years, because it was a torture but I have never ceased to think of my return (Olia, 35 years old)

The majority of pioneer Moldovan migrants, who arrived to Italy between mid90s and 2005, experienced a period of being undocumented[3] until they could regularize their status. Strategic waiting for one of the amnesty sessions granted by the Italian government (2006, 2008) was crucial in accessing legality by obtaining the stay permit (permesso di soggiorno). They found jobs in cleaning or care work by word of mouth and recommendations circulated in trusted circles, avoiding placement agencies[4].

The participants in my study would refer to the post-arrival period as crucial in determining the aftermath of their migration course. They would often invoke a sense of urgency in those early days, which instilled the awareness that every minute counts and each jobless day equals loss of money. Pressure was added by the need to pay the debts incurred by migration as fast as possible, hence finding a job as soon as possible was a priority. Once beholding a job, work became the main reason of their stay in Italy, rendering other spheres of life in the host country secondary. Only after the payment of debts, which took on average from one year to two years, could they consider the start of their migration chapter. They would finally feel they start earning for themselves and for their own profit or needs.

For those who could not regularize their stay in the first years, the fear of being detected by authorities precluded them from going out of the household very often. Leisure and time off were a luxury they could not afford. During the first years, Sunday was just a regular weekday – "I did not know what a Sunday meant", Larisa (65 yo) told me, when reflecting retrospectively on her first years in Italy.

Admittedly, the pioneer period abounds in hardships and moments of doubt, which enhance the feeling of temporariness, as shown by the quotes below:

> You may get to this point when nobody understands you and you do not understand their language, so you reach this critical phase when you seriously question everything: Should I maybe go back home? Because there somehow, I won't die of hunger. This phase takes 2-3 months until you begin to understand the language, until you get used to their food. (Trofim, 45 years old)

> You find yourself wondering, who the hell brought you here and what are you looking for? But you know you do not have time to fuss about it,

you have to do something. You have responsibilities, you have mouths to feed. (Lena, 50 years old)

I felt very badly when I got here and I said to myself: I'm going to look for work, pay off my debt and get back home and live as I used to live. (Olia, 35 years old)

The pioneers extended this initial limit mostly due to legal status issues. Once crossing the border illegally or overstaying their visa allowed time, they ended up as undocumented or irregular residents. Surviving or fulfilling their migration aim depended on strategic waiting for one of the regularisation sessions granted by the Italian government (2002, 2006, 2008, 2009), which meant the chance to regularize their status and the possibility to travel between the two countries. Once regularized, they were able to pay for their first visit home. Regularization and first homecoming in the case of many functioned as a reality check, which determined a revision of migration aims (or planned length of stay) and potentially a change of path, an outlook more oriented towards a longer stay. Some might have decided to return for good, content with their savings up to that point. Many more instead decided to return to Italy after a first visit home, either for good (with settlement plans in mind) or for just a little longer.

The Indefinite Return – Postponing Factors

Understandably, when one family member decides to look for a job abroad, the period of separation is envisioned as short or time-fixed, especially if the transfer of the whole household (family reunification) on the long term is not in the cards. All the same, as I have showed in earlier sections, migration decisions are not static or set in stone, but rather prone to revisions. Moreover, migration itself as a process is a dynamic one and one's migrant status can undergo a series of transitions and transformations: from undocumented to documented, from temporary to settled, from settled to returnee etc. Individuals are in a constant re-orientation as a result of ever-changing life situations. Migrants' aims and aspirations evolve too; these can turn from a decision taken out of desperation and lack of alternatives, to a stated preference towards a change of lifestyle (Kloc-Nowak 2018, Odermatt 2016).

Some of my conversations with intended temporary Moldovan migrants confirmed these postulations. My interlocutors would keep a light-hearted and relaxed view on planning per se and commonly reference idioms of popular wisdom to acknowledge the volatility of planning: "*There is this saying: don't count your chickens (before they are hatched)*"[5] or *"things never turn out as planned*." (Ion, in his 40s)

Commonly, prolonged temporariness is grounded in a misevaluation of the initial period of separation or of the amount of time needed to achieve migration aims. For instance, Marina – a woman in her forties, with a stable clerk job, appreciated by colleagues and with a generally satisfactory family income by local standards - took on the possibility of leaving Moldova as a joke, to punish her husband after a family argument. She planned to take off just a month from work, but when she had notified her employer about the expected length of absence, he warned her that one-month might be an underestimation. Some 15 years later, she still jokes about her hypothetical return, but year-by-year she prolongs her stay a bit more, moving the "deadline" a bit further.

Likewise, when Alina decided to come to Italy, she took off only three months from work, presuming she would be back shortly. Three months turned into 10 years and counting, as a series of developments rendered the idea of "homecoming" more and more vague. In her fifties at the time of the interview, Alina was looking up to her retirement as a potential return date.

Olia came to Italy in order to secure funds for the renovation of her parents-in-law's house. Her initial planning included a step-by-step plan until full completion, in accordance with the savings she could provide monthly. "*I told him* [her husband] *that after we finish the bathroom, we move on to renovate our daughter's room".* However, expenses continued to add up: "*Last fall when I went home, planning to renovate my girl's room, I thought I have enough money. Eventually my husband decided against it and then the holidays came and they require a lot of spending, no? And money doesn't grow on trees.*"

In most cases and as illustrated by the quote above, financial constraints seem to keep in place those yearning for return; "*I want to go home. We all want to go home. But with the income we have here.*" (Mari, in her fifties); *"I have a relative who always laments that she doesn't like it here and then she goes home and spends all her money and after that, she comes back. She forgets all the anger, all the ills, she can even get into*

depression, but she comes back to the mine, to Gestapo"[6], Artur (32) cynically remarks.

Michael Piore (1979) argues that the imagined temporariness of new migrants' possibly means that at the earlier stages of a migrant's immigration career they have lower subjective expectations, less language and more limited understanding of the labour market. Hence they are more likely to view work instrumentally (quoted in Anderson, 2013:82). In time the available resources and the already-made investments render departure costly. Once they acquire capital and skills, they are tempted by the idea of gaining more earnings at smaller costs, as is proved by Lena's account below. Her testimony evidences how adaptation efforts such as acquiring skills, social and financial capital as well the social adjustments needed for the move likely lead to a revision of plans, usually to a prolongation of the stay.

> With 700 euros a month, it took time to pay off my debt. And by saving and putting money aside, gradually, I learnt the language, I got used to being here, and this is how I stayed…to help my kids. (Lena, in her fifties)

However, the multiplication of financial needs is not the only constraint holding migrants back from returning. Mircea (in his mid60s) dismisses earnings as a purpose per se: "*We can go home even tomorrow. I often say, as we arrived here only with just a passport in our pockets, so we can go back*". Yet the reasons he does not act on this principle are intertwined with a complex family situation. Upset that his siblings have sold the parents' house where he had hoped to settle as well as an ensuing request for divorce from his ex-wife, determined him to gear towards building a new livelihood in Italy.

Leaving children behind is the most recurrent trope and the highest emotional cost of their migration project and usually the same reason that determines them to prolong their stay: to secure more funds for their sake. The implicit aim is to endow them with better life opportunities and avoid them having the same trajectory. Many of my interlocutors, mothers away from their children, would spend a fair amount of time praising them because they "did not cause any trouble" which is the most feared concern of leaving mothers. Yet, it is not uncommon that upon graduation because of scarce job opportunities in Moldova, some children (esp. daughters) join their mothers in Italy and take up, ironically, the same job[7]. The usual trap they fall into is the same illusory temporariness, that

this is a job undertaken for the time being out of convenience until they find something better.

Bringing children to Italy is one of the strongest signals in the likelihood of long-term settlement. Those who managed to enroll their children in Italian schools, after a few years ponder about return with even less easiness. They realize that their children would be significantly affected and probably less enthusiastic about changing locations again. In many cases, children would resolutely dismiss return and parents have to comply with them.

Representative in this regard is Viorica's case. Her husband joined her in Italy after one year and a few years later they managed to bring their two children and enroll them in an Italian school. Despite difficult years in which the children struggled to adapt and make friends at school, when asked about a possible return, they ruled out this option, being strongly in favor of staying in Italy.

Looking forward to reaching a target in time (until which major life revisions are frozen or suspended) is one of the common techniques of future planning, be it a significant personal event (e.g.: until the daughter gets married, until graduation, until retirement, until the house renovation is complete etc.) or an externally imposed deadline such as the expiration of their residence permit or employment contract. However, if the chance for renewed employment arises, few of them would turn it down. For women nearing retirement, reaching the eligible age for Moldovan/ Romanian/Italian pension represents a milestone, but even this migration deadline is negotiable and pushed further for the sake of increased savings. They continue to work as long as they are physically able, despite advanced age (sometimes the difference between them and their elderly cared person is less than 5-10 years). The ideal type of retirement and reward/compensation for the 20-year hard work for *doamna* Nastia was going back to Moldova, buying a small house with a garden and receiving regular visits from her daughter and granddaughter for whom she would cook their favourite food. The prospect of this rewarding time in the future boosts her motivation to carry on.

For care workers, the duration of their contract/work agreement depended on the life expectancy of the person they assisted, which was hard to predict. Thus employment could end abruptly or extend indefinitely. A cynical anecdote circulates amongst migrants with regards to this: Purportedly, when one hears ambulances on the streets of Padua, they say: "another Moldovan is left jobless…", hinting that another elderly

person had died. According to the contract, the family assistant is offered compensation and allowed to stay in the household for a certain period upon the sudden interruption of the contract. In practice though, I heard of many situations when women were asked to leave the household immediately after the death of their dependent, putting them in the abrupt situation to urgently find a home and a new job. Therefore, the prospect of sudden death can cause a lot of anxiety.

> As long as she (the elderly care receiver) is alive, I have a job. But who knows for how long that is. Sometimes I think of my job as someone seeing people out of life. I saw off from life 3 lives so far. I stay with them to the end, if I can take it. (Olia, mid 30s)

As it has been noted, extending labour age is perceived as an investment. Ageing migrants help their children as long as they are capable hoping they will be helped in exchange. For instance, doamna Nastia (mid 60s) took on the mission to support her daughter and pay the expenses of her granddaughter studying in Germany, remitting at least 1000 EUR per month. She found accomplishment in securing her granddaughter a better prospect and takes great pride in her school achievements.

Often staying is motivated due to needs of trustworthy and affordable healthcare. Few examples are telling. Rodica has two more years until she reaches retirement age and some health issues. She has made a point in retaining her job in part-time regime even if sick in order to be able to access the Italian healthcare and services after retirement. Despite some general dissatisfactions related to her life in Italy, Ala (in her 40s) had a strong foothold on staying because of the expensive treatment she was dependent on, and which was provided at an affordable price only in Italy. Ala was struck by a hereditary bone disease, which she discovered while being in Italy and required highly costly treatment, otherwise unavailable in Moldova. She confessed that only thanks to her access to Italian healthcare was she able to keep the illness under control. Even a middle range income in Moldova wouldn't have allowed her to pay the expensive medicines she needed to take monthly, amounting to almost 1,000 EUR a month.

In a similar vein, one of my interviewees came to Italy because his daughter needed specific medical treatment and decided to settle after they were granted access to healthcare.

Fear of having "nothing to do at home", not finding a further source of income, potential deskilling, not being able to return to their pre-migration jobs and reintegrate in the local labour market after this prolonged absence also deters them from making immediate return plans. "I don't even dare to return to my old job".

What's more, the return, even if kept as a nostalgic thought in the back of their mind, is discouraged by other migrants' failed return initiatives ("we were afraid to make the same mistakes as others"). Stories circulate amongst migrants about those who returned home with savings, had business plans, tried several times to implement them but failed with huge losses. A common pattern in the case of these disillusioned returnees was to return to Italy with firmer intentions for settlement. Rumors about these "unsuccessful return cases" passed around in migrant circles, serving as a cautionary tale for those still harboring business projects, like in the quotes below.

> Many say "I'll go home and I'm not coming back", and in a year or two – you see them back. When they finish their savings, they come back.

> A friend of mine went home. She had invested all her savings in her son, and the boy managed to accomplish nothing and from all the sorrow she had endured this 45-year woman got paralyzed and could not return to Italy. (Mari)

All in all, reflecting the factors revealed by previous migration scholarship, Moldovans' motivations to overstay their initial length are heterogeneous bound by intimate reasonings and structural factors altogether. Amongst the macro considerations, my interviewees would commonly invoke their overall disappointment with the unstable economic climate and political developments in the home country. During interviews, my interviewees would go to great lengths to criticize the degrading political climate, the low wages and pensions, as well as the corrupt healthcare system in their country of origin and to systematically compare the two environments. But to my view, these macro commentaries about structural deterrents were laid rather as a mere background canvas upon which they articulated their own intimate life considerations. Complaints about large factors outside their control constituted rather a warm up introduction before they arrived at seemingly more burning and heartfelt reasons for their drifting condition. Since the majority of my

interviewees were middle-aged married women with family members left in the home country, family situation and children's future appeared as the essential factors that shaped their migration aims. While the economic needs ranked high in most of the narratives and are obviously derived from structural factors, they were ultimately linked and subsumed to socially expected (and self-perceived) norms and expectations.

How does Temporary Mindset Affect their Trajectory?

A temporary mindset is closely connected to the practice of "halting" (Griffiths et al. 2013). Halting in time implies that, on the whole, there is hardly any long-term vision on the actual duration of their stay abroad. Each day is taken as such, time is organized in portions, with dividers such as when is the next visit home, how many days left until Easter, Christmas, summer annual leave, weekly packages sent home through the minivan and hence shopping required for that, phone calls, planned expenses etc. Because there are many factors difficult to account for or (perceived as) outside their control, my interviewees seemed to concentrate on the immediate (constantly arising new) needs against long-term uncertain benefits (trade off between instant outcomes and distant ones).

At the same time, along with this enforced present orientation, comes a side futuring attitude in the way temporary precarious migrants seem to defer gratification to a later life stage, once the migration chapter is complete. When one is set to leave, they do not tend to capitalize on the present, but confide in an elusive but yet rewarding future. Frances Pine sympathetically wrote how essentially migration is an enactment of hope (2006), mostly in a better life projected somewhere in the future. Migrants endure bad times governed by the hope in better times: "I am not well now but I will be better in the future".

Temporary mindset translates in a constant yearning to be somewhere else, craving for belonging to a lost home to which they hope to return in an indefinite future. Being homesick can be understood as a temporal longing, that of being temporally anchored to home while being physically present in the new country. Interviews showed that home-related timescapes held primacy in migrants' mindsets, especially those not fully accommodated or oriented in the new context. They seemed to live a double life simultaneously: physically present here, but mentally

holding onto the home timescapes, or one could say a double absence in Sayad's sense (2004).

Return intentions affect investments in social contacts, skills and assets (Carling and Pettersen 2014, de Haas & Fokkema 2011). Temporary labor migrants seem stuck in short term jobs, secondary market positions marked by instability, no real prospects for career advancement and modest returns in terms of professional satisfaction. The majority of Eastern European women found jobs in the domestic care field, while men undertook jobs in services, construction, gardening etc. Taking up jobs, which do not match their previous professional background, or below their qualifications results in professional deskilling, social devaluation and perceived downgrade of social status. Temporary mindset allows for maintaining an unsatisfying occupation as they think this is only for the time being and for the sake of earnings. These jobs often imply working antisocial, weird temporal rhythms avoided by the mainstream society, such as (live-in) domestic work or nightshift positions. Thus spatial isolation can be doubled by temporal segregation.

Saving Money, Spending Time

Acting as temporary mainly translates to extensive saving. Olia recounted how she avoided any expense in order to save every penny,e.g. walking instead of taking the bus. This resonates with what Heintz (2004) wrote about Romanian time valuations remnant of the socialist era, giving the example of grocery shoppers who would be willing to spend their entire day fishing for the best prices in various markets across Bucharest. The capitalist view on time sees it as a resource quantified in money and the one hour spent travelling to the market which sells cheaper tomatoes can be more profitable if spent in the office working and producing more money than the few pennies saved. However individuals from lower social strata have fewer means to make their own time so profitable. Thus their own time seems less valuable against the limited monetary resources they have. This is why Olia was more eager to give up an important portion of her free time than pay the price of a bus ticket: *"As if I wouldn't exist. I would walk long distances just to save one bus ticket. 3 euro for me was almost a phone card."* A phone card was the essential tool to ensure weekly communication and checkups with her family, which for her was an utmost priority.

The ever-postponed return takes the form of an ambiguous and permanently provisional status. For instance, Mircea in his 60s did not apply for Italian citizenship after 10 years of legal residence which would have made him eligible to do so, based on the firm belief that he will return to Moldova. He changed his plans when he married a fellow countrywoman in Italy and understood he has to settle down and so he realised retrospectively that Italian citizenship would have served him well.

Migrants in transition do not invest energy in being more socially present (included, integrated), such as taking part in leisure activities, sports, or going out with fellow Italians, consolidating bonds over dinners and evening drinks etc. Out of convenience, they tend to maintain conviviality with fellow countrywomen. In acute isolation from their core/reference group, temporary migrants look for temporary substitutes for family, however these bonds tend to be occasionally made, sporadically maintained and as such, rarely crystallize into something reliable, as Rina told me.

Protracted separation takes a toll on transnational families and couples: some women would ruefully note that family ties were becoming looser and spouses could become estranged from each other. Their stay abroad is perceived as a short intermezzo, instrumental to the accomplishment of family interests. A series of limiting factors contribute to this: maternal duties, family expectations, economic insecurity and the suffocating job of being a caregiver. Some migrants avoid serious relationships or getting married until their status is secure, meaning they remain unmarried longer than socially expected.

For comparison, migrants who nurture plans for settlement are more likely to invest in personal fulfillment, work towards the reunification of the entire family in Italy or on the contrary, evade family and community constraints and undertake a new life in Italy. They are "futuring" in the sense that they do not hold an ambivalent time orientation; they are temporally emplaced in one context (Italy) and committed to link their future to it. They may be more willing to put effort in learning Italian, widen their social network and find a more flexible or satisfying job.

Temporary residence in a foreign country equates with experimenting with different lifestyles for a number of years. During this fixed interval from life one can lead a different life style from the one they had in the home country. Being in the same environment as locals sets the premise of living a life like they do. Moldovans just like other migrants on the territory of Italy can reproduce significant aspects of Italian everydayness

in their existence. They can live like Italians do (although not quite): cooking Italian dishes with local products, strolling Italian streets, admiring the Italian architecture, consuming the cultural offer in terms of arts and music, imitation of habits (the aperitivo practice, internalizing the coffee culture, eating pasta daily, sporty style of clothing). As few respondents told me: "It's a sin to be in Italy and not enjoy this beauty and learn from this culture" (although in terms o leisure this is not always the case, as I have explained elsewhere). Migrancy represents a given time in which they can enact a different lifestyle, imitate or borrow somebody else's habits or daily routine, due to the fact that they share the same environment and given resources, even if excluded from citizenship rights, benefits and obligations.

This implies the possibility of living like an Italian, nevertheless a marginal one, for migrants tend to embody a quiet and almost invisible presence, who can justify their role primarily through the service they deliver or usefulness to the host society. As a migrant, they live this life for a set period of time, like in an existential experiment. If in the host country they are *stranieri*, "intimate strangers" as Parrenas calls them, citizenshipless contributors etc., back in the home country they are referred to as "the Italians". Every year in August, the month of the year when most of them come to Moldova for their annual leave, one can read such headlines in the media as "the Italians are coming".

Personal well-being is a domain which is significantly affected as they tend to neglect their own needs and deprive themselves of any gratification. Assumed precariousness is perceived like a necessary investment to improve future prospects, their status in the future. "I suffer now so that I can be better in the future."

While investing in improving the comfort of their homes in the origin country, temporary labour migrants tend to live in transient homes, makeshifts, tight spaces, where they can enjoy little privacy or comfort. This is even more symbolic when we reflect on the meaning of the word "home", a term that is similar in both Italian and Romanian: "acasă"/"acasa". "Acasă" for Romanian natives denominates a topographic wholeness in which the alienated self seeks comfort. That the original "acasă" is still the site that incites belonging and wellbeing to them is apparent by the way they use this term in their daily vocabulary. It is *that* "acasă" in the origin country that they keep thinking of, that they crave for and look forward to returning to. When a place is kept as temporary and does not arouse a sense of belonging, the body feels displaced, still

craving for a home that is elsewhere[8]. No wonder the trope of the foreigner is a recurrent one in their narratives:

> Here no matter how well you do your job, you're still a *straniera*, the foreigner. You are not at home and you know, sometimes you stay with the family and they begin to say...[bad things about migrants, like discussing the news] without realizing and I feel bad (Lena, in her fifties)

According to transnational theory, migrants secure their return by actively engaging in transnational practices such as keeping regular contact and investments in the origin country. Maintaining ties with the remaining family in the home country by phone or through the internet, sending money and regular packages, investments can be interpreted as a strategy to secure return (make sure that they have something to come back to) and commit to the idea of homecoming.

Most strikingly, building a home in the home country is a binding engagement to return one day, an assertion of commitment to maintain ties with the origin country (Boccagni). Investing in a home in the origin country is a tool for migrant prestige and community embeddedness, as well as to show that their migration project is successful and meaningful, that their departure and separation from family is not without benefit. Paolo Boccagni (2017) compared Ecuadorians' houses in Italy with those in the home country and found stark differences. Their temporary home in Italy looked impersonal, anonymous and basic domestic spaces, which starkly contrasted with the flamboyant, often unfinished big houses in Ecuador (also being quite distinguishable from other locals' buildings). The same can be said about the "migrant houses" of Ukrainians, Moldovans or Romanians in their home countries. In Romania they are called "case *făloase*" (>boastful houses), an adjective that is meant to express both the pride and prosperity that these houses stand for.

> We renovated our house but we go there once a year, no one lives there. A home needs a soul, someone to live there, to enter and exit it. (Trofim, in his forties)

Doamna Liusea worked hard for 13 years to build two houses in Moldova "pretty, with a yard, cellar and vineyard, as it is customary in our country. I built them so that we have a place to go to". However, shortly before our meeting doamna Liusea had been diagnosed with a terminal

disease and came at the sad realization that she won't be able to have the peaceful retirement age she dreamed of for so long. She decided to stay longer in Italy instead so that she can benefit from better quality and more accessible health services.

Remittances and investments are resolute indicators to understand the extent of migrant engagement with their country of origin. The prospect of return is closely connected with the financial investments they make, either as remittances or material/properties acquisitions/purchases. To understand the magnitude of the engagement of Moldovan migrants with the home country and temporariness of their stay abroad, it would suffice to look at the regular amounts of money they send. Migrant remittances amount to at least 10% of Moldova's GDP which makes the national economy completely dependent on external money inflows.

An informative account was given by Trofim who explained why he and his wife chose not to invest hugely in home renovation or property purchases in Moldova, based on other friends' experience:

> We saw what our friends did. How they invested thousands of euros in renovating their homes. One year passes, 2, 3, no one lives there, everything gets ruined. Money spent in vain. They set one single aim: to earn money. And then foolishly invest it. I have a friend: I will build a nice house in Moldova. Why?, I ask. On the one hand, one spends a fortune on the paperwork required to bring their family to Italy, on the other hand they invest money in a house in which they don't know whether they will ever get to live. The poor guy invested around 100.000 euro in that house to find it in ruins and then sell it for a ridiculously low price. And then borrow money from the bank again, because his family is in Italy and you cannot pay rent forever.

This quotation, like others, is indicative of the ambivalent position of migrants feeling split between investing in Italy and in Moldova.

As time spent away from home progresses, the idea of return is pushed to the back of their mind, rather as an abstract notion one still holds on to out of inertia. A common scenario is that after investing in a major purchase of property (flat, house etc.) in Moldova, the shift in settlement plans is signaled by the decision to buy a property in Italy. Buying a home in the host country is the first clear indicator that settlement is an attainable aim. For instance, after paying rent for years, Trofim's family decided to risk taking a bank loan to purchase an apartment. Even if, as he said, he

could sell the flat if he changed his mind, having his own place in Italy constituted a firm anchor.

> I said, "Wait a minute, are we going to go back tomorrow, the day after tomorrow?" No. So, if it is possible, if the Italian state gives us money, then why don't we take the risk too? (Trofim, in his forties)

Maintaining return intentions in Zoe's case proved to be detrimental to her savings. She put money aside for 6 years and invested in a new flat in Chișinău, which she furnished and decorated to her taste. The flat had lied empty for years until she decided to resell it, for an ostensibly lower price. When I asked her why had she not offered it for rental while she had been away, she candidly replied, "I wanted it to wait ready for my arrival".

When in difficulty to assess the current status and have a clear future vision, maintaining a temporary mindset might be a coping mechanism. "We were calm because we were sure we'd go back soon". Moreover, when prospects are dim, acting as temporary may seem strategic. Being displaced on a temporary basis makes the situation more bearable and allows for making various concessions. The perceived loss of social status and recognition due to a mismatch between one's occupation background and higher education and the socially stigmatized unqualified domestic work (Vianello 2009) is easier to cope with when knowing that this occurs outside the reference group and on a short term. However, drifting comes at a cost, especially when making major life decisions. Without a time frame or anticipated future to work towards, people can struggle to cope, and find it difficult to make any progress or invest in themselves.

Many of these migrants are caught in a trap, suspended between worlds. As time passes, as children grow, new needs arise and migration earnings are gradually spent for the realization of continuous aims. Needs multiply, life circumstances change, horizons expand and thus tens of thousands of Eastern European migrants (Moldovan, Romanian, Ukrainian) postpone departure on an indefinite term, in order to secure extra savings to help their extended family in most cases. Temporariness manifests in the inertia with which they continue to enact their goal-oriented behavior at the outset of the migration project, even if not with the same intensity, e.g.: send money and weekly packages, renovate their house from the distance, help relatives, maintain strong ties, stay involved in diasporic activities and charity actions. For some women, feeling still "unsettled" is conditioned by the continuous shift between the anticipation of leaving and staying on as

domestic workers for an indeterminate period. Economically, permanent temporariness translates into more willingness to accept irregular forms of employment such as informal agreements with the employer. These arrangements imply a bigger monthly pay but exclude contract-based social contributions. Migrants are lured into the prospect of earning more on the short term, but not having a formalized contractual employment is detrimental in the long run. Furthermore, they tend to invest the bulk of their savings in the home country: renovating an old house, buying a new property, which devaluate or wear off in time, as years pass by.

Concluding Remarks - One Day at a Time

How does one hold on to the imaginary of a better future? How does one keep himself grounded and motivated to pursue a given aim in psychologically demanding circumstances? Unlike previous approaches to similar migrant conditions (Bailey et al. 2002, Griffiths et al. 2013, etc.) which addressed permanent temporariness as a limitative legal provision (that is externally/state-imposed), I adopted the microscale perspective and treated this condition as a deliberate outlook on future making. I show that the paradoxical status of permanent temporariness is rather a collateral outcome of what can look like a short-sighted time orientation.

Halting in a stagnant present underlies the paradoxical condition of permanent temporariness. It is paradoxical because while it denotes a future orientation, it is anchored in a continuous present. Why continuous, because it is constantly extended, portion by portion, as in a step by step algorithm but which looks more like stepping on the same ground, not advancing. It betrays in fact a short term vision, be it a deliberate or unintentional one. The essence of permanent temporariness lies in its liminality: migrants who neither settle, nor return. They do not return immediately because of discouraging factors: a degrading political environment in the home country, rising family needs and expenses, deskilling, advanced age etc. They do not settle down because of advanced age, poor integration efforts, separation from family, to list just a few reasons.

Admittedly, the present orientation of temporary labour migrants is not surprising or fairly paradoxical. When in difficulty to assess the current status and have a clear future vision, maintaining a temporary mindset might be a coping mechanism. The short-term future is more manageable,

while planning needs to take the issues one by one, as they arise. Halting reflects a way of thinking in small chunks or even day units. "I will stay here until I won't (as long as I can)" a typical answer I would be given, when inquiring about the prospects of return. Borrowing from Griffiths et al. 2013, I understood this tactic of conduct as "halting" in which one places themselves in an elongated present, endured in chunks, hoping to finally connect the dots to the much aspired bettered future they strive towards.

However, this permanent temporariness condition might affect key migration decisions, resulting, for instance, in extensive saving, poor social integration, limited leisure and professional deskilling. For some women, feeling still "unsettled" is conditioned by the continuous shift between anticipation of leaving and staying on as domestic workers for an indeterminate period. Economically, permanent temporariness translates into more willingness to accept irregular forms of employment such as informal agreements with the employer.

One can hardly make informed decisions before migrating about how long it would be necessary to stay abroad to fulfill their migration goals. Intentions materialized in a certain temporal outlook do not equal with the actual behavior but they are significant in their own right. Permanent temporary migrants behave as prospective returnees on a settler's basis, even if their behavior suggests/predicts return. By prolonging their stay, they decrease the likelihood of return, however still behaving as temporary. Migrants are inconsistent with their intention to return possibly because they discount the losses in the long run. When facing a decision to return, they consider that one more year or two won't do much harm, as in their understanding the short term benefits (more money) outweigh the long-term losses (pension schemes, time spent away from family, alienation etc.)

This points to the need to consider decision making in its dynamism, i.e. treat intentions at the outset of the migration project not as a fixed/static motivation but an ongoing mindset subject to revisions all throughout the experience of migration, also due to arising opportunities or constraints on the way. Actual return does not represent the ending point that renders the migration chapter over. Homecoming can take many forms and effects: it can be beneficial or not, it depends on the case and individual calculations. Migrants are in a constant negotiation of home, belonging and personal change.

NOTES

1 TPS granted selected foreign-born groups temporary residence status and temporary access to employment. It carried no promises or guarantees of asylum, permanent residence, or citizenship. In practice, many stay (Bailey et al. 2002).

2 In their argumentation, permanent temporariness is rather exerted by the state on individuals and it serves to promote the interests of state and capital. The production and reproduction of permanent temporariness disorients and divides groups with potentially common goals and needs (e.g., the lack of any pan-Latino political movement or organization in the area). However, the fluid, chameleon-like nature of permanent temporariness also offers opportunities for resistance (Shields 1999, 183–84). This implies pursuing "permanence" through alternative means meant to secure lasting ties such as educational investments in the second generation, marriage, and even refusing to leave the U.S. by going underground.

3 By irregular I mean either irregular (informal) forms of employment or irregularities in migrants' paperwork, which would classify them as "illegal" or undocumented. I will mainly use here the term "irregular", at times interchangeably with "undocumented", especially when referring to the pioneer period when the bulk of Moldovan migrants fell under the category of "illegal" migrants due to overstaying their visa or crossing the border clandestinely.

4 Certain shops or public spots functioned as advertising sites for various announcements, mostly job or housing.

5 Romanian proverb: "Socoteala de acasă nu se potrivește cu cea din târg"

6 Ironical references used by the respondent alluding to totalitarian features of this type of work, comparing it either to mine work or enslaving treatment applied by Gestapo police in Nazi Germany and German-occupied Europe.

7 The same reality was evidenced in the case of Ukrainian mother and daughters, as illustrated by X's study.

8 Acquiring a sense of place – the metonymy of place incorporates the "experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested and struggled over" (Cassey 1996:11).

Bibliography

AMBROSINI, M., "Surviving underground: irregular migrants, Italian families, invisible welfare" in *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 361–371, 2012

ANDERSON, B., *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour.* London – New York: Zed Books, 2000

BAILEY, A. J., WRIGHT, R. A., MOUNTZ, A. & MIYARES, I. M. "(Re)producing Salvadoran Transnational Geographies" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92, 125-144, 2002

BAUBÖCK, R., "Temporary Migrants, Partial Citizenship and Hypermigration" in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, vol. 14, no. 5, 665–693, 2001

BOCCAGNI, P., "Searching for Well-being in Care Work Migration: Constructions, Practices and Displacements among Immigrant Women in Italy" in *Social Politics*, Volume 23 Number 2, 2016

BOCCAGNI, P., "The Framing of Return from Above and Below in Ecuadorian Migration: A Project, a Myth, or a Political Device?" in *Global Networks* 11 (4): 461–480, 2011

BOERSMA, M. K. "Low incomes, fast lives? Exploring everyday temporalities of Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong". Time & Society, Vol. 25(1): 117–137, 2016.

CARLING, J., PETTERSEN, S. V. "Return Migration Intentions in the Integration–Transnationalism Matrix" in *International Migration*. 52(6): 13–3, 2014

COJOCARU, O., "Time and Migration Studies. Theoretical and methodological intersections" in *CMR Working Papers*, Nr 91(149), 2016

CONSTABLE, N., "A transnational perspective on divorce and marriage: Filipina wives and workers", in *Identities*, 10(2), pp. 163-180, 2003

CWERNER S. B. 2001. "The Times of Migration" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(1)

DAHINDEN J., "A plea for the 'de-migranticization' of research on migration and integration" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39:13, 2207-2225, 2016

DRINKWATER, S., M. Garapich. "Migration Strategies of Polish Migrants: Do They Have Any at All?" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (12): 1–23, 2015

EADE, J., S. DRINKWATER, M. GARAPICH. "Class and Ethnicity – Polish Migrants in London". Research Report for the RES-000-22-1294 ESRC Project. University of Surrey, CRNEM, 11, 2007.

ENGBERSEN G., Snel E. "Liquid Migration. Dynamic and Fluid Patterns of Post-Accession Migration Flows", in: B. Glorius, I. Grabowska-Lusińska, A. Kuvik (eds), *Mobility in Transition. Migration Patterns After EU Enlargement*, pp. 21–40. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

ODERMATT, E. *Migrants in Development. A multi-perspective analysis of the participation of Moldovan migrant associations in development initiatives.* PhD thesis, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, 2016

GRIFFITHS M., A. ROGERS, B. ANDERSON. "Migration, Time and Temporalities: Review and Prospect", COMPAS Research Papers, University of Oxford, 2013.

GRIFFITHS, M., "Out of time: the temporal uncertainties of refused asylum seekers and immigration detainees" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (12), 1991-2009, 2014

HARPER, R., H. ZUBIDA. "Living on borrowed time: borders, ticking clocks and timelessness among temporary labour migrants in Israel" in Donnan, Hastings and Madeleine Hurd, Caroline Leutloff Grandits (eds). *Migrating borders and moving times. Temporality and the crossing of borders in Europe*. Manchester University Press, 2017

HEINTZ, M. "Time and the Work Ethic in Postsocialist Romania" in James, Wendy & David Mills (eds.) *The Qualities of Time: Temporal Dimensions of Social Form and Human Experience*, Oxford: Berg, 2004, pp. 171-183. 2004

HOROLETS, A. "Migrants' leisure and integration" (research report). Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs, 2012

KING R., M. THOMSON, T. FIELDING, T. WARNES. "Time, generations and gender inmigration and settlement" in *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe: A State of the Art*, R. Penninx, M. B., K. Kraal (eds.). Amsterdam University Press, 2006

KLOC-NOWAK, W. "From pioneer migration to family reunification: Polish women's narratives of lifestyle preferences in Bologna, Italy" in *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2018

LAN, P-C. *Global Cinderellas. Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*, London: Duke University Press, 2006

MARCHETTI S., A. VENTURINI. "Mothers and Grandmothers on the Move: Labour Mobility and the Household Strategies of Moldovan and Ukrainian Migrant Women in Italy" in *International Migration*, Vol. 52 (5) 111-126, 2014.

MCGARRIGLE, J., E. ASCENSÃO. "Temporalities of onward migration: long-term temporariness, cyclical labour arrangements and lived time in the city" in Elizabeth Mavroudi, Ben Page, Anastasia Christou (eds.) *Timespace and International Migration*. Edward Elgar, 2017

MCGHEE, D., S. HEATH, and P. TREVENA. "Dignity, Happiness and Being Able to Live a 'Normal Life' in the UK – An Examination of Post-accession Polish Migrants' Transnational Autobiographical Fields" in Social Identities 18 (6): 711–727, 2012

OKÓLSKI, M. "Incomplete Migration: A New Form of Mobility in Central and Eastern Europe. The Case of Polish and Ukrainian Migrants." Pp. 105-128 in *Patterns of Migration in Central Europe*, edited by C. Wallace, D. Stola. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001

PARREÑAS R. S. *Servants of globalization: women, migration and domestic work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001

ROBERTS, B. R. "Socially expected durations and the economic adjustment of immigrants" in Portes, A. (ed.) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepeneurship*. New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1995

ROBERTSON, S. "Time and Temporary Migration: The Case of Temporary Graduate Workers and Working Holiday Makers in Australia" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 12, 1915–1933, 2014

SNEL E., ENGBERSEN G., LEERKES A. "Transnational Involvement and Social Integration" in *Global Networks* 6(3): 285–308, 2006

STODOLSKA, M., A. SANTOS. "Transnationalism and leisure. Mexican temporary migrants in the US" in *Journal of Leisure Research*, 38, 143–167, 2006

VIANELLO, F. A. "Ukrainian migrant women's social remittances: Contents and effects on families left behind" in *Migration Letters*, Volume: 10, No: 1, pp. 91 – 100, 2013

VIANELLO, F. A "Ukrainian Migrant Workers in Italy: Coping with and Reacting to Downward Mobility" in *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 3(1), 85–98, 2015

VILLEGAS, P. E. "I can't even buy a bed because I don't know if I'll have to leave tomorrow: temporal orientations among Mexican precarious status migrants in Toronto" in *Citizenship Studies* 18 (3-4), 277-291, 2014.

VOSKO, L., V. PRESTON, R. LATHAM. *Liberating Temporariness? Migration, Work, and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2014

WHITE, A. *Polish Families and Migration since EU Accession*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2011