"Ayudarles con todo" ("I help with everything") : Children's place in the social reproduction of migrant families in London

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Jahan Foster Zabit

PhD Geography, Environment and Development Studies

Birkbeck, University of London

Word count: 90,006

Declaration

I, Jahan Foster Zabit, declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own except where referenced in the text and bibliography.

Abstract

Migration, whether motivated by economic uncertainty, political upheaval, the effects of uneven development, or simply the chance for an adventure, can be understood as part of a broader strategy to improve the resources necessary for social reproduction. Yet when individuals and families migrate, transformations inevitably take place in the ways that social reproduction is organised and accomplished.

Based on interviews with 44 people (16 children and young people, 13 adults, and 15 professional stakeholders) and over a year of participant observation at a community organisation, this research explores the social reproductive worlds of Latin American migrant children and young people living in London.

The research draws upon the concept of social reproduction developed within feminist political economy and migration studies, as well as the theoretical contributions of the Childhood Studies literature, in order to situate the various practices, forms of labour, transnational networks, and socio-cultural practices that migrant children engage in, which contribute to the social reproduction needs of themselves and their families.

The research reveals that Latin American migrant children and young people are involved in cooking, cleaning, and caring for their siblings, translating, and interpreting for their families and wider community, and, at times, 'helping out' their parents at work. The research argues that young people's contribution to the work of social reproduction is an active choice, yet it is also understood within the context of Latin American migrant family's social, political, and economic positioning in the U.K. which requires the incorporation of the reproductive labour of children and young people. Finally, the research argues that young people's social reproductive labour, including that of young men, highlights a need to examine expectations about gendered divisions of labour in ways that consider the geo-spatially specific context of young people's lives.

Acknowledgements

I am beyond grateful to all those that took part in this project, especially all the young people that shared their stories with me. Our conversations were held mostly online, after school, on trips in between local lockdowns, before work, at the end of a long day, or in between looking after your children. Your insight and experiences shaped this project in such important ways, and I cannot thank you enough for the time you gave to me.

I would also like to extend a huge thanks to my supervisor, Karen Wells, who has supported me throughout my academic journey. I went into many of our supervisions unsure about the direction I should be taking, but Karen always pushed me to think differently, to explore new literatures, to challenge accepted knowledge, and in doing so, gave me the confidence that I was on the right path. My thanks as well to Jasmine Gideon for your insightful comments and support at various stages throughout this thesis.

A huge thank you to everyone at IRMO, and particularly to my manager Jeannine Moros-Noujaim. My two and a half years volunteering at this incredible organisation was a unique opportunity to learn from those working day in and day out with the Latin American community in London. IRMO were always available to support my thesis, offering different ways to meet research participants and useful contacts, and helping to shape the direction of this project.

This thesis was funded by the Bonnart Trust, and I'd like to express my sincere gratitude for the support they provided, particularly at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. In an already intensely uncertain time, this support was a great source of comfort.

Finally, to my mum and dad, Neelim and Patrick, who gave me everything, whose lives, passions, and politics inspired this project in so many ways, and who surrounded me with an incredible community of people; to my partner Will, who brings such lightness to my life and who always reminded me to just get on with writing; to my younger sister Sidra, my eternal confidante, who knows what I'm thinking before I've even said it (and who read this thesis in record time); to my older sister Elly, who inspires me with her strength every day; to my brother Adam, whose curiosity always leads me in new directions; to my most brilliant niece Florence whose arrival in this world started me on this journey; and to the most incredible group of friends who sustained me in invaluable ways and kept me laughing throughout – thank you all.

Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the strategies through which migrant communities manage 'life's work' (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, 2004) in London, and in particular, the role that children and young people play in these processes. My interest in these questions was borne from several factors. At a personal level, coming from a mixed-race Pakistani-English background, it resonated with what I knew of my mother's experience of migrating to the U.K. from Pakistan as a young child. My mother's family have been settled in south London for over 70 years now, and the branches of the family have grown to include children, grandchildren, and even great grandchildren, and somehow still, we all live within twenty minutes from each other. Despite the well-established roots that have been laid down in south London, strong connections remain with Pakistan and there is regular travel back and forth between the two countries, extended periods of time spent in Lahore and Islamabad, land and property bought and rented out, as well as many members of the family who remain there. These connections and the networks that span across the U.K. and Pakistan, that tether my family to both here and there, the experience of growing up in a mixed-race household, felt so clearly at odds with the political and cultural discourse around migration; that people move and then settle in their 'new countries', that they leave behind their home to build a new one and that to successfully 'integrate' means doing all these things. Exploring my mother's story of migration, and how the family managed the day-to-day of life in London, it also seemed to me that one other aspect of the 'migrant story' was missing. The role that children play within migrant families. When talking about her childhood, or reminiscing with her friends and her siblings, my mum would mention the different ways that she 'helped out' at home. Like many families, both of my grandparents worked multiple jobs, leaving them with less time to manage the needs of the household and so requiring my mum and her five younger siblings to help out. For my mum, this included cooking meals for her younger siblings when they returned home from school, answering the phone at the taxi company her father worked at, or at times attending parents evening on behalf of her mum and dad. This work was often considered part of the day-to-day responsibilities expected of my mother, an implicit agreement between her, her parents, and indeed her other siblings as to the tasks that just needed to get done. And it was performed around the other day-to-day activities of her childhood, and amongst the other

expectations my grandparents had of their children – to be 'good' children, to go to school, to do their homework, to get good grades, to help out. Yet to me it seemed clear that with both of my grandparents at work, with a household to maintain, six children to care for and raise, and a steady stream of relatives visiting or staying at the house, my mothers' contributions were important to how the family and the needs of the household were sustained and maintained.

The idea that you could feel connected to spaces and places that span borders, and the ways that children within migrant families navigate and help to sustain these networks, became the focus of my academic work. My interest in the Latin American community in London came about after spending some time travelling in south America as well as witnessing the community becoming visibly and socially more established in Brixton, where I grew up. It led me to my master's thesis where I examined the transnational ties and connections of Latin American young people that had moved onwards to London from another European country and how this transnational migration impacted the negotiation of transnational and gender ideologies and identities. This research highlighted other areas of exploration; the multiple resources and connections that young migrants draw upon to foster a sense of belonging and identity, and the active role they take upon themselves to do so, as well as the strategies adopted by transnational households to mediate social and economic hardships. It made evident as well the extent to which these strategies intersected with local and national policies that, in various ways, constrained Latin American family's social reproduction capacities. Although migration offers opportunities for improving the resources required for social reproduction – potentially better job opportunities, better pay, safety, secure housing, etc. – migrants' social, economic, and political positioning in their countries of settlement means that new risks and constraints can also emerge[1]. The ideas and findings of my masters research led

[1] I use the term 'country of settlement' rather than other phrases such as 'receiving country', 'destination country', or 'host country' for various reasons. First, as the transnationalism literature made clear, migration is not a linear process between sending and receiving countries; rather, relationships and networks continue to be forged and sustained between multiple countries in ways that shape the day-to-day lives of migrants (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Portes, 1996). The term 'host' country, however, implies that the countries that people migrate to do not become 'home' or that migrants remain forever as guests. As the literature on onward migration also reveals, migration can be both a planned and unplanned strategy, encompassing complex and varied routes as well as multiple migration moves (Ahrens et al., 2016; Mas Girault, 2017). Indeed, to describe the place where people move as their 'destination implies that there is no intention to return to their previous countries or that the country they have arrived is in the country they will

me to the subject of this thesis, which, broadly speaking, is interested in understanding how the political, economic, and social trajectories of minorities and migrant groups vary and indeed become stratified across space and time, whether during times of economic uncertainty, such as that brought about following the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent years of austerity, or during political upheaval, such as that brought about by the U.K.'s departure from the European Union. In the face of the Covid-19 pandemic, the concept of social reproduction also seemed a particularly pertinent analytical tool, as the realms of production and social reproduction became more and more conflated and the household was increasingly recognised as crucial to the functioning of capitalism (Stevano et al., 2021; Mezzadri, 2022). Drawing on Shellee Colen's concept of 'stratified reproduction', this thesis then seeks to examine the ways in which hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender, place in a global economy, and migration status mean that the work of social reproduction is "differentially experienced, valued, and rewarded according to inequalities of access to material and social resources in particular historical and cultural contexts" (Colen, 1995: 78). With a focus on the Latin American community in London, I was initially interested in how the various members of such families draw upon their networks and connections 'back home' to meet their day-to-day needs here in London, how they utilise their transnational networks and relationships as part of these social reproduction resilience strategies and, particularly, the ways in which children and young people contribute to these practices. Inherently, these questions were also concerned with understanding how the creation of the transnational family requires new practices of social reproduction to maintain and sustain family ties and thus how migration transforms the family in terms of its practices and the meanings that are attached. The literature on this area was somewhat limited, focused more on how migration and the transnational networks that emerge as a result are used to sustain the social reproduction of families left behind, for instance, through the sending of remittances, or return trips 'back home'. How it is that families sustain their day-to-day needs in their countries of settlement, and the various cross-border networks and actors through which this is achieved, was an area less explored. Therefore, I initially set out to examine the ways in which the work of social reproduction for migrant families is embedded within the transnational space and

remain in. As such, I believe the word 'settlement' conveys the sense that migrants conceive both of the 'old' and the 'new' countries as home.

moreover, how these strategies functioned within the particular context of the U.K. in which the globalisation of capitalist production, alongside the privatisation of social care services and the decline of the welfare state, has resulted in a stratified system of social reproduction (Colen, 1995).

A pandemic and new research questions

Then, however, came an unprecedented crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic, which occurred at the start of my data collection and altered the shape of my study in particular ways. I knew from my master's research that prior to this extraordinary event, Latin American families would have had very active transnational connections with a lot of back-and-forth movement between multiple countries, particularly amongst those with European citizenship. However, as international travel became almost impossible, it became clear that people's transnational strategies and practices would be completely disrupted. It also became clear that with local lockdowns put in place, the rhythms and routines of people's everyday lives and social worlds would become substantially smaller. As a result, my research had to change its focus and move away from an analysis primarily of the construction and maintenance of transnational social spaces, the ways in which these spaces shape social norms, cultural practices, and institutions, and how these fields function as a site for social reproduction.

Instead, and in the context of the pandemic, I decided to pay greater attention to the local and national networks that structure the day-to-day lives of Latin American migrant families in London, and to analyse the various strategies and practices that members of these families developed within these spaces to meet their social reproduction needs. With this new direction, I focused first on the extent to which hierarchies of class, race, gender, and migration status constrain the social reproduction capacities of Latin Americans in London, examining both Latin Americans' segregation in precarious forms of work as well as their unequal access to the resources of social reproduction as administered through the state. Emphasis was placed on the impact of over a decade of austerity measures in the U.K. on the capacity of services to support the social reproduction needs of families, the effects of the hostile environment and the everyday bordering that has infiltrated the lives of migrant communities (Cassidy, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018; Griffiths and Yeo, 2021), and the ways in which

individuals and families strategise to meet their social reproduction needs and to make up for the shortfalls in such support. Thus, this thesis was also keen to adhere to the political aims of social reproduction as a theoretical concept, that is to provide a critique of the unsustainability of neoliberalism and to understand the global stratification of social reproduction within the context of austerity.

The concept of social reproduction was essential for making sense of the inequalities in social relations of reproduction that are experienced by migrant communities and the various social, political and policy systems that prevent individuals and families from securing the resources necessary for social reproduction (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979; Glenn, 1992; Colen, 1995; Truong, 1996; Federici, 2003). As shall be detailed extensively in the literature review chapter, Latin Americans' emplacement within a socially stratified system of social reproduction and their access (or lack thereof) to the resources of social reproduction is embedded within a broader political, cultural, and ideological debate, one which is rooted in questions of identity, citizenship and belonging – the discourse of 'us' versus 'them' (Cassidy, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). These discourses both mark the boundaries of the nation-state while marginalising the migrant symbolically and materially, constraining their full participation in society by, for instance, restricting access to entitlements of the settlement country. I suggest that although these exclusionary discourses govern the material, social, and cultural experiences of migrant families, theories of social reproduction and transnationalism can challenge the hegemony of such pervasive ideologies. The utility of a social reproduction approach lies in its political motivations, its ability as a framework to situate these experiences within the production and reproduction of global capitalism and to bring into question how reproductive labour is understood and distributed.

In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic and the intensifying of inequalities that was produced, it also remained essential to examine social reproduction from the perspective of different actors – namely, children and young people. Neoliberalism's reliance on low wage, flexible and insecure labour, increasingly filled by a precarious migrant labour force (Shah and Lerche, 2020: 720), has particular implications for how such families and households manage their own social reproductive needs; and how other members of the family are required to step in to bridge potential gaps in this provision. This thesis therefore remained focused on examining the role that children and young people play in migrant households, and the strategies that

they develop and actively perform in order to contribute to the daily and generational needs of the family. Embedded within the discipline of Childhood Studies, a field which recognises the child as a social actor in their own right (James et al., 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000), this research attempts to undermine the assumption that children are solely the recipients of a gendered, racialised social reproductive labour and thus to incorporate the role of age into theoretical understandings of the organisation of social reproduction labour. In doing so, this thesis also sets out to address contemporary issues faced by young migrants, including socio-economic deprivation, educational discrimination, and the unequal provision of services essential to the integration and personal development of young people.

The Latin American community in London

Latin Americans are a relatively recent but established migrant community in the U.K., made up of people from twenty countries who are considered "ethnically, linguistically, culturally, and geographically distinctive from each other" (Montañez, 2020: 10). Despite a lack of direct connection to the U.K. as a Commonwealth country or a former colony, and with the majority of international migration from Latin America directed towards the United States, there have nonetheless been three waves of Latin American migration to the U.K. (Román-Velázquez, 2009: 107; McIlwaine et al., 2011: 13; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 7). The first group arrived in the 1970s as political refugees fleeing Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina, as well Colombian migrants who arrived on work permits that were restricted to work in hotel and catering industries (McIlwaine, 2011; McIlwaine et al., 2011: 13; Román-Velázquez and Retis, 2020). The second wave of Latin American migration to the U.K. occurred in the 1980s, a combination of family reunions, asylum seekers, tourism, and students, and was made up of people primarily from Colombia and Ecuador. In the following two decades until the early 2000s, Latin Americans continued to come to the U.K. through these routes, an outcome of political instability and economic stagnation intensifying in parts of Latin America, notably Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 13), a more restrictive border and immigration policy implemented in the U.S. following 9/11, and the opening up of Europe to foreign workers (Román-Velázquez and Retis, 2020). The third and most recent wave of migration of Latin Americans to the U.K. is made up of economic migrants who migrated onwards from other

European countries following the global economic crash in 2008 – a group described in research as Onward Latin Americans (OLAs) (McIlwaine et al., 2011; 13; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 6-7). The effects of the 2008 global financial crash were felt particularly acutely within Southern European countries; in Spain for example, where the majority of Latin Americans in Europe reside, migrant communities faced distinct social and economic challenges, including a widespread loss of jobs in sectors with high numbers of migrants, such as hospitality and construction and a sharp deterioration of labour conditions (Domingo, Sabater and Ortega, 2014; Domínguez-Mujica et al. 2014; López-Sala and Oso, 2015). However, despite the established and increasing presence of Latin Americans in the UK, they remain largely invisible and underrepresented in official statistical collection – the most recent Census carried out in 2021 for instance did not recognise 'Latin American' as an ethnic minority group. The lack of reliable data as to the numbers of Latin Americans in Europe more broadly, as well as a limited estimate of those that migrated from Latin America, has also contributed to the challenge of understanding the population size in the U.K. This lack of representation, argued as indicative of a lack of political will to document the presence of Latin Americans in the country, with implications for their rights, entitlement, and recognition (Román-Velázquez and Retis, 2020), has been addressed by several researchers who have utilised various data sets to provide estimates as to the size of the Latin American population in the U.K. – a total of 250,000 of which 145,000 live in London (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 8). More specifically, historical connections have meant that Latin Americans in London tend to be concentrated in particular boroughs, including Lambeth, Southwark, Brent, and Barnet, resulting in in significant Latin American cultural and commercial presence in these particular areas of the capital (Román-Velázquez, 2014; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 71).

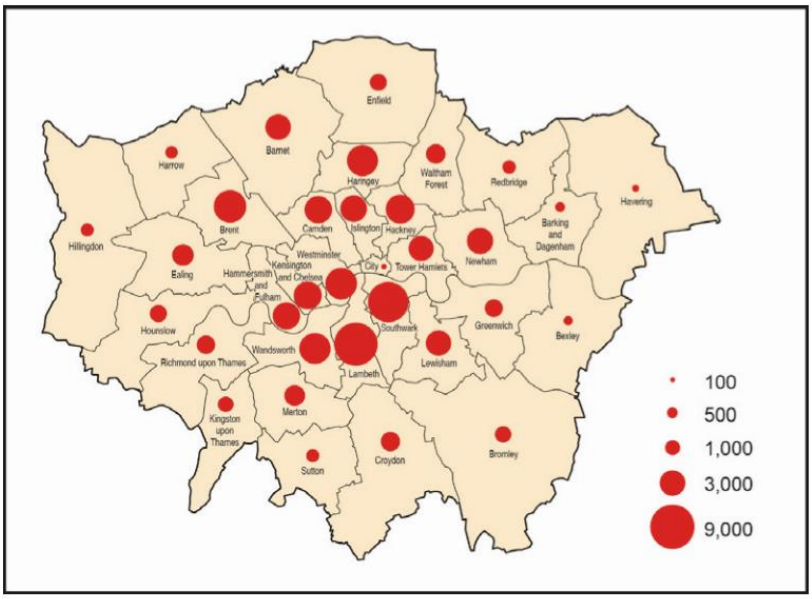

Figure 1: Latin Americans in London by borough (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016)

Source: ONS Census 2011, Office for National Statistics © Crown Copyright 2013

Latin Americans in London, and particularly Onward Latin Americans, face a number of issues related to social integration, and difficulty accessing quality housing, language support, and secure employment. As a population, Latin Americans are largely very well-educated, with three quarters obtaining qualifications in their home country before migrating (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 35) and 51% achieving a tertiary level/university education (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 20). Despite these high levels of education, Latin Americans in London tend to be concentrated in low wage and precarious employment, working multiple jobs, often at irregular hours and predominantly in minimally regulated industries such as cleaning or hospitality (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 54-56; Berg, 2017; Berg, 2019, Montañez, 2020). Research has continually shown how employment in low-paying and precarious work adversely affects mental health, home lives and well-being (Hester, 2018: 345). Moreover, although over half of Latin Americans have settled status in the UK, with the majority of OLAs having acquired European passports in their previous country of residence, uncertainty over immigration status remains a pressing issue (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 43-44). The U.K.'s withdrawal from the European Union has also significantly changed the socio-political landscape for European citizens in the country, the impact of which is only beginning to be felt. In the case of Latin Americans in London, many of whom are settled in the country as EU

nationals, it is clearly possible that new forms of precarity and uncertainty about lawful residence in the U.K. may develop (Turcatti and Vargas-Silva, 2022).

The social, economic, and political context of the U.K: an overview

How households accomplish or fail to manage their social reproduction needs is most evident in the context of social and economic restructuring. The discourse and ideology of austerity has dominated Britain's social and fiscal policy for over ten years, defined literally as "official actions taken by the government, during a period of adverse economic conditions, to reduce its budget deficit using a combination of spending cuts or tax rises" (Taylor, 2017: 16), but also understood as incorporating "the neoliberal desire to shrink the (Social welfare) state, deregulate labour markets and emphasise private markets as the drivers of growth" (Farnsworth and Irving, 2018: 461). The financialisation of capital and neoliberalisation of public services that began in the 1980s, and has dictated economic policy, the role of the state and the public sector ever since, saw the state withdraw from the provision of public services, allowing the market to step in and commoditise the tasks of social reproduction, including domestic labour and care services (Katz, 2001; Bakker, 2007; Newberry and Rosen, 2020). Conditions of labour were also deregulated and made flexible, increasing the precarity of work, while the protection of social provisions were removed (Kofman, 2014: 85). Simultaneously, an increased number of women entered the paid workforce, but without any substantive change in the gendered division of labour at home, to the extent that women continue to be held "discursively and materially culpable" (Newberry and Rosen, 2020: 115) for the responsibility of social reproduction. The ideology of neoliberalism paved the way for the implementation of austerity policies that was aggressively pursed following the 2008 financial crash (Lonergan, 2015; Taylor, 2017; Gray and Barford, 2018). In the years following the global financial crash, after which the financial services and banks were bailed out with an unprecedented intervention of £141 billion (Taylor, 2017: 16), austerity policies imposed by successive Conservative/Coalition governments led to sustained and significant cuts to almost all government budgets, including healthcare, social security, and social care, during times when demand for services, staff and support has only ever increased (Gray and Barford, 2018). Social services were, in this way, at the heart of the neoliberal transformation of public services

and the welfare state (Whitfield, 2012) and have seen a restructuring of local government and public service provision in ways that continue to affect how the resources necessary for social reproduction are accessed and organised in the U.K. For instance, between 2010 and 2015 an estimated £4.6 billion (31%) was cut from social care budgets across local councils (Hester, 2018: 349) while the number of beds in local authority care homes declined from 85,000 in 1994 to only 17,975 in 2010, only 8% of the total in England (Whitfield, 2012: 1). Austerity measures have also had a specific impact on children, particularly low-income children and families who are highly dependent on welfare services. During the peak of the Covid crisis, childcare costs rose by 5% while simultaneously levels of provision, particularly in London, decreased – an annual national childcare survey by Coram Family and Childcare found that almost a third (29%) of local authorities faced a reduction in the number of places offered by childcare settings (Jarvie, Shorto and Parlett, 2021: 26). Meanwhile, a 2022 report by the Resolution Foundation, a think-tank with a focus on improving the living standards of those on low to middle incomes, looked at the impact of the Covid-19 crisis (Corlett and Try, 2022). This report found that real household incomes are projected to fall at a scale previously seen around recessions, and that the current cost-of-living crisis is in part an outcome of the policy to uprate benefits with a lagged measure of inflation – a measure of 3.1% at a time when cost of living could be rising by more than 8% (Corlett and Try, 2022: 8). Additionally, informalised work – and with it, a lack of formal protections – is increasingly becoming a feature of developed and global north countries, as seen in the rise of zero-hour contracts – the latest figures published by the ONS show that over one million workers are now on zero-hours contracts (ONS, 2022) – and the prevalence of gig-economy work is increasing (Mezzadri, 2019). Research from the International Labour Organisation found that more than 60% of all working people in the world are informally employed, lacking labour and social protections to protect them against risk and poverty (ILO, 2018). In the U.K., a 2021 report by the Resolution Foundation found that 1 in 5 low paid workers can be found working in an insecure job, whether this is in a zero-hour contract, temporary contract or working too few hours – compared to just 6% of higher paid workers (Cominetti et al., 2021: 9).

One consequence of the expansion of neoliberal policies in the U.K., its adherence to austerity measures and its declining provision of social welfare is therefore that people's ability to manage their social reproductive needs has become ever more dependent on their capacity to

increase their own social reproductive labour or their ability to turn to the market to pay for it (Katz, 2001; Bakker and Gill, 2003: 36; Bakker and Silvey, 2008: 5). Managing these additional demands, finding the time, financial resources, and energy, to provide the additional social reproductive labour needed by their families and communities, has produced what has been termed a "crisis of care" (Fraser, 2016) in which social reproduction is commodified for those who can pay for it or organised through informal social networks and resources including family and friends for those who cannot. Fraser (2016) suggests that the roots of this crisis lie in the social reproductive contradictions of financialised capitalism, in which capitalism's need for intense and unlimited capital accumulation disrupts and destroys the conditions and processes needed for social reproduction, and upon which capitalism relies, that is, the production and reproduction of the workforce. State disinvestment and withdrawal from the provision of social welfare, and the privatisation of social reproduction that has characterised the neoliberal era, and the social and fiscal policy of the U.K., has thus intensified this contradiction between economic production and social reproduction. With little realignment in the gendered division of labour, the burden of this social reproductive work, both commoditised and within the home, remains largely the responsibility of women (Bakker and Gill, 2003) and increasingly, as this thesis will demonstrate, children.

Thesis overview

This thesis is organised as follows. First, I review the literature related to social reproduction, migrant rights, and Childhood Studies and the applicability of this scholarship for understanding both how migrant families access and maintain the resources necessary for social reproduction, the role that the state plays in structuring and shaping access, and how children can be conceptualised within such processes (Chapter 2). I then detail my methodology in Chapter 3 and reflect on the methodological issues that arose as my research coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, the ethical issues this presented and how they were overcome, as well as the theoretical work that informed my methodological approach. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the experiences, opportunities, and social reproduction practices of Latin American families to further elaborate the relationship between migration and social

reproduction well as to understand the context within which the state structures the social reproductive capacities of migrant families. Chapter 4 examines the migration motivations and strategies of Latin American families in London. The motivations of Latin Americans to migrate to London were found to be multiple and complex, driven by economic instability in their previous countries of residence, educational opportunities for their children as well as personal factors, such as the chance to learn English or even to have an adventure. To facilitate this migration and then settlement in the U.K. Latin Americans developed various strategies; for some, this involved utilising family reunification policies to bring children over directly from Latin America; others, such as in the case of Onward Latin Americans, used their European citizenship to freely move to the U.K. as well as the knowledge acquired from their previous experience of migration to support their settlement. In Chapter 5, I then focus on the multiple and intersecting inequalities of access faced by Latin Americans when attempting to organise their social reproduction needs. This chapter examines the specific spaces understood as essential to how social reproduction is accomplished – access to secure and well-paid employment, access to welfare and social service resources such as quality and affordable housing, and, given this thesis' interest in the experiences of children, access to the education system for migrant children. The chapter argues that barriers to these services and spaces, based on structural inequalities of class, race, ethnicity, migration status, job market stratification etc, thus constitute barriers to the material and social resources necessary for the regeneration of life. This chapter discusses and analyses 'barriers' to service access for migrants in various ways. Drawing on the literature on welfare policy implementation and internal bordering (Cassidy, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2019; Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019; Cassidy, 2019), barriers are understood as formal; the result of social, economic, and political policies designed to deliberately exclude or limit different categories of people from accessing social services and in ways that have particular implications for migrants as a group with 'hyper-precarity' (Shah and Lerche, 2020: 720). Barriers to service access for migrant communities are also understood as 'resource related', a product of austerity measures and social and economic policy changes related to welfare reform which have been enacted in the U.K from 2010 onwards (Lonergan, 2015; Gray and Barford, 2018).

The remaining analysis chapters are then centred on the experiences of Latin American children and young people and the various ways they contribute to the social reproduction

needs of themselves and their families. Chapter 6 analyses the multiple and complex social networks that Latin American children and young people both actively construct for themselves and which they become embedded in on arrival to the U.K., the work that they do to maintain these networks, and the ways in which these networks generate forms of capital that enable access to services and information in the U.K., particularly within the spheres of education, housing, healthcare, and welfare. While most research on household economies tends to take an adult-centred perspective to the activities that sustain and reproduce the household, this thesis shows how all members of the household contribute to the diverse strategies and practices that are mobilised by the family in order to secure its resources and needs.

Chapter 7 examines the ways in which Latin American children and young people actively engage in the work of social reproduction, providing a crucial insight into the intergenerational distribution of social reproduction labour within migrant households. As the chapter will detail, Latin American children participate in various forms of social reproductive labour, whether cooking, cleaning, or at times, caring for siblings and other family members. They also engage in translating and interpreting between English and Spanish for their family members and wider community, activities which can similarly be understood as a contribution to household work. Though this work takes place primarily within the private sphere of the home, some activities, such as translating, take place outside the home, and so serve to bridge the gap between the private and the public spheres. The work carried out by children is embedded within the social reproduction strategies of the family, both enabling the production and reproduction of their parents as waged workers, and aiding their family's' settlement into the U.K.

Chapter 8 examines Latin American children's labour in family work and the role of this labour as a strategy through which Latin American families in London accomplish their social reproduction needs. In doing so it examines how social and cultural ideas related to reciprocity, support and collaboration shape Latin American households and their understanding of family relations, particularly, the role of children and the meanings that are invested in their labour. This chapter situates children's productive labour in the context of Latin Americans' political, social, and economic marginalisation in the U.K., and so examines this labour not just through

an account of their everyday lives but within a broader critique of the global political, economic, and social processes that shape their material lives.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes by emphasising the various ways in which migrant children and young people in the global north are actively involved in the everyday and intergenerational activities and practices of social reproduction and how this labour enables households to respond to the social, cultural, and economic conditions of life under capitalism. Bringing together the evidence and arguments presented throughout the thesis, it extends the existing literature on household work, and the emphasis it places on its gendered divisions, to reveal the intergenerational organisation of social reproduction within Latin American households. Making evident children's social reproductive labour is a significant interjection in the theoretical discussion on social reproduction, bringing to attention the various social dimensions beyond gender which structure the organisation of reproductive labour. In doing so, this thesis also builds on the theoretical contributions of New Social Studies of Childhood (James et al, 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Christensen and Prout, 2002) by centring the perspectives of young people, and revealing the forms of reproductive and productive work that they are involved in on a day-to-day and generational basis, the active choices they make to perform this labour and, importantly, the valuable contributions it can make to their household economy.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Migration, whether motivated by economic uncertainty, political upheaval, the effects of uneven development, safety, or simply the chance for an adventure, can be understood as part of a broader strategy to improve the social, physical, and economic resources necessary for social reproduction (Kofman and Raghuram, 2015; Baldassar et al., 2018: 431; Kilkey and Urzi, 2017). Yet when individuals and families migrate, transformations inevitably take place in the ways that their social reproduction is organised and accomplished. Existing research on the social reproduction experiences of migrant families has often explored how these needs are accomplished 'back home' following the migration of a parent or carer, such as the global care chains and 'children left behind' literature (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Parreñas, 2005; Castañeda and Buck, 2011; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011). A large body of research in feminist geography has also examined the ways in which migrants alleviate 'crises of social reproduction' (Fraser, 2016) in industrialised countries through their work as carers, nannies, cleaners, nurses or through marriage migration, and which sustains the worker under capitalism (Truong, 1996; Lan, 2008; Fog-Olwig, 2012; Yeates, 2012; Kim and Kilkey, 2017). Theorists have thus drawn upon the insights of social reproduction to examine the significant transformations that have occurred in the organisation of reproductive labour in the neoliberal era (Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Ferguson, 2019). With an analytical focus largely on North America and Europe, this work has offered important insights into the feminisation of international migration and the global movement of domestic workers (Truong, 1996; Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2000; Anderson, 2001; Lan, 2008) as well as the public and private institutions of social reproduction – 'the capitalist architecture of care' (Mezzadri, 2019) – that have both emerged and been transformed under neoliberalism (Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Ferguson, 2019). However, the focus on migration within the context of the global commodification of domestic labour has meant that less attention has been paid to the day-to-day experiences of migrants within the settlement country itself and the realities of their lives beyond their experience as workers. How is it, and through what configuration of actors and resources – the family, the state, the market, the community – and variety of networks – local, national, and transnational – do migrant communities organise their social reproduction

and thus sustain themselves as emotional, cultural, and physical beings, in what is often the most hostile of environments?

This thesis began with an interest in the social reproductive experiences of Latin American migrant families in London, and the strategies and practices that family members, including, crucially, children and young people, adopt, create, and sustain in order to meet these daily and generational needs. Although children tend to be framed as the passive recipients of the social reproductive labour of others, a growing body of research is highlighting both the active role they play in shaping the migration trajectories of their families (Orellana et al., 2001) as well as in the social reproduction of their families (Abebe 2007; Ansell 2008; Ferguson 2017; Cairns 2018a). In order to sketch out this thesis' use of the term social reproduction, while recognising that it is not possible to account for all its configurations, the following chapter will review the development of social reproduction within several feminist disciplines, notably feminist political economy (Katz, 2001; Bakker and Gill, 2003) and migration studies (Colen, 1995; Truong, 1996; Parreñas, 2000), and will discuss how these conceptualisations relate to the critical aims of this project. The chapter also draws heavily on the Childhood Studies literature (James et al., 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Qvortrup, 2005; Wells, 2021) and existing research on children's social reproductive labour in order to situate the various strategies and practices, forms of labour, social relations, transnational networks, and socio-cultural practices that children and young people within migrant families engage in In doing so, this thesis' conceptualisation of childhood and how this understanding informs the analytical arguments presented in this study will be outlined. Within this chapter, the relationship between social reproduction and the state, and the overall withdrawal of state provisioning in industrialised countries such as the U.K. has had on migrant communities, will also be examined, in order to further analyse the extent to which the sites and institutions of social reproduction have been transformed for migrant communities as a result of globalisation and neoliberalism. In doing so, the chapter explores both the significance of local and national resources for migrants' social reproduction, as well as how their socio-legal positioning as migrants determines access to such state provided resources of social reproduction.

Social reproduction theory: defining the term and what it can reveal about life under capitalism

Social reproduction has been described as the "fleshy, messy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life" (Katz, 2001: 711), the "array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally" (Glenn, 1992: 1), classed as "life's work" (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, 2004). On a practical level, social reproduction encompasses the everyday and intergenerational socio-cultural practices and activities that sustain life, including bearing and caring for children, caring for the sick and the elderly, the provision of food, clothing, shelter and sanitation, and the intergenerational transmission of culture (Glenn, 1992; Katz, 2001; Kofman, 2012). As such, the organisation of social reproduction incorporates multiple institutions, largely the family, but also, depending on the trajectories of countries and their welfare regimes, the state, market and third sector in the form of schools, healthcare services and the welfare system (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007, Fraser, 2016).

Social reproduction is, however, more than a descriptive term for the various ways in which human life is maintained and renewed on a daily and generational basis. It is also an analytical concept that seeks to understand how life's work is organised under capitalism – a way to analyse "the activities that nurture future workers, regenerate the current work force, and maintain those who cannot work" (Hester, 2018: 345). For while social reproduction evidently occurs within all economic systems (Bakker and Gill, 2003), a distinct feature of capitalist society is the extent to which capital structures the social and material conditions upon which the work of social reproduction is accomplished. Social reproduction is therefore also a means of examining how the work of sustaining life, and the hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender, place in a global economy, and migration status that structure the organisation of this work, is essential to the production and reproduction of capitalism and capitalist inequality (Mezzadri, 2021).

The concept of social reproduction arose out of a feminist socialist critique of Marxist theorisations of social reproduction that had until then ignored and naturalised the processes (within the family and community) and social relations (gendered or racialised for instance) that are necessary for the production and reproduction of human labour power (Bhattacharya,

2017b). While Marx had keenly identified the systemic unity between the two spheres of production and reproduction – "every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction" (Marx, 1990) – the question of how the waged labourer themself is reproduced and replenished to return to work each day, and through what processes and in what conditions, was left unanswered. Emerging out of the 'domestic labour debates' of the 1970s, the pivotal work of feminist socialist theorists such as Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Selma James and Silvia Federici sought to answer these questions. They identified women as the source of this largely unpaid labour, and therefore the home and the gendered division of labour operating within it, as central to women's exploitation and oppression (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979; Federici, 2003). By arguing that the presence of the waged labourer to capital is only made available through the gendered labour operating outside the labour/capital relation, the work of these writers was crucial in making visible the significance of women's unpaid work in the home to capitalist production (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979; Federici, 2003). An important contribution of these early social reproduction scholars was also to critique the notion that 'productive' must equate to paid labour, a view which sees only waged workers as valuable, while simultaneously devaluing or indeed naturalising the work of women and other groups as non-value producing (Mezzadri, 2019). Instead, by challenging the distinction between production and social reproduction, a distinction that manifests as a divide between work and home, the dynamic and dependent relationship between production and reproduction, and the value-generating nature of social reproduction in of itself, was emphasised[2].

Although early Marxist feminist theorisations of social reproduction were crucial in revealing the value of the 'free labour' of women in the household to capitalist reproduction, its focus on the unpaid labour of women in the private sphere of the home did not adequately account

[2] Of course, much of this theoretical discussion was focused on the experiences of women within Western Europe and North America in which social reproduction was defined in relation to the subordination of women in the home and the relationship to capitalist exploitation. This failed to acknowledge and incorporate into its analysis, as Black feminists made clear, the reality that migrant women and women of colour had always worked outside the home – whether paid or under the force of violence during slavery – and that narratives of the home or of domestic work "had acquired different political meanings and social value in communities surviving slavery, racist oppression and violence, and various regimes of racial and social control" (Valiavicharska, 2020: 3). Similarly, postcolonial feminist writers critiqued such Marxist-feminist and socialist-feminist analyses for its projection of specific cultural and social values related to modern capitalism and secularism onto non-Western parts of the world (Mohanty, 1984).

for the devaluation of paid reproductive labour in the public sphere. In order to address the limitations of this original conceptualisation of social reproduction theory, the concept of social reproduction was expanded in various ways.

Feminist political economists (FPE) for example, offered a broader understanding of production and reproduction that sought to analyse the various forms of social reproductive work that operate outside the private sphere, both in corporate and state settings, such as waged domestic service, service industry work, or paid childcare provision, as well as, importantly, the work of schools and healthcare institutions (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007, Fraser, 2016). In particular, they responded to a perceived absence of historical and social specificities in earlier social reproduction theorisations (Fraser, 2016). Barbara Laslett and Johanna Brenner (1989), for instance, examined the various political and economic conflicts (both individual and collective) that took place during the 19th and 20th century in Europe and North America and positioned these as struggles over how social reproduction is or should be provided. These struggles included the fight for a family wage through working-class movements for trade unionisation, as well as middle-class women's demand to enter the workforce and gain greater economic independence (Laslett and Brenner, 1989: 398), the outcome of which was a shift in public consensus in which the state and civil society, as well as the family, were considered responsible for the costs of social reproduction. For instance, the introduction of compulsory education, social housing, public health and welfare programs, child welfare agencies, public playgrounds and parks, among others are understood as the outcome of various battles during the 19th and 20th centuries that expanded the role of the state and capital in the provision of social reproduction and led to the reorganisation of individual and household strategies and practices for securing social reproduction (Laslett and Brenner, 1989: 397; Katz, 2001: 712). Feminist political economy approaches therefore expanded conceptualisations of social reproduction by highlighting the ways in which the organisation and conditions of social reproduction are socially, culturally, geographically, and politically determined and by analysing the various forms of social reproductive work that operate outside the private sphere, both in corporate and state settings, such as waged domestic service, service industry work, or paid childcare provision, as well as, importantly, the work of schools and healthcare

institutions (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007, Fraser, 2016).

Antiracist and migration scholars (hooks, 1984; Glenn, 1992: 4; Colen, 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997: 551) meanwhile were also among the first to emphasise that, in contrast to the assertions of early social reproduction theorists (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979; Federici, 2003), the work of social reproduction has often occurred outside of the private sphere of the home in the 'productive sector' (Davis, 1983; hooks, 1984), where it is either poorly paid or unwaged, and predominantly performed by "historically marginalized groups, such as women, enslaved peoples, their descendants, colonial and post-colonial subjects, and children" (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, 2004: 11). Utilising the insights of Black feminist and intersectionality theorists (Davis, 1983; hooks, 1984; Collins, 1991), these scholars (Glenn, 1992; Colen, 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997) developed a more integrative approach to social reproduction that accounted for the intersecting and co-constitutive hierarchies that capital relies on in the organisation of reproductive labour. Glenn (1992), for instance, examined the employment of Mexican, African American, and Japanese women first in the private setting of middle-class households performing reproductive and 'hard' labour, such as cleaning, ironing, and caring for children, and then in institutional service work, such as nursing and health care related work. She described this labour system through the concept of a 'racialised division of reproductive labour' which emerges both because racial hierarchies position women of colour as 'naturally' suited for domestic and service work (1992: 33) and because of persisting gender ideologies that relegate reproductive labour to women. In this commodification of reproductive labour, class-privileged white women can purchase the mental, manual, and emotional labour necessary for the reproduction of their families, while the women of colour that perform this work are simultaneously denied their own identities and experiences as mothers and wives within their households. Shellee Colen meanwhile developed the powerful notion of a "transnational stratified system of reproduction" (1995). Based on her seminal study on the experiences of parenting and childcare between West Indian childcare workers and the white class-privileged women who employ them, Colen termed this concept to describe the power relations and social, political, and economic forces that determine which categories of people have access to the resources necessary to accomplish the work of social reproduction. In

examining the cultural construction of parenting, and the differing values placed on childcare, Colen's study explored how these two groups of women juggle the demands of affordable and practical childcare. While upper-class households, for instance, were able to employ low-waged private workers to carry out the daily tasks of childcare and housework, which allowed them to maintain their class interests and lifestyles (Colen, 1995:83), West Indian workers had to organise transnational childcare arrangements (often foster care) in their country of origin where their children remained, or, if their children lived with them, had to find their own affordable childcare, itself often supplemented by the unpaid labour of relatives and family day care. As Colen's study revealed, by paying attention to the temporal and spatial aspects of social reproduction, it becomes clear how the ability to carry out the physical, emotional, and social labour necessary for social reproduction, whether in terms of care, availability of time, or access to resources and rights, is therefore experienced and rewarded differently according to hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender, place in a global economy, and migration status. This insight has useful implications for understanding how the accomplishment of social reproduction remains stratified for particular groups of people, and as will be explored throughout this thesis, how this stratification is experienced in the social and material lives of Latin American families in the U.K.

Stratified social reproduction, precarity and migrant rights

The impact of globalisation, social and economic crises, and conflicts around the world, create new and shifting patterns of migration and mobility (Berg, 2019; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019). While migration provides opportunities for improving the resources required for social reproduction – greater job opportunities, better pay, safety, secure housing, etc. – new risks and constraints also emerge because of intersecting markers of difference related to social, economic, and political positioning, migration status, labour market integration. In global cities such as London, this mobility and migration is marked for most migrants by precarity, in which precarity is understood both in terms of precarious lives and precarious work (Lewis et al., 2015; Strauss, 2018). For newly arrived migrants seeking to escape conflict or to leverage the effects of uneven and unequal global development on wages and

remittances, precarity is embedded in all aspects of their lives. It is a condition of labour related to neoliberal transformation and globalisation (Standing, 2021; McIlwaine, 2020). These labour market experiences are marked by flexible, deregulated, and exploitative conditions of work, made more precarious because of intersecting dimensions of oppression, and embodied in what is understood as a 'migrant division of labour', (Sassen, 2001; Wills et al., 2010; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019). It also relates at a wider level to Butler's conceptualisation of precarity as a condition of vulnerability, a "politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (Butler, 2009: 2). The experience of migrants in their countries of settlement, the intersections between everyday bordering practices, labour market segregation and socio-economic transformations brought about through neo liberalisation, produce, and reproduce conditions of precarity, which thus work to stratify the experience of social reproduction in various ways.

As a social group, the rights of 'migrants' – broadly speaking, "foreign nationals residing outside of their home country" (Ratzmann and Sahraoui, 2021: 440) – can be understood through an examination of two distinct, often competing policies – that of migration policy and social policy (Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019). Migration policy refers to how governments' laws, measures, and various regulations "select, administrate, control, and deport foreign citizens (Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019: 3). Through such policies, states can create different categories of migrants - European citizen, family migrant, Third Country Nationals, or asylum seekers, for instance. In creating these categories, different sets of rights, entitlements and forms of citizenship are assigned to people based on their migration status, producing what Lydia Morris termed 'civic stratification' (2006). By creating a hierarchy of legal statuses amongst migrants, various formal inclusions and exclusions are also created which determine access and entitlement to employment rights, residence, or social welfare, for instance. This process of assigning different sets of rights based on migration status can be understood as a form 'governance', a means of exercising control and surveillance to manage migration (Morris, 2006).

Paula Kilkey and Urzi's (2017) work with Tunisian and Romanian migrants working in greenhouses in Sicily brought together the two concepts of civic stratification (Morris, 2006)

and stratified social reproduction (Colen, 1995). Based on in-depth observational and interview data with Tunisian and Romanian migrants, who occupy different positions in Italy's migration regime as Third Country Nationals and new European citizens respectively, the authors examine the transnational resilience strategies developed by the two groups to overcome the social reproductive challenges encountered by virtue of their migration status and which incorporate the family, the market, the community, and the state. For instance, Romanian migrants, as new European citizens, were able to rely on state welfare such as unemployment and family benefits, while Tunisians, as irregular migrants, were limited by informal working conditions and a lack of access to welfare. Kilkey and Urzi's work (2017) makes clear the extent to which migrant status and the context of reception mediates the social reproductive capacities of migrants. Bonizzoni (2013) similarly drew upon the two concepts of civic stratification and stratified reproduction in her study on the process of family separation and reunification of Latin American immigrants in Italy. Although Bonizzoni highlighted the capacity of migrants to overcome institutional constraints through their local and transnational networks, she made clear the regulating impact that immigration policies and labour market segmentation have on the social reproductive capacities of migrant families.

The literature related to social policy, the welfare state and migration also offers important insights into how migrants' socio-economic positioning impacts on their ability to meet their daily and generational social reproduction needs. Social policy refers to the measures and laws that seek to facilitate social inclusion and the well-being of individuals in a society, through instruments such as the welfare state (Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019). Migration policy and access to social welfare and to social policy have long been used as a way to limit the rights of migrants in their settlement countries. Building on research that examined the stratifying effect of different types of legal statuses on migrant outcomes, Corrigan (2014) for instance, examined how entitlement to social services for migrant groups functions as a deterrent to country entry, given that such entitlement is conditional, based on legal status or employment status for example. Könönen (2018) meanwhile explored how the differences in social entitlements according to factors such as nationality, employment status or citizenship status creates hierarchies of access amongst different migrant categories. Research has also looked at how access to welfare is experienced amongst migrants who do

hold legally entitled rights and the significance of factors such as ethnicity, race, and nationality that work to materially limit these rights.

These studies have highlighted that despite being entitled, politically and legally, to the rights and resources of the settlement country, various barriers continue to determine the actual experience of access for migrant communities. For example, migrants may experience a poorer quality of service (once accessed) compared to national citizens (Hemker and Rink, 2017) or language discrimination and the ways in which the 'official language' of a country determines migrants' symbolic legitimacy to be in the country creates practical barriers to access support and resources (Holzinger, 2019). Meanwhile Dwyer et al., (2019) examined the ways in which the complexity of eligibility rules and awareness of entitlements structures and ultimately constrains access to services. It is clear, therefore, that as Ataç and Rosenberger (2019) argued, social policy functions as a tool of migration control.

The question of migrants' rights and access to the resources of social reproduction through services administered by the state is also part of a broader political, cultural, and ideological debate in many European countries. Much of this popular and political discourse is framed in terms of welfare chauvinism and 'deservingness' (Schneider and Ingram, 2005; Jeene et al., 2014), that is, whether migrants should be allowed access to welfare, which groups of migrants are more deserving of access compared to others, and the values and norms that underpin these beliefs. As Ratzmann and Sahraoui state (2021), the notion of 'deservingness' is implicitly concerned with questions of identity, belonging and citizenship, and the extent to which people and social groups are believed to 'belong' to a particular society. These are questions ultimately based on "ethno-cultural, temporal-territorial, welfareist, labourist and transnational logics" (Carmel and Sojka, 2020: 2).

The ways in which these ideas shape social policy, and the entitlements of migrants, can be understood through the concept of the 'internal border' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2019; Cassidy, 2018; Cassidy, 2019). The 'internal border' refers to the various ways that migration is governed and policed beyond the physical cross-national border. It is created and maintained through practices of 'everyday bordering' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018), defined as "the everyday construction of borders through ideology, cultural mediation, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and everyday forms of transnationalism" (Yuval-Davis, et al., 2018: 229).

The everyday bordering scholarship emerged in particular to the 'hostile environment' border policies of the U.K. government that have been in effect since 2014 (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). U.K. immigration policy has long been characterised by punitive, excessively complex, and restrictive policies; however, the hostile environment marked a particularly dramatic de-territorialisation of borders into everyday life (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021: 524). The practices of everyday bordering inherent to the hostile environment compel people to reveal their immigration status in order to secure access to various state administered services, such as housing, employment, healthcare, and education (Cassidy, 2018: 78) and incorporate the everyday citizen as an 'informal border guard' to monitor or check the status of others, whether this is the landlord, the teacher, or the employer (Cassidy, 2018; Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). These everyday citizens are able to decide whether to include or exclude different groups of people, discriminating who can and cannot access key services such as healthcare, housing, education, or who can find employment, and holding such citizens subject to criminalisation should they fail to monitor the border in this way. Everyday bordering practices thus produce not one but many political borders and boundaries. As Cassidy et al., "state borders need to be understood as both state boundaries and as symbolic social and cultural lines of inclusion and difference, material and imagined, physical and cultural" (2018).

In this way, processes of internal bordering contribute to pervasive discourses surrounding 'us' and 'them', discourses which intersect with ideas of belonging, deservingness, and conceptions of the worthy citizen. For the everyday bordering that is required of ordinary citizens requires individuals to make decisions that are often shaped by their own situated understanding of who belongs and who is worthy of accessing services (Cassidy, 2018; Walsh et al., 2021). Literature that has examined the provision of social services and migrants' access to these resources at the local 'street-level' (Lipsky, 1980) has examined how various factors, such as the relationship between administrator's personal value judgements, social, political, and cultural ideas of belonging and identity, as well as structural demands of welfare provision, such as high caseloads or limited resources, impact on migrants' material access to social welfare (Sales and Hek, 2004). The street-level bureaucracy literature, which focuses on the provision of essential services through "those agencies and governmental departments that directly deliver policy to people" (Brodkin, 2013: 18), is useful in this regard. One strand of this literature examines the administrative, institutional, and organisational constraints of policy

implementation, such as work pressures, performance measurement targets, and competitive tendering, largely between an "impersonal bureaucrat and the standardised claimant" (Ratzman and Sahroui, 2021: 443). Other parts of this literature have focused on the identities and value judgements of social policy administrators, particularly as it relates to the perceived deservingness of welfare claimants (Maynard-Moody and Musheno, 2003; Alpes and Spire, 2014). This explores the extent to which administrators' identities and their desire to protect "cultural homogeneity and socio-economic and political state interests" (Ratzmann and Sahraoui, 2021: 444) shapes their decision making and ultimately implementation of policy. Connecting the literature related to identity, belonging, and citizenship with the notion of everyday bordering practices, Ratzmann and Sahraoui (2021) meanwhile argue that access to social benefits and services for migrants is related to the concept of perceived deservingness and appropriate recipient. They suggest that the moral attitudes of street-level bureaucrats combine with their "complicit or subversive political role in policy-making" (Ratzmann and Sahraoui, 2021: 447) to structure the ways in which they do or do not grant access to social services to different categories of non-nationals. The notion of everyday bordering, and its practices of inclusion and exclusion, are useful tools for understanding how migrant rights are experienced and governed both as a legal entitlement and in practical effect. And as Yuval-Davis et al., make clear, these ideas, the "increasing incorporation of technologies of everyday bordering into UK immigration legislation" (2018: 229), have implications for all citizens. From an intersectional perspective, the literature on internal bordering makes clear the various social dimensions and divisions that structure these practices, evidently nationality and migration status, as well as that of class, gender, racialisation, and age (Ratzmann and Sahroui, 2021). This is such that even national citizens can be exposed to restrictions and patterns of exclusion, as has been evidenced in the illegal deportation of members of the Windrush generation (Cassidy, 2019).

The literature detailed above all offer crucial insights into how migrants social positioning as 'non-citizens' in their countries of settlement affects and determines their access to social reproduction services. These insights are useful for conceptualising the experience of Latin Americans in London, as a migrant community diverse in terms of citizenship status, as well as country of origin, language, class, and education background (Berg, 2017; Berg, 2019). For instance, more than half of the Latin American population in London have settled status,

including a third with British citizenship, one-fifth with European passports and 11% with permanent residency (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 7; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 23). Meanwhile, approximately 19% of Latin Americans have irregular status in the U.K. (McIlwaine et al., 2011). The range of citizenship statuses and the complexity of rights and entitlements that are accordingly granted have particular implications for how these different groups of Latin Americans access resources and services necessary for social reproduction, such as their welfare state, access to healthcare or access to employment. Most non-EU, Third Country nationals, for instance, are subject to immigration control and are largely restricted in their access to social benefits and services, such as job seekers' allowance, tax credits, or housing benefit, under the policy of 'no recourse to public funds' (Dwyer et al., 2019). Access to such resources is also subject to time limits, 'habitual residence' (often five years of continuous resident) or other conditions of authorisation. Entitlement to free NHS services is also not always available to migrants, depending on their immigration status, while an immigration health surcharge of £624 per year is applied to UK visas valid for longer than 6 months (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2022). In the context of Brexit new restrictions to entitlements are also being imposed on European citizen. Latin Americans with European passports, the majority of whom migrated onwards from another European country after the 2008 economic crash, constitute a growing proportion of the total Latin Americans in the U.K. and it remains to be seen what potentially new forms of precarity may emerge for this group in the Brexit era. Before the U.K. left the European union, European citizens had the right to live and work in the U.K. without any kind of visa, which meant they could access a range of welfare and employment benefits. They were entitled to free primary and secondary care if they had been in the UK for three months or less, and if they were residents beyond this time period, whether as jobseekers, full time students or economically active, they were similarly entitled (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015). Since Brexit came into effect, European citizens must now apply for pre-settled or settled status in order to access the welfare system as they had previously done, a process which is particularly challenging given the complex nature of legislation and protocol in the U.K., especially for non-English speakers (McIlwaine et al., 2011; Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Montañez, 2020). There is additional precarity for children and young people born in the U.K. to EU parents who have until their 18th birthday to register for UK citizenship before being at risk of becoming undocumented. The Brexit vote and its effect on the rights and status of communities living in

the U.K. can be understood with the framework of everyday bordering, "a major technology of control of diversity and discourses of diversity" (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018: 229) and an example of a shift in immigration legislation to policing the internal border, while embedding technologies of everyday bordering into more and more social institutions. Research with the Latin American community has consistently highlighted the various barriers to welfare and service access that the community faces, and which appear to emerge largely irrespective of migration status or actual legal entitlement (McIlwaine et al., 2011; Mas Girault and Granada, 2015; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Berg, 2017; Berg, 2019; Montañez, 2020). These barriers include language discrimination, challenges with employment and job market segregation, recognition of qualifications and a lack of awareness of entitlement to services (Carlisle, 2006) and can be understood in part against the background of the hostile environment in the U.K. and the practices of everyday bordering that are embedded in this environment (Cassidy 2018; Cassidy et al., 2018; Cassidy, 2019; Román-Velázquez and Retis, 2020; Griffiths and Yeo, 2021; Walsh et al., 2021). The stratification of rights that Latin Americans experience can be understood then within the context of what Bonizzoni described as "a kind of governance; both surveillance and control are gained through building these 'internal frontiers', which become increasingly strategic as the 'external ones – namely, border controls – tend to manifest weakness" (2013: 313).

The impact of labour market segregation on social reproduction capabilities

Theorisations of social reproduction have offered useful ways to conceptualise the social, economic, and political changes that have occurred under neoliberalism, and which have given way to a transformation in the organisation of socially reproductive activities at the local, national, and international level (Katz, 2001: 711; Bezanson, 2006: 175). In the context of the U.K., where this research is situated, such theorisations allow for an analysis of the increasingly privatised forms of social reproduction that have marked the country and the decreasing/withdrawal of support from the state in social welfare provision (for example, in social care, housing, healthcare, education), as well as the impact of weakened labour conditions and protections on people's capacity for social reproduction (Katz, 2001; Bezanson, 2006; Bakker, 2007; Kofman, 2014; Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a). As a global city, the

London labour market has been particularly marked by the changes in the new global economy and the dominance of neoliberal ideology. These changes have seen a shift from a manufacturing to a service-based economy, the increase in flexible and precarious working arrangements and the removal of social welfare and workplace protections. This shift has led to a disproportionate number of migrants, including Latin Americans in London, employed in particular forms of precarious work (Sassen, 2001; Datta et al., 2007; May et al., 2007; Kofman, 2014: 85; Stevano et al., 2021) For instance, although the Latin American community has high levels of employment in London, they find themselves largely segregated in insecure, unregulated, and low wage forms of work, often in the informal economy, in social reproductive sectors such as contract cleaning, catering, personal service and hospitality (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Berg, 2019; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019; Montanez, 2020). Latin Americans' job market segregation in low-wage, precarious forms of work, particularly in what can be clearly defined as paid social reproductive sectors, such as cleaning, catering, and hospitality (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016), structures their social reproductive capacities in significant ways. The following section shall examine the organisation of institutionalised social reproductive work, the predominance of migrant groups in such sectors, and the role of capital and states in developing mechanisms to sustain these migration and labour regimes.

Glenn's (1992) formulation of a 'racialised division of reproductive labour' had made clear the intersection of other social dimensions in the division of reproductive labour in both the formal and informal reproductive labour market, and how particular groups of people become segregated into forms of labour that hinder their social reproduction capabilities. In response however to the globalisation of reproductive labour that had emerged within the international political economy, subsequent authors extended Glenn's analysis, which was largely confined to the boundaries of the nation-state, in order to more fully assess the role that states and capital play in shaping and reinforcing the organisation of reproductive labour according to hierarchies of race, class, gender, ethnicity, and migration status. The contributions of scholars such as Truong (1996) and Parreñas (2001), for instance, challenged the male-centric and production focus of much migration research and in doing so, offered crucial insights into the links between global shifts of production, gendered ideologies, and the organisation of reproductive labour. In her case study of female migrant reproductive workers (FMRW) in

Japan, Truong (1996) used data on documented and undocumented migrant labour in Japan to explore the relationship between FMRW and the state and civil society. This looked at the formal and illegal recruitment mechanisms through which the Japanese state encouraged the import of foreign female labour in the agriculture and service sector from East and Southeast Asian countries, for example through the expansion of tourist, entertainer, and student visas as well as foreign brides (1996: 41). Truong identified the migration of these women as a globalised transfer of labour - the "dumping of unwanted work" (Truong, 1996: 47) – and argued that this work was both culturally devalued and without protection due to the lack of legal status of these workers.

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2000), in her study of migrant Filipina domestic workers, likewise situated contemporary labour migration within the context of globalisation. Drawing on Saskia Sassen's work on the feminisation of wage labour (2001) and expanding Glenn's 'racial division of reproductive labour' (1992), Parreñas pointed to the international division of reproductive labour in the global political economy that had emerged largely in response to the demand for low-wage service workers in industrialised countries. Drawing on open-ended interviews with 72 Filipina migrant workers on their lived experiences of domestic work in Rome and Los Angeles, Parreñas' research described the creation of a three-tier transfer of reproductive labour – an "international transfer of caretaking" (2000: 561) – between middle-class women in migrant receiving countries, migrant domestic workers and women in the global south who are unable to migrate. This transnational division of labour is shaped by both gender ideologies in sending and receiving countries as well as the demands of global capitalism, which requires the low-wage labour of women in service sectors such as domestic work as a means of maintaining the social reproductive needs of professional workers in industrialised countries and global cities (Sassen, 2001).

The insight of the literature on the international division of reproductive labour was to thus highlight the power of state practices and global structures in facilitating particular migration flows and in doing so, reproducing gendered labour patterns. For instance, the ability of the state to define migration regimes and migrant status, through such measures as actively recruiting migrant women to fill labour gaps (Truong, 1996) means that they are able to determine "the proportion and type of migrant labour needed to meet specific demands within the market" (Van Hear et al., 2012: 16). Meanwhile various migration policies and regulations

enacted to control access to work, such as denying full citizenship rights to migrant workers or limiting family migration, reinforce the segregation of migrants into particular sectors of work. Although macro-level factors such as economic insecurity and the effects of the uneven processes of globalisation certainly sustain these migration flows, as people seek to overcome challenges of unemployment or underemployment, by situating the rise of female migration within the context of an *international* division of reproductive labour, that is, the 'transnationalisation' of social reproduction, the relationship between mechanisms of governance, international migratory processes, and the organisation of reproductive labour at the local level is exposed.

The intersections of precarious work, labour exploitation and migration have been much discussed, whether focused on migrant's with limited citizenship rights, on migrant's experiences of precarious work within a specific employment sector (Alberti, 2014), or, as has recently been detailed in the literature related to Latin Americans in London, amongst migrant groups with a range of different rights, including those who have migrated onwards (Mas Giralt, 2017; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019: 602; McIlwaine, 2020). For Latin Americans in London, a group diverse in terms of its immigration and citizenship status, their well-documented polarisation in precarious forms of work in the informal economy (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2014; Berg, 2017; Berg, 2019) has particular implications for their social reproduction capacities (Datta et al., 2007). For instance, working in the informal economy or in informalised labour relations, such as in zero-hour contracts or gig economy work, means that workers have fewer, if any, labour and social protections from their employer, such as sick pay, redundancy pay, and pensions. In the case of Latin Americans in London, research has found that they tend to work fragmented and unsociable hours, with a third of workers combining more than one job to make ends meet, while almost 40% of workers have experienced workplace abuses, including having payments withheld (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 65-69). Research has also found that 11% of Latin American workers – 10 times the UK rate – earn below the statutory National Minimum Wage (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 65-69).

The extent to which Informality of work has intensified under the neoliberal era in both global south and north countries (Williams and Schneider, 2016; Mezzadri, 2019) highlights the need to look more closely at the variety of labour relations that are dominant under contemporary

capitalism. This is particularly so given that "[o]ne of the key characteristics of informal employment is the interpenetration between productive and reproductive dynamics, activities and realms" (Mezzadri, 2021). As Winders and Smith stated, "[S]ocial reproduction, in its material manifestations and conceptual formulations, is a profoundly spatial phenomenon" (2018: 872). Recent contributions within the field of feminist geography, for instance, in examining the impact of this intensification of neoliberal capitalism on everyday life (Mitchell et al., 2004) have argued that the expansion of precarious and flexible forms of work, to "just-in-time production" (Winders and Smith, 2008:879) and the rise of information and communication technologies is such that workers are constantly at work or available to work at all times "as a surplus worker for a global market dependent on flexibly mobilized cheap labour in multiple sites" (Winders and Smith, 2008: 880). The result is that the "domain of work and the domains of home and leisure are indistinguishable from each other" (Mitchell et al., 2004: 3).

As Winders and Smith (2018:275) note, "[B]ecause capital can access labor power episodically, flexibly, and globally, sustaining the domestic intergenerational reproduction of labor power, at least for certain types of workers – low-skilled workers of color, migrants, even portions of the white working class – has become a structurally unnecessary cost". With fewer protections against risks, the costs of social reproduction, which are neither the responsibility of the employer nor no longer provided for, to the same extent, by the state, must therefore be absorbed even further into the private sphere, whether through the activities of the household, the community, the market or the third sector (Katz, 2001; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007; Bakker and Silvey, 2008). Looking at the nature of labour relations that Latin Americans are engaged in, the significance of social reproduction theory as a tool for understanding the organisation of life under capitalism becomes even clearer.

Distinguishing between social reproduction and care

The 're-privatisation' of social reproduction (Fraser, 2016) or the commercialisation of care that has marked industrialised countries under neoliberalism, like the U.K., and the externalisation of its costs, have been conceptualised either as a 'crisis of social reproduction'

or a 'crisis of care'. In these theorisations (Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Ferguson, 2019), the concept of social reproduction is often used interchangeably with the concept of care. This is particularly so within analyses that position care as the driving force behind the significant and increasing amount of waged work that is found in reproductive labour services (Hester, 2018). Nancy Folbre (2006) for instance, in advocating for the use of the concept of care over social reproduction, has argued that social reproduction could conceivably cover all processes that meet the needs of individuals and families and that "it is difficult to think of any activities that do not indirectly fall under this general rubric" (2006: 186). In contrast, she argues that the concept of care offers a more focused remit within which to analyse the activities that sustain and maintain life and can include both direct care that involves emotional or face-to-face interaction, as well as indirect care or "support care" which provides the support for how direct care takes place (Folbre, 2006: 186-187). Examples of direct care put forward by Folbre are changing nappies or family day care, while indirect care would be preparing food, doing laundry, cleaning or a paid or unpaid family worker (2006: 188)

Undoubtedly, the work of social reproduction involves a lot of care, whether this is caring for children, caring for the elderly, cleaning, or working as a teacher, and in its both unpaid and paid forms, acts of care are what make it possible for life to be daily and generationally renewed. Moreover, the work of social reproduction is not performed solely to serve the interests of capitalism, nor is it generally forced upon people to perform (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, 2004); people are emotionally and psychologically motivated to carry out this socially necessary labour, work which is fundamentally "necessary for the sustenance of any society, whether capitalist or not" (Ansell, 2008: 808). The 'ethics of care' (Rosen, 2019) that is inherent to much of the work of social reproduction is indeed essential to the social and emotional wellbeing' of individuals and families. The term 'care' does therefore hold significance within discussions of social reproduction for a politics of mobilisation (Shah and Lerche, 2020: 722). Additionally, an emphasis on care in much of the social reproduction literature has provided important insights into the materialist and relational aspects of the care economy (for instance, the global care chain literature) and on the centrality of care work to the commodification of social reproduction (Kofman, 2012). By focusing on the international networks and social structures that propel and sustain care migration, such work had made clear how households as well as states and markets are integrated into the process of globalisation (Yeates, 2012:

142). In doing so, material connections are highlighted between people, welfare systems, and economic and political structures separated by nation-state borders and geographical distance. As Yeates suggests, "the analytical focus on global networks keeps sight of structural understandings of global power relations; the emphasis on social interactions between defined actors foregrounds human agency in the formation of care networks" (2012: 142).

However, whether care is defined as a relational activity involving moral, emotional and material care (Parreñas, 2001: 117) and "'nurturant' forms of work" (Agustin, 2003: 382) for those whose needs cannot be met by themselves, or, as Folbre suggests, conceptualised in terms of who benefits (2006: 186), it still remains situated within a broader spectrum of activities and sites that make up the work of social reproduction (Shah and Lerche, 2020: 722), all of which "make lives and make life worth living" (Rosen, 2019: 82). As Mezzadri argues, the notion of social reproduction is meant to encapsulate "both the reproduction of life and of capitalist relations at once" (2019: 37), that is "the institutions, processes and social relations associated with the creation and maintenance of communities—and upon which, ultimately, all production and exchange rests" (Bakker and Silvey, 2008: 2). It is concerned with institutions of domestic and care work but also its relationship to the labour relations and practices that are central to the reproduction of capitalist inequality. The concept of social reproduction thus captures all the concrete forms of labour that are necessary for the work of life (Rosen, 2019). Theorisations on social reproduction that fail to capture this aspect of social reproduction, run the risk of excluding other forms of social reproductive work, or pushing such work onto other, most often lower-status, individuals, and groups. For instance, social reproduction includes a variety of tasks that can undoubtedly be described as non-caring or non-relational, such as cleaning, cooking, or doing laundry, and this is particularly so when it takes place in a workplace setting (Yeates, 2012; Kofman, 2014). An emphasis on care that valorises the fulfilling and emotional activities of this labour thus risks allocating the "dirty work" of social reproduction, work which is largely organised along racial and class lines, onto particular groups of people, such as migrant and working-class women (Glenn, 1992; Colen, 1995; Rosen, 2019; Shah and Lerche, 2020). Moreover, other non-relational domestic work, such as gardening, or household maintenance, is increasingly being carried out by migrant men (Gallo and Scrinzi, 2016). Although the vast majority of the literature on migration and globalisation has focused on the feminisation of reproductive labour, recognising how men are implicated in the globalisation

of domestic labour offers important insights in how migrant families organise their social reproduction needs. Migration evidently produces significant transformations in the gender ideologies within families, as men and women accommodate new roles in order to maintain their household (Gallo and Scrinzi, 2016). One of the ways this is seen is in the increase in the numbers of men performing domestic work, a form of labour that has become an acceptable and often necessary option for migrant men in industrialised countries (Kilkey, 2010). Indeed, the transformation of domestic work into an "immigrant niche" (Moya, 2007: 574), in which ethnicity and migration status intersect with gender in determining who works in the domestic service sector, has also contributed to the masculinisation of domestic work. Manalansan (2006), in his case study of Filipina migrant workers in Israel, argues that the concept of reproductive labour, while pivotal in its centring of gender in analyses of globalisation and migration, tends to associate domestic work and the tasks associated with it, as exclusively feminine. In doing so it fails to interrogate the role of sexuality in the organisation of reproductive labour; Manalansan points to the increasing number of male migrants found performing paid care work, such as gay Filipino men working as nurses and unskilled domestic workers for the elderly in Israel (2006: 239). Looking at the cross-cultural and historical variations in the gender composition of domestic labour workers, it is also clear that male domestic workers are not necessarily a new phenomenon. In her historical study on domestic service in Southern and Northern Europe, Rafaella Sarti examines how domestic labour became one of the few legal routes for immigration for both men and women, with states actively offering visas and work permits for migrant workers in this sector (2006: 235). For example, in the late 1990s and early 2000s in Italy, between 20-31% of migrant domestic workers were men, with the government increasing the numbers of work permits for domestic work from 44% in 1992 to 69% in 2000 (2006: 234). Meanwhile Qayum and Ray (2010), in their study on male servants in Kolkata, point to data that shows that in 1991, 33% of the servant population were men (2010: 113), while Moya highlights that men made up the majority of domestic servants in South Africa until the 1930s, and accounted for 87% of the 80000 domestic servants in Zimbabwe into the 1960s (2007: 562).

Some authors warn against overdetermining the presence of men in reproductive labour, arguing that not only are they a minority when it comes to the paid and unpaid provision of reproductive labour, but that when they are found, it is often in non-nurturant or non-

emotional roles (Duffy, 2007; Parreñas, 2012). However, this assertion seems somewhat focused on the notion that social reproduction can only include work that is caring or 'nurturant'. Thus dismissing the albeit small presence of migrant men in traditionally nurturing jobs or suggesting that their employment in typically male areas of domestic work such as janitorial tasks or gardening, for example, cannot be included under the umbrella of reproductive labour, not only runs the risk of assigning certain work to women only, but also suggests that socially reproductive work can only be considered so if it involves care labour (Kilkey, 2010: 135; Gallo and Scrinzi, 2016: 12). Domestic labour such as garden and home maintenance are often performed in the home without pay yet are "activities that have been considered vital to social reproduction" (Kilkey, 2010: 135), allowing middle class households to maintain their class and lifestyle interests. That both historically and in the contemporary era, this work has been performed by migrant men (Kilkey, 2010: 138) emphasises the importance of other social dimensions in the organisation of reproductive labour. Incorporating men into analyses of reproductive labour thus enable a more in-depth interrogation of the relationship between migration, globalisation, and social reproduction and creates the space to recognise the various configurations of actors – including children – that carry out socially reproductive labour, both within the home and in a paid capacity and in ways which defy the assumed gendered division of this labour.

Social reproduction across borders: insights from the transnational literature

Much of the literature theorising the changes that have occurred in the organisation of social reproduction in the context of globalisation have focused their analysis on post-industrial countries, particular within north America and Europe. This has largely examined the ways in which global economic restructuring has re-privatised the work of social reproduction and the withdrawal of the state in the provision of social reproduction resources and services (Bakker, 2003). These analyses have been crucial to advancing critiques of global capitalism, particularly to the extent that "social reproductive contradictions of financialized capitalism" (Fraser, 2016: 99) are being played out through the lived experiences of people in ways that are "deeply gendered, classed, racialized, and militarized" (Strauss and Meehan, 2015: 3).

However, moving the geographical focus away from the global north to countries in which the state has traditionally had less of a role in social reproduction provision offers important insights. Doing so makes clear that the 're-privatisation' of social reproduction is not a uniform experience and highlights the complex and contradictory ways that 'crises of social reproduction' (Fraser, 2016) both manifest and are managed in different parts of the world. In Latin America for instance, although various forms of social protection have evolved, provision of welfare has historically been poor, ineffective, and offering only partial coverage (Molyneux, 2007). Rahel Kunz's study (2010) based in rural Mexico critiques the tendency to focus predominantly on the role of the state and specifically, on state withdrawal from welfare systems in industrialised countries. Drawing on in-depth interviews and participant observation between 2005 and 2008, Kunz suggests that looking at the changing forms (rather than withdrawal) of state involvement in social reproduction provides a more nuanced analysis of the manifestation of social reproduction crises in different contexts. In Mexico, for instance, social reproduction has predominantly been a private matter rather than the responsibility of the state; like the majority of Latin America, Mexico does not have a welfare system, with access to social services limited and half of the population relying on the informal sector for income (Kunz, 2010: 917). Lucy Ferguson's study (2010) on the impact of tourism development on social reproduction in Belize and Costa Rica likewise analyses the global restructuring of social reproduction from the perspective of countries within the global south, in countries where the state has not assumed responsibility for its provision.

Looking at the historical and geographical specificities that shape the provision and organisation of social reproduction in different regions of the world makes clear the need to examine the various ways in which migrant families *think of* organising their social reproduction needs, and the cultural and social references they may draw upon to do so. For instance, how do migrant families draw upon values and practices brought over from the home countries to achieve their social reproduction needs, and how are these practices sustained and practiced between multiple countries?

The transnational literature is particularly useful for answering these questions, as it captures the 'simultaneity' of migrants' lives and their embeddedness within multiple political, social, cultural, and economic networks that run between the home and host country (Glick Schiller et al., 1995: 48). This was a departure from the 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and

Schiller, 2002) of early migration studies that had conceptualised migration as a linear process between sending and receiving countries – a process of assimilation and acculturation. The 'transnational turn' in contrast and the concept of 'transnational social fields' (Vertovec, 2009), emphasised the social and economic networks and relationships that flow between people living across different geographical spaces, rather than the physical movement of people between different spaces (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Vertovec described those who live in transnational social fields as having acquired a "transnational habitus" (2009: 66-70). If habitus is understood as "unconscious, 'taken-for-granted', culturally conditioned patterns of thought and behaviour" (Gardner, 2012: 892), then the transnational habitus refers to the dual frame of reference of meanings, experiences and attitudes from the home country and host country from which migrants draw upon in their everyday experiences. Another way of thinking about life within a transnational social field is through Levitt and Glick Schiller's 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' (2004). The former captures the practices and social relations that allow migrants to identify with a certain cultural identity or ethnic group, such as making return trips to the 'homeland' or sending remittances (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 1010-1011; Vertovec, 2009). The latter refers to active decisions and practices that signify migrants belonging to a certain racial or cultural group; this could include enrolling children in language or cultural classes, or wearing religious symbols (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 1010-1011). The duality of migrants' lives, and the transnational practices and networks that they engage in shape their 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004) and thus the day-to-day lives of migrants (Vertovec, 1999; Portes, 2001). Both migrants and non-migrant family members can exist within transnational social spaces as the dense flow of people, ideas and practices that run between the home and host country are still influential in the day-to-day lives of individuals (Levitt and Jarworksy, 2007: 132). This back-and-forth flow of social remittances mean that even those who do not migrate can still influence social reproduction activities, such as religious and cultural practices or economic decisions. The 'simultaneity' of migrants' lives and the fluidity of the transnational social spaces they engage in also challenges the binary of here/there and the notion inherent to the methodological nationalism approach that any connection to the 'home' country ends after migration. In this way, transnationalism also goes beyond the underlying assertion within diaspora studies that suggests that migrants yearn for a homeland and as a result, don't ever feel at home in their new country.

Within the transnational literature, the concept of the transnational family (Baldassar et al., 2018; Bryceson, 2019) offers a useful way of thinking about how Latin American migrant families organise their social reproduction needs. The transnational family understands its members to "live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely "familyhood", even across national borders" (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 3). The concept of the transnational family was an important interjection into the migration discourse as it challenged the notion of families as bound within a shared geographical space, so disrupting conventional understandings of the family unit and how it is that families organise and sustain their social, physical, and emotional needs. It highlighted the ways in which the multiple cross-border social, political, and economic networks that are embedded within the transnational family, and the circulation of social remittances (ideas, norms, social capital, practices, and identities) that flow between these networks, are important components of migrant households' social reproduction which take on particular significance in the settlement country (Levitt, 2001; Kofman and Raghuram, 2015). On a material level for instance, transnational practices such as the sending of remittances enable households in the home country to maintain their social reproduction needs. As the costs of living, such as housing, food, and basic commodities, are often lower in sending countries, remittances enable families to access substantial material benefits as part of a middle-class lifestyle, such as private education, paid domestic help and better housing (Parreñas, 2001: 370; Parreñas, 2005: 19; Kofman and Raghuram, 2015: 92). This allows families and children in the origin country to gain a higher degree of economic stability and to secure better access to the resources required for social reproduction, not only for the current generation but for the next generation as well. Remittances have become an essential strategy of social reproduction in the migrant family, both at the individual level of the family as well as in a national sense, abdicating states of their responsibility to provide public services (Kofman and Raghuram, 2015: 92).

Transnational strategies also sustain the family, separated across borders, at a social, emotional, and cultural level, by actively constructing a sense of belonging and shared support between family members (Gardner, 2012: 894; McIlwaine, 2012; Gallo and Scrinzi, 2016: 205). Zontini and Reynolds (2007) for instance examined transnational practices, defined as multi-directional 'kin-keeping' practices, that operate within transnational family networks, which

included, telephone calls for advice or to check in, celebrations of cultural events or regular visits 'home' or buying property back 'home' (Zontini and Reynolds, 2007: 263). They identify these acts as 'cultural remittances', forms of 'caring about', which represent emotional attachments that are maintained with family abroad and which can sustain cultural connections to countries of origin. The emphasis in the transnational literature on family solidarity and the creation of family unity, achieved in part through the circulation of people, ideas, practices, and networks across borders, and which is recognised as crucial to transnational family life, thus involves more than the provision of 'hands on' care (Kilkey and Merla, 2014: 212). It involves what Baldassar et al. (2018) conceived of as transnational care, performed both virtually across borders, through communication technologies, and in a proximate sense, based on geographical co-presence. It can include the direct provision of the goods and resources required for social reproduction, such as physical care, as well as other types of involvement, such as the coordination and delegation of resources and support (Kilkey and Merla, 2013: 213). It also involves additional resources including mobility, for example the ability to travel to provide care for grandchildren, communication, and the knowledge to learn how to use communication technologies, sending items across borders, the ability to access a social network of support in both sending and receiving countries for emotional as well as financial and practical support, and finally financial support and appropriate housing.

The concept of global households (Douglass, 2006) also provides a useful framework for connecting the household to research on global migration, transnational families, and social reproduction. Global households differ from the 'family' with its emphasis on kin-relationships; it instead focuses on the various configurations of people that can be part of a household, for example, godparents, foster children, family friends, domestic workers (Douglass, 2006). It is understood as "a social institution that reproduces itself not only through the physical bearing of children through the generations, but also through daily practices of mutual support, including income-pooling and labor-sharing" (Douglass, 2006: 422). The global householding concept provides a framework for examining the globalisation of all the fundamental processes and networks involved in the daily and generational maintenance of households, such as marriage, raising children, caring for the elderly, migrant remittances, providing household income, etc. This can be through various strategies, including fostering and child adoption, paid labour of foreign domestic workers, or cross-country marriage. The framework of the global

household allows for an understanding of how, as a site, it is enmeshed within the broader socio-political and economic structures of society and thus subject to changes and transitions in the political order, for example, those brought about through the decline in the welfare state and the increased privatisation of social services essential to daily and generational reproduction. The global householding framework therefore adopts a longitudinal approach to the issue of social reproduction, moving away from reductionist analyses which see migration solely as economic necessity, instead examining the life cycles of households and the variety of actors at the macro and micro level that are implicated in the social reproduction of migrant households (Datta et al., 2007; Kofman, 2014: 84).

The two terms – transnational family and global householding – are both helpful in conceptualising how and through what means migrant families organise their social reproduction needs; indeed, they are powerful tools for analysing the global transfer of reproductive labour and its implications at each level. This research draws on the ideas of transnational family and transnational social fields capture in order to centre the social and emotional characteristics of social reproduction that are often missing in the discourse. Additionally, it utilises the insights of the global household framework to capture the variety of family members that are involved in social reproduction decisions and organisation as well as the embeddedness of households in "other scales of social organisation and political economic structures" (Meyer and Lobao, 2003: 161-162) and which structure the social reproduction practices of individuals and households. As Meyer and Lobao state, the household is "embedded in the local community, which is a site of state intervention, social interaction, and economic opportunities for household survival" (2003: 161). This is an important point as the focus in much of the transnational family literature is on family care (whether performed virtually or in a proximate sense), theorising transnational families as simply "people practicing care-giving in deterritorialised contexts" (Baldassar, 2008: 270). For instance, the global care chains literature (Hochschild, 2000) and the discourse on children 'left behind' (Parreñas, 2001) focuses on the variety of care-giving arrangements that are organised in the home country when a parent, often the mother, migrates. Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila's study (1997) on 'transnational motherhood' similarly examined the chains of care organised by Latina immigrant domestic workers living in Los Angeles and the transformations in mothering that take place when a woman migrates without her children. Meanwhile, Rhacel

Salazar Parreñas' (2001) research with Filipino transnational families living between Rome and Los Angeles examined the emotional impact between children and mothers who were 'mothering from a distance' and the transnational mechanisms of care they developed to cope with the separation of migration. However, as Kilkey and Merla suggest, the emphasis on the circulation of care runs the risk of 'hyper-transnationalism' (2014: 211) in which greater significance is granted to the 'transnational space', negating the role of local, national, and regional spaces within which the transnational family is produced and reproduced (Kilkey and Merla, 2014: 211). The organisation of resources required for social reproduction is, as has been discussed throughout this chapter, the result of relationships and practices forged between the home and external institutions, including the state and third sector. In her research on transnational caregiving, Loretta Baldassar (2008) for instance examined the micro and macro factors that influence transnational caregiving and the cultural notions of obligation concerning aged care that are constructed and negotiated within transnational families. Her analysis drew on a study comprised of 200 interviews with migrants and refugees living in Perth and their respective families in Afghanistan, Italy, and New Zealand. This looked at the provision of care for elderly family members amongst Afghan refugees, Italian professional migrants and New Zealand economic migrants living in Australia. Baldassar argued that transnational families engage in care giving that is local, transnational, multi-directional and involving multiple generations. However, a crucial part of her research was to emphasise the macro factors that influence transnational caregiving, which include access to state provision of welfare and care services, the migration policies determining settlement, as well as the meso factors, including the community and third sector organisations that support caregiving. Afghan refugees living in Perth for example, were restricted by the state in terms of their access to welfare and care services. However, there was a great sense of cultural obligation to provide transnational care, with gaps filled by extended community support. Similarly, the Italian participants in the study, who were part of a more recent professional cohort of migrants, felt a sense of obligation to aging parents and reported feeling guilty for their decision to settle in Australia. However, they had a limited network of resources in Australia to draw upon and had to reckon with minimal state support in Italy to care for their aging parents. Conversely, the participants from New Zealand took much more of an individualistic viewpoint, feeling less obligated to provide care for their aging parents, particularly in the context of the level of state support their parents were entitled to in New Zealand, and equally, their parents took the same

view. While recognising the manner in which ethnic identities and cultural norms inform the sense of obligation to care – amongst the Italian and Afghan participants, this obligation was felt much more acutely – what Baldassar's research points to is the significance of the institutional context in which transnational families operate and the power of states to ease or constrain the social reproductive capacities of families. Kilkey and Merla (2014) make this point more explicitly in their comparative analysis of Salvadorian migrants living in Belgium, and Polish migrants living in the U.K. Looking at the multi-generational and multi-directional care flows between the home and host countries, the authors focus on the institutional contexts within which resources necessary for care are provided or not, as well as the spaces through which these institutions are reconfigured. They defined and identified various institutional contexts in relation to migration and migration regimes that produce the resources necessary for care and caregiving. First, the exit/entry/residency rights conferred on individuals which influence the mobility of carers to cross borders. Second, the incorporation of migrants and family members into labour markets (and regulations related to forms of work contract, maximum working hours, holiday entitlements, etc.) and their access to welfare systems, particularly related to health, income, housing, and education. For instance, Polish migrants in the U.K. who moved from 2004 were granted residency rights and access to state resources as EU citizens, enabling them to achieve high levels of mobility as both givers and receivers of care (Kilkey and Merla, 2014: 222). Conversely, Salvadorian migrants living in Belgium, as a result of their status as irregular migrants, are denied access to institutional care, and found segregated in low-paid, time-demanding jobs in which they are likely to endure poorer employment conditions with less access to certain professions. The result is that it is more difficult for Salvadorian migrants to bring children and other caregivers to Belgium, they must endure limited mobility in terms of going back and forth between El Salvador and Belgium, and their position in the labour market means they are also limited in their time to care. Finally, family migration norms in sending societies as well as the host countries approach and ideology towards migrants, whether multicultural or assimilationist, also determine what resources are available for caregiving. Thus, by examining the intersection between care strategies of states, markets and individuals and migration regimes, the authors highlighted the extent to which migrant status determines access to and provision of the resources necessary for their social reproduction (Kilkey and Merla, 2014: 215). Incorporating an analysis of the institutional context within which transnational families are materially and culturally situated, such as the

impact of state policies and international regulations on family life, offers a way of critically analysing how migrant families organise their social reproductive needs both within the nation-state and across borders.

Conceptualising childhood

This thesis is situated within the field of Childhood Studies (James et al., 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Christensen and Prout, 2002; Wells, 2018; Wells, 2021), and as such, understands childhood not as a universal experience, but as constructed, shaped, and defined by the cultural, historical, and social contexts within which it exists. Concepts of childhood structure the expectations and attitudes towards children in any given social, cultural, and historical moment, that is, what children are allowed to do and what they are considered capable of doing. Childhood as a collective and institutional space is therefore the structural site that is occupied by "children" as a collectivity (James and James, 2004: 15). Children's lives, their experiences, opportunities, and identities, are both shaped and constrained by both local and global social, political, and cultural processes and which by virtue of their age, and its intersections with other social positions they may occupy including gender, race, class, disability, or migration status for instance, so work to make childhood an unequal space. However, in keeping with the Childhood Studies literature, children are not simply passive objects of these structures, but conscious social actors and agents, capable of resisting and reinventing concepts of childhood in the institutional and collective space within which they operate.

Although childhood is understood as a social construct, it does also seem evident that there are universal features to its construction. While of course both children and adults need and are sustained by the activities of social reproduction, children, particularly in early childhood, have similar physical and emotional needs based on their biological immaturity, the vulnerabilities of their bodies and their dependency on others for their basic needs, whether that's food, safety, or daily acts of physical care (Wells, 2021: 11). Of course, as children leave early childhood the extent of their dependencies on the adults around them becomes less acute as different ideas and attitudes, both socially and culturally, about who is considered a child or an adult, and at what age, begin to take shape. It would follow then that at some

point in the life course, children will inherently age out of being solely the objects of social reproductive labour as their ability to meet their daily and generational needs grows. However, the relationship of the child's body to its social world, the inherent inequalities of power that are produced as a result, and the significance of age to conceptualisations of childhood remains important; for instance, how a young child experiences the world is inevitably different to how a teenager does. Childhood, in particular early childhood, can therefore be viewed as both a biological category, a specific moment in the life course with shared common features, as well as a social construct that is determined by the social, cultural, and historical space within which it's situated.

Conceptualisations of childhood have also been understood through the concept of 'generationing' (Alanen and Mayall, 2001; Alanen, 2009), a term developed in an effort to rethink childhood and adulthood. Childhood, it is argued, is part of a wider generational order that is constituted by "a complex set of social processes through which people become (are constructed as) 'children' while other people become (are constructed as) 'adults'", (Alanen and Mayall, 2001: 20– 21). This approach argues that a generation, that is members of a specific age cohort, embody similar features as a result of shared social and historical experiences. In the context of childhood, 'generationing' refers to the practices that produce and differentiate the adult and child as distinct subjects. The 'generationing' framework advocates for age and generation to be considered social categories in the same way that gender, class, or ethnicity for example are recognised (Punch, 2020).

In line with critiques from theorists such as Oswell (2013: 79-81), I would argue that the notion of 'generationing' producing adults and children in ways comparable to how racism produces races, or sexism produces gender, falls short. 'Generation' is used to label a group of similarly aged people who are expected to share certain attitudes or beliefs by virtue of belonging to that same age cohort. However, membership within or alignment to a particular generational group can also be also based on other factors, such as the effects of social changes, economic circumstances or by shared identities in terms of race, class, gender, or disability. I would suggest it is limited to argue that the experiences shared by a 'generation', of people born around a similar time, are not similarly shared across age groups, or by groups of people constituted in some way, other than through age. The children and young people that took part in this study for instance were all of different ages and generations, yet in

varying ways their lives were shaped by the shared experiences of the 2008 financial crisis, of political and economic instability in their countries of origin, of Brexit, and of the Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, generation cannot be regarded as a fixed identity or social position in the same way as gender or race are considered so, primarily because children at some point will age of out childhood and become adults. I would argue therefore that using the term 'children' and focusing on childhoods instead leaves space for the diversity of thought, experience, and behaviour within and across generations. Consequently, in the case of this research, I use 'children' and 'young people' interchangeably to discuss groups of people aged between 13 and 25 years old. I do so because this research is situated within the Childhood Studies framework, which is defined in part by its preoccupation with children's agency. A central point of this thesis is thus to centre children's interests and experiences, to challenge conceptualisations of children as inherently dependent beings, and to foreground the ways in which they resist, reinvent, and shape the social world around them.

Children's social reproductive labour

One of the most significant contributions of feminist social reproduction theorists is to centre the labour of women, expanding traditional Marxist conceptualisations of production in order to encompass the various forms of 'invisible labour' that generate and sustain capital itself. However, such scholarship has, for the most part, been framed from the perspective of adults, and particularly women, side-lining the role and indeed agency of children and young people in production and social reproduction. The absence of children in the literature on social reproduction seems stark given that much of the work of social reproduction is concerned with children – the ways in which they are cared for and raised, whether their physical, emotional, and social needs are met, the processes of socialisation and the acquisition of shared knowledge, values, and practices, and their transformation into workers, whether during or after their childhood. Indeed, in much of the social reproduction discourse, children are positioned as the primary but largely passive recipients of the reproductive labour of a variety of actors, whether individuals, families, the state, or the market. However, as Ferguson (2017: 113) stated,

> [A]s present and future laborers, children also participate in the processes and institutions of social reproduction. To begin, they are the objects of the (feminized, gendered, and racialized) reproductive labour of others. But they are also agents of their own self-transformation into capitalist subjects - subjects, that is, who are able and willing to both sell their labor power for a wage, and who over time take increasing responsibility for their own social reproduction (and possibly that of other people, too).

In an effort to move away from the positioning of children as simply objects of a gendered, feminised and racialised social reproductive labour, a growing body of research has begun to examine social reproduction from the perspective of different life stages and to make visible children's roles as social actors in such relations (Katz, 2004; Abebe 2007; Ansell 2008; Ferguson 2017; Cairns 2018a; Crivello and Espinoza Revollo, 2018; Rosen and Newberry, 2018). In the same vein that social reproduction theorists challenged the gendered division of household labour as neither necessary nor natural, this literature has challenged the idealisation of childhoods (particularly in the West compared to other parts of the world) as one defined solely by play rather than work, and of children as simply passive dependents of the adults around them. This shift away from dominant conceptualisations of childhood has emphasised children's agency, revealing the previously 'invisible' aspects of children's day-to-day lives and in doing so, has brought attention to the intergenerational distribution of reproductive labour.

Much of this research has focused its attention on the global south, where work within children's geographies has documented the diversity of childhoods outside of Western contexts (Robson, 2004a; Robson, 2004b; Abebe 2007; Ansell, 2008; Abebe and Kjørholt, 2009). This research has explored children's participation in multiple reproductive and income-generating activities in both urban and rural contexts and the ways in which contemporary structural forces of globalisation and neoliberalism shape such childhoods, while making clear the embeddedness of this work within the social, economic, and political conditions of their everyday lives. For instance, research in Southern Ethiopia and northern Nigeria has highlighted the different productive and reproductive chores children engage in and the ways in which they work both independently and alongside adults in agricultural production, domestic reproduction, and trade (Robson, 2004a; Abebe, 2007; Abebe and

Kjørholt, 2009; Boyden, 2021). Some of this work is organised in highly gendered ways, with boys tending to support the manual aspects of farming and the production and selling of cash-crops, while girls more likely to be performing the daily tasks of the household and/or caring for the sick and the elderly. Meanwhile, research examining the AID's pandemic in countries within Africa has highlighted the complexities around the idea of children performing care (Becker, 2007; Robson, 2004b; Robson et al., 2006; Crivello and Espinoza Revollo, 2018: 143). This work has examined how, within AIDS affected families in Southern and Eastern Africa when adults and guardians become sick or die, children and young people become providers of care, taking on more responsibility for carrying out domestic activities, perhaps leaving school to do so (Robson, 2004b; Robson, 2006). This work has pointed to the complexities around the idea of children performing care, the motivations behind performing this caring role, and the positive and negative aspects that children experience from this work; some seeing it as a burden, while others seeing it as an opportunity to support the family. This research again made clear the relationship between processes of globalisation and children's everyday lives, and the important, yet invisible role, their reproductive labour plays within the global political economy (Robson, 2004b; Ansell, 2008). Research taking a life-course and intergenerational approach has also attended to the forms of 'invisible' work that children in the global south do, which includes care work but also various other activities and responsibilities, such as collecting water and wood, performing household chores, as well as working as domestic workers outside of the home (Camilletti et al., 2018: 5-6). With an analytical focus on children's well-being, this work has explored how these activities are framed as social responsibilities which structure the daily lives and expectations of children. These bodies of literature point to the gendered organisation of children's social reproductive labour in particular contexts, with girls identified as spending more hours per week on household chores compared to boys who were more likely to be found helping 'outside' the home in productive activities (Valenzuela, 1999; Robson, 2004a; Abebe, 2007; Camilletti et al., 2018), highlighting how gendered ideologies and practices are ascribed to boys and girls in ways similar or mirrored to the adults in their lives.

The migration studies and transnational literature have also referred to children's role in processes of social reproduction. For instance, the global care chains literature identifies the various forms of socially reproductive work that girls and young women engage in at the

'third tier' of the chain, such as caring for their younger siblings (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001). However, this work fails to substantiality interrogate what it means that the 'workers' in these care chains are not exclusively adults. Meanwhile, Orellana, Thorne, Chee, and Lam's study (2001) on Central American, Yemeni, South Korean, and Mexican families who migrate to the U.S. without their children also examines the role of children in processes of social reproduction. The study challenges children's positioning as solely "legal, economic and emotional dependents in need of adult care, labour and economic provisioning" (Orellana et al., 2001: 578) to reveal the forms of social reproductive work that children engage in to sustain the family when its members are separated across nation-state borders. For instance, in a similar vein to the global care chains discourse, it's examination of Mexican, Central American and Yemeni children 'left behind' after the migration of a parent points to the ways in which children become incorporated into the daily activities of the household, in the form of cooking, cleaning, caring for other children, the sick and elderly, or through their engagement in paid labour, for example in household street-vending projects (2001: 580-581). The study's discussion of the experience of 'parachute kids' from South Korea who migrate to live and study in the U.S. without their parents also makes an important point on how children act as a "deployable resource" (Orellana et al., 2001: 581) for a family's future social reproduction. These children are sent to study in the US with the goal of graduating from college and gaining work in a professional career, a project which potentially allows families to advance the social and economic mobility of future generations. Orellana et al. (2001) also examine the practice of 'sending children back home', a strategy employed by the Yemeni, Central American and Mexican parents in the study. Often, this child-rearing strategy acts as a threat and is used to discipline children that parents believe are in trouble or poorly behaving. However, it has also been analysed as a way in which transnational families sustain connections and relationships between the sending and receiving countries. The presence of children in these back-and-forth migration flows enables the formation of transnational networks and resources, which operate as part of migrant family's social reproduction strategies (Orellana et al., 2001: 583). In centring the child in analyses of migration decisions, Orellana, Thorne, Chee, and Lam highlight the creative ways that migrant families are formed and maintained across geographical borders, and the ways that children act as important actors in the social reproduction strategies of these families, whether as active participants in

the labours necessary to social reproduction, or as resources that ensure the generational reproduction of individuals and families.

Discussions of children's household labour in the global north have been somewhat more limited. Popular discourses with the global north frame childhood as a time for play, school, and socialising (Qvortrup, 2005; Wells, 2021), generating an idealised notion of childhood in which children are, for the most part, relegated to specific and controlled arenas – home, school, neighbourhood (Thorne, 1987: 100). However, such constructions of childhood ignore the reality that "the majority of the world's children are active coparticipants in the care, welfare and constructions of family life" (Crivello and Espinoza Revollo, 2018: 145). Research on 'young carers' for instance has highlighted that within countries of the global north (as well as the global south), there are significant numbers of children and young people taking on caring roles for family members (Becker, 2007). Meanwhile, Cairns' work (2018b) on food insecurity and maternal foodwork in the U.S. highlights the various ways young people act as "bearers of care" (2018b: 181) for the adults in the lives, offering emotional support to parents in times of food insecurity, for example by listening and offering words of support. There is also a growing body of research that has examined the labour of children in the global north within the context of migrant households. Drawing on work with Cantonese speaking, Chinese families in the U.K., Hall and Sham (2007) identify 'language brokering' (Tse, 1996) as forms of work carried out by children and young people that make a significant contribution to family life. Language brokering involves children and young people translating and interpreting for their parents or guardians that do not speak the language of the country they have settled in (Hall and Sham, 2007: 17). It involves more than simply relaying information between two different language speakers but mediating and decision-making for family members, the community, and peers (Tse, 1996; Hall and Sham, 2007; Crafter et al., 2009) in places such as the doctors, at schools, the welfare office, for instance. Orellana et al. (2003)'s work with Mexican immigrant families in the U.S. also pointed to the significance of children's language brokering and 'para-phrasing (2008: 8), and the ways in which such work enables households to access institutions necessary for their daily and generational reproduction. As is well established, without a minimal understanding or usage of the majority language in their countries of settlement, migrant households will experience various barriers to access that limit their full participation in society (Casey, 2016:

94; Berg, 2019; Montañez, 2020). The act of language brokering therefore becomes essential to how it is that families are able to secure the social, economic, legal, educational, and administrative aspects of day-to-day life.

Whether cleaning, caring, taking part in domestic activities, or language brokering, the social reproductive work performed by children and young people is often made invisible and as such relegated to a sphere of non-work. Yet if an expanded definition of work is employed to include "activities that may or may not generate income and that are economically significant in the here and now" (Morrow, 1995: 210) as well as in "the immediate future" (Hall and Sham, 2007: 17), it seems clear that children's everyday activities and contributions should be considered. These activities, such as language brokering, contribute to the administrative and social wellbeing of a family, as a routine daily task necessary to the running of the home, and not carried out for enjoyment or gain or as "some kind of simulation of adulthood" (Hall and Sham, 2007: 28). Moreover, this labour is clearly critical in terms of navigating access to services and resources, particularly for migrant households, both in the 'here and now', but also in ways which contribute to the longer-term future of the individual and the family. As such, examining social reproduction from the perspective of different life stages makes clear children's role in social reproduction and the significance of these everyday activities in the social reproduction strategies of families more broadly.

Children's labour in family work

The Childhood Studies literature, and its emphasis on children as 'beings' rather than 'becomings', was undoubtedly a crucial interjection into understandings of the child and conceptualisations of childhood. However, the framework has been critiqued for the emphasis it places on children's local environments (the home, the school, the neighbourhood) at the expense of a more macro analysis of childhoods and children's positioning within global capitalism (Ansell, 2009). This absence appears particularly evident when discussing children's productive labour. Whether through their involvement in informal or formal part-time employment, helping out their parents in their productive work, or working in a family business, children are making important contributions to their household economies. Again, research on children's productive work has mostly been within the global

south; for instance, Abebe and Kjørholt's study (2009) on the livelihoods of children and young people in the Gedeo ethnic community in southern Ethiopia, and Robson's research on rural communities of Northern Nigeria (2004), identifies the income-generating activities that children engage in, which includes working as farmhands or selling cash crops. This work has offered important contributions to the literature on Childhood Studies, highlighting the significance of cultural values in shaping how children are understood and valued within the family collective, the contribution that their productive and reproductive work makes to their household resources, as well as how such work is shaped within the context of environmental, political, and economic transformations. Meanwhile in the context of migration, Kunz's 2010 study in rural Mexico pointed to the forms of productive labour that children provide following the migration of one or more parent (Kunz, 2010: 925-930). As the amount of productive and reproductive work needed for the household to maintain its social reproduction increases (for instance as increasing numbers of children are left unsupervised) with the result that children, as well as the elderly, are increasingly incorporated as active providers of social reproduction services, acting as nannies, agricultural workers (feeding animals, preparing fields during harvest etc.), household workers (cooking and cleaning), and at times, 'protectors' of their mothers and negotiators between spouses (Kunz, 2010: 928-93). Magazine and Sánchez's research (2007) on the Mexican community of San Pedro, Tlalcuapan, also highlights the ways in which children are expected to contribute to the household economy, in ways that change over the course of their life as their capacities increase with age, with children from the age of two years old taking part in simple domestic task such as removing corn kernels from a cob or feeding small animals.

In the global north, a growing body of research is examining the different income-generating practices that children engage in, and which contribute to the social reproduction capacities of their families. For instance, Cairns' (2018b) work on food insecurity amongst young people in New Jersey identifies the "intergenerational ties of mutual support" (2018b: 181) that are established between children and parents in the context of precarity and economic constraint. In these conditions of economic scarcity, the research highlights different forms of work that young people engage in to feed themselves and support their mothers within the context of poverty; some getting jobs and giving some of their paycheck to their families, while others deciding to do the cooking to ease the burden of 'maternal foodwork'. It is clear

these practices, whether taking place unpaid in the home, or through direct productive employment, are significant for the social reproduction of young people and their families.

Examining processes of globalisation and neo liberalisation, Cindi Katz's work (2001; 2004) points to the associated inequalities these transformations have had on the material lives of children, a process she makes clear that children negotiate and respond to in varying ways. In order to examine the impact of global development on children's social, cultural, environmental, and political worlds and how this is negotiated in their everyday lives, Katz (2004) followed a group of children from ten years to early adulthood in Howa, Sudan, as well as working-class families in New York, U.S. in the 1980s and 1990s. In Howa, Katz identified work and play as critical components of children's social reproduction of themselves and the social and economic life of their village and illustrated how both work and play allowed children to make sense of the changing conditions of their social and economic worlds. For instance, when the relationship between work and play is disrupted by an agricultural project and the associated commodification of agricultural activities in the village, children's work time increased and so 'play' became increasingly separated from their everyday lives (Katz, 2004: 60-62). The effect of uneven global development on children's everyday lives is also emphasised in Katz discussion on New York. She points to the effects of neoliberal policies and urban disinvestment on children, particularly working-class children, growing up in New York since the 1970s. Katz argues that the transformations caused by the expansion of neoliberalism, in terms of cuts to public funding and state disinvestment, has been played out on children's bodies, homes and neighbourhoods; for instance, the decline in conditions of public schools, poorly maintained neighbourhood parks and playgrounds, and 'decaying' public spaces and housing conditions (Katz, 2004: 159). The decline in the geographies of children and childhood, specifically the environment of children's everyday lives such as schools, parks, playgrounds as well as the housing they live in, points to a disregard for the physical settings in which children live and to the impact on production and reproduction associated with globalisation. The privatisation of public space and the degradation in housing and social infrastructure in New York has left children, particularly in poor neighbourhoods, with a shrinking space within which to play (Katz, 2004). Capitalist production and the effects of globalisation have also had a huge environmental toll, the effect of which is particularly felt on children's bodies. For example, children and young

people are particularly vulnerable to the effects of pollution. Katz exploration of the relationship between global capitalism and social reproduction points to the effects of capitalist expansion on the development of children themselves, but also the strategies and practices that children adopt to reformulate and adapt to the conditions of their everyday lives and to manage their social reproductive needs.

Social networks, social reproduction, and the role of children

Within migration and transnational studies research, social networks have been analysed as important for understanding the nature of migration trajectories, the experiences of settlement, and the maintenance of relationships and connections with those back home (Ryan et al., 2008; Wells, 2011). For instance, existing social ties and networks may influence decisions regarding country of settlement, when to migrate and how, and can also facilitate settlement by providing valuable information and support, or access to employment, housing, or education. The significance of social networks for migrants has been conceptualised then in terms of the resources, knowledge, and benefits – what has been described as social capital – that are made available through the different relationships embodied within relationships and ties between people. The concept of social capital is largely derived from the work of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990) and Putnam (2000). Putnam (2000) defined social capital as the relationships and networks between individuals and groups based on "associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" (Putnam, 2007: 137) that enable access to resources and accumulation of capital. Coleman (1990) conceived of social capital as generated in the family and through community relations through the creation of mutually beneficial relationships and based on a normative expectation of mutual obligation and reciprocity for its members. For Bourdieu (1986), social capital is generated through mutually beneficial relationships and norms of reciprocity found in networks of family, community relations and through which individuals acquire resources, benefits, and advantages. Such social ties are most effective when they allow access to networks with more resources and knowledge and are acquired through ties formed in relation to social identities such as ethnicity, class, or gender, or through shared values, trust and solidarity amongst different groups and communities (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2007).

The emphasis within social capital conceptualisations on its acquisition through familial and local community networks brings into question how it is that migrants, particularly newly arrived migrants, are able to gain access to these networks and the support that it theoretically offers. Putnam, for example, argues that social capital is strongest in neighbourhoods and geographical spaces, and as such there is a decline in social capital and social bonds when people migrate. Social capital, he argues, "is negatively correlated with immigration" (Putnam, 2007: 156), while Coleman suggests that 'individual mobility' is not conducive to social capital for migrant families and those communities 'left behind' (Coleman, 1990: 320). The implication of this more conservative understanding of social capital is that migrants would experience distrust and exclusion as newcomers to established communities and neighbourhoods and consequently struggle to draw upon any social capital within such networks. However, such an approach, and the assumptions inherent to it, fails to account for the complex ways in which migrants generate and mobilise social capital through a variety of dynamic networks. Moreover, it draws on a conceptualisation of social capital that is too often conflated with social networks. However, distinguishing between the different types of support and resources that networks themselves provide can mitigate the tendency to conflate the two terms. Here, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital is more useful, as it recognises that it is economic capital which is in fact "at the root of all the other types of capital [including social and cultural capital" (1998: 54). It is thus through social networks that people are able to secure access to other forms of capital, whether cultural (such as language skills, educational skills, professional qualifications) as well as economic capital.

Looking to the transnational studies literature makes clear the various forms of social capital made available to migrants by virtue of their embeddedness within multiple, cross-border political, social, cultural, and economic networks (Portes, 2001; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 3). Challenging an understanding of social capital that suggests that reciprocal relationships break down during migration processes or that relationships of trust are largely formed within local, confined areas, the transnational literature emphasises instead the ways in which migrants accumulate and transform capital through similarly formed networks of trust and reciprocity that span neighbourhoods and indeed borders (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Levitt, 2001; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Evergeti and Zontini, 2006). Whether securing the

economic capital to be able to migrate in the first place or acquiring the cultural capital in the form of knowledge and skills needed to access resources in the settlement country, migration requires the accumulation and use of capital at all stages.

Analyses of social capital generation within migrant communities often focus on migrants' 'bonding' capital, and the ways in which they may use shared bonds of ethnicity or nationality to access existing social networks or form new social networks on arrival in the settlement country. Ethnicity in this sense denotes various shared, though subject to change, socio-cultural factors, such as "shared histories, memories, myths, customs, sentiments, and values" (Goulbourne and Solomos, 2003: 330). These types of networks based on "bonding ties to people that are like me in some important way" (Putnam, 2007: 143) are theorised as important to migrants' settlement, for example, by providing information on how and where to access services and resources, guidance on how cultural systems work, as well as the emotional support needed to navigate life in a new country (Wierzbicki, 2004). However, there are limitations to an approach that emphasises migrants' ethnic based bonding capital as it ignores the capacity of migrant groups to develop bridging ties to people who are "unlike me in some important way" (Putnam, 2007: 143). In the first instance, it cannot be assumed that migrants automatically find and gain access to ethnically specific networks on arrival to the settlement country; as Ryan et al's (2008) research highlighted, the ability and skills needed to access networks or establish ties in the host country varies between individuals and is dependent on the different abilities and resources of the individual that cut across factors such as ethnicity, class, and gender. Secondly, the ability of migrants to mobilise different forms of capital is also impacted by their emplacement within a socially stratified system of reproduction, particularly in relation to their migration status and the associated rights and entitlements granted to them. Lastly, networks formed on the basis of ethnicity may also lead to the development of negative social capital; if these networks themselves have limited capital within it, the groups' ability to source useful information, resources and opportunities is therefore also constrained (Portes, 2001). Assuming that migrants derive social capital largely from ethnic networks and in ways that fulfils all their practical and emotional needs thus both overestimates the availability of these networks and assumes a monolithic composition of one ethnic group. There is a need to look more closely at the type of networks that migrants may be embedded within and to differentiate between

the different levels of support and resources that are provided within each. For instance, Granovetter (1973) emphasised the strengths of forming 'weak ties' in multiple social networks and the ways in which this could broaden the range of support and information available to its members. Schaefer et al. (in Ryan et al., 2008) make the distinction between emotional support offered by friends and family living locally versus elsewhere, informational support, such as advice on neighbourhoods to live in, how to find a school, how to register with a GP etc., and instrumental support, such as finding employment.

The transnational literature has pointed to the various forms of capital that migrants are able to obtain and draw upon through both kin and non-kin networks, and through local, national, and international networks. These networks are not bounded by localised areas but instead spatially dispersed; however, they operate on the same principles of solidarity and trust and are adaptive and able to react to the circumstances of its members (Levitt, 2001). Although close geographical connections are important for types of capital and social support, transnational networks can nevertheless secure the support for immediate needs, such as childcare, even if it requires the temporary relocation of individuals (Fog-Olwig, 1999; Parreñas, 2001; Zeitlin, 2012). The significance of transnational networks and relationships to social capital is then this ability to shift and adapt, to sit alongside those networks established after arrival in the country of settlement, so as to ensure both the daily needs of the family are met, but also that family ties and ways of life are sustained across generations and distances. Social capital is therefore not so much lost as transformed during migration.

Analysing the social networks, and the forms of capital resourced through them, is useful for understanding the complexity of factors that shape migrants' access to resources necessary for social reproduction. The social reproduction literature has made clear the various strategies and spaces through which individuals and households organise life's work, whether through the labours of household members, the provision of public services, the market, or through those resources found through a variety of social networks (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Glenn, 1992; Katz, 2001; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007; Fraser, 2016) – the "array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally" (Glenn, 1992: 1). Capital is reliant on these networks and on the activities and interactions with them which "produce and maintain social bonds, although it accords them no monetized value and treats them as if they were free" (Fraser, 2016: 101).

Doing the work of social reproduction relies then on the resources and capital (economic, social, and cultural) generated through social networks. In the process of performing life's work, it is these resources that are mobilised, and will also inevitably become depleted (Rai, Hoskyns, and Thomas, 2014), particularly for those whose access to the resources of social reproduction are unequally stratified according to structural inequalities of class, gender, race, ethnicity, migration status, as well as job market stratification (Colen, 1995). Evidently it is poorer families, rather than those who can easily turn to the market, that must rely, to a greater extent, on the forms of support and resources found within social networks and through the state (Greene and Morvant-Roux, 2020: 1500).

The ways in which individuals and households secure the resources necessary for social reproduction require a range of strategies which "intersect in various and multiple ways as a result of internal and external household circumstances, geography and wider economic conditions" (Datta et al., 2007: 406). These strategies involve the incorporation and mobilisation of various members of the household, including children and young people, as well as the creation and maintenance of social networks and the forms of capital drawn from them. Although the concept of social networks and social capital have been widely used in migration studies to understand various aspects of the migration process and its outcomes, such work largely examines the experiences of adult migrants, the ways in which they mobilise social capital on arrival, and the networks they draw upon throughout their migration trajectories. Yet children are similarly involved in processes of social capital formation and accumulation and can generate their own social capital throughout their migration journeys (Holland et al., 2007). A growing body of research has examined the social networks of children and young people, and the practices they engage in when generating capital. This has often focused on children's social capital and the concept of social networks as a social, material, and cultural resource in respect of youth transitions into school and adulthood, as well as identity construction (Holland et al., 2007). It has also discussed the role that children's bridging and bonding capital plays in supporting their transition and integration into the school, the significance of children's access to either strong and weak ties and how these networks support or facilitate these processes of integration (Reynolds, 2006; Wells, 2011). However, there has been little discussion as to how the social networks of migrant children and young people also act as resources through which the family more

broadly is enabled to seek out opportunities and access the resources necessary for both daily and generational social reproduction. Significantly, less attention has been paid to children's agency in these processes, the ways in which they seek out and sustain social networks, and the value they gain from doing so. In situations of precarity, social reproduction needs are met through various ways, including the state, waged labour, and the household. As made clear, all members, including children and young people, are implicated in this work. Focusing on children and making visible the different activities, forms of work and practices they engage in, reveals therefore the other mechanisms through which social reproduction is organised and sustained.

The research questions

Existing research on social reproduction in relation to migration often examines the management of social reproduction back in the 'home' country (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Parreñas, 2005; Castañeda and Buck, 2011; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011), or on the international divisions of labour that emerge in response to the 'crises of social reproduction' (Fraser, 2016) being felt across the globe (Truong, 1996; Lan, 2008; Fog-Olwig, 2012; Yeates, 2012; Kim and Kilkey, 2017). This thesis builds on this research by analysing the social reproductive experiences of migrants in their settlement country and the various local, national, and transnational spaces through which their social reproduction needs are organised and accomplished. It examines the role of the state in the organisation of social reproduction, particularly in the context of the U.K. and analyses the extent to which migrants' segregation in various forms of paid social reproductive labour structures their social reproductive capacities, and the role of capital and the state in sustaining and driving these migration and labour regimes.

The first question of this research study is, therefore, what are the social reproductive strategies and practices of Latin American families in London, and to what extent do hierarchies of class, race, gender, and migration status, constrain their social reproduction opportunities? By looking to how migrant families navigate their social reproduction needs in their countries of settlement, attention is focused on the relationship between the state and the migrant

household and the ways in which restrictions to entitlements experienced by migrant communities can be understood as deliberate, a tool of migration policy that seeks to embed borders into the lives of every citizen. This question is therefore also concerned with how successive UK governments' ideologically driven withdrawal from the provision of social reproduction has been felt by migrant communities, who by virtue of their social, economic, and political positioning, are particularly constrained in their access to crucial social reproduction resources, such as the welfare state.

Neoliberalism's reliance on low wage, precarious labour, often filled by migrant workers has particular implications for how such families and households manage their own social reproductive needs, with the existing literature detailing in depth both the extent to which women end up increasing their labour to meet these needs, and the ways in which gaps in provision of such labour remain by virtue of the limited time, energy, and access to resources such workers experience. However, a gap remains in understanding how the demands of neoliberalism compel other actors to engage in this social reproductive work, such as children and young people. To address this gap in knowledge, this research therefore also centres the perspectives of children and young people within the social reproduction discourse in order to answer the question – in what ways and to what extent do children and young people contribute to the work of social reproduction within migrant families?

The next chapter details the methodological and epistemological approach that was employed to answer these research questions, and the methods used throughout the research process.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

How to research the social reproductive lives of Latin American children and their families

This research is concerned with the social reproductive practices and experiences of Latin American migrant families in London and how it is that they maintain and meet their daily and generational social, physical, and emotional needs. It focuses on the role of children and young people in these processes, and the strategies and practices they develop to manage their own as well as their family's needs. This research involved fieldwork carried out in London between September 2019 and February 2021. It seeks to connect two levels of social reproduction – the extent to which political economy shapes the social reproduction possibilities of Latin American families as well as the ways in which children contribute to, and shape, the possibilities of social reproduction. Political economy, the study of the relationship between social relations and the economic system of production, can be understood to be concerned with how to "advance analyses of progressive social change" (Wallace and Vosko 2003: xii) particularly in relation to social and economic justice. Essential to a comprehensive political economy is to value and theorise the "mutual interdependence of economics, politics, racialization, sexuality, and gender" (Luxton, 2006: 13), although the extent to which these values are taken up in practice has historically been limited (Luxton, 2006). Taking this into account, in the context of this research then, there are four important questions to consider: What are the social structures and institutions that shape the lives of Latin American families in London and their ability to access the resources necessary for social reproduction? How do Latin American children and young people interact with these structures in their day-to-day lives? What social and cultural resources do Latin American families engage in which contribute to the social reproduction of their family? What transnational practices, strategies and networks do Latin American families engage in and draw upon that enable them to meet their social reproduction needs?

The study of the day-to-day lives of Latin Americans in London, and on the inner worlds of Latin American children, took place during an unprecedented crisis in the Covid-19 pandemic, which presented a number of important methodological considerations that will be explored in this

chapter. For instance, what are the best practices for carrying out research with children and young people, particularly when the public spaces to speak to them are closed? How to build connections and trust, and so access a community, as an 'outsider'? How to adapt to challenges presented by the Covid-19 pandemic which has completely disrupted the everyday and narrowed our social words? And what impact does the closure of borders, almost worldwide, have on social reproduction within transnational families?

This chapter will first discuss the research philosophy underpinning this study, that of critical social theory and the New Social Studies of Childhood. It will then outline how these approaches informed my choice of research methods and design. Given the nature of the research questions, and the need to examine and interpret people's everyday experiences, I relied on several data collection methods in this study, including interviews, longitudinal fieldwork, and observations. The chapter will also outline the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly the disruption it caused to my original data collection methods which meant that nearly all of my interviews were conducted remotely and plans to travel to Spain and Latin America to speak with family members were suspended. One outcome of the pandemic, and the local restrictions imposed on myself and participants, was that although efforts were made to conduct fieldwork remotely with participants in Spain and Latin America, through WhatsApp and Zoom calls for instance, my fieldwork and the site of my study became concentrated in London, and specifically in Lambeth and Southwark. The implications of this shift away from multiple sites of fieldwork across multiple countries, and the subsequent focus on the national context within which Latin American migrant families organise their social reproduction needs, its impact on understanding the 'transnational' aspect of Latin American family life in London, and the move to 'distance' methods will therefore also be discussed in depth.

Critical social theory and the New Social Studies of Childhood

This research draws on the epistemological perspectives of critical social theory (CST) and the New Social Studies of Childhood (NSSC) as the basis for exploring the social reproduction experiences of migrant families. CST starts from the position that social reality is inscribed by historically specific systems of oppression which structure our social interactions in ways that

are, for example, classed, gendered and racialised (Leonardo, 2004). These oppressive systems are taken as "natural and immutable" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 110) for they generate knowledge that becomes embedded in everyday life and have a material impact on peoples lived realities (Leonardo, 2004: 12). As detailed in the literature review, social reproduction is organised and achieved through a configuration of actors – the family, state, market and third sector (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Katz, 2001; Luxton and Bezanson, 2006; Bakker, 2007) – but access to the resources and institutions required for social reproduction remain structured according to hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender, and migration status (Glenn, 1992; Colen, 1995; Truong, 1996; Parreñas, 2000). By utilising a critical social theory approach, it is possible to reflect on the relationship between social, economic, and political systems, inequalities of power, and the everyday practices of social reproduction, that structure daily life (Freeman and Vaconcelos, 2010: 9) in such a way as to critique the power relationships and inequalities that indeed define access to the resources of social reproduction (Bhavnani, Chua and Collins, 2014: 166). Identifying the hidden assumptions, discourses and unchallenged practices that sustain suffering and "restrict human flourishing" (Sayer, 2009: 775) is at the heart of CST, meaning that what is problematic in life can be interrogated in order to achieve a better understanding of the social world. Taking the perspective of critical social theorists that value-free knowledge therefore cannot exist, as power and positionality construct the production of knowledge, this research therefore examines the social, economic, and political structures and inequalities of power that shape the lives of Latin American families in London. Such a position foregrounds the subjective experience of individuals in its analysis, while situating these experiences within historically constituted social, political, and cultural relations of power.

This research also draws upon the methodological approaches that underpin New Social Studies of Childhood (NSSC) and children's geographies. The NSCC claimed an epistemological break from previous sociological and psychological studies on children and the frameworks of socialisation and development theory that dominated such disciplines (Thorne, 1987; Christensen and Prout, 2002). While such fields considered children as peripheral to sociological study or focused their attention on children's futures, considering them as no more than 'adults-in-waiting', the NSSC argued instead that the child should be viewed as 'being'. It understood the child therefore "as a person, a status, a course of action, a set of needs, rights

or differences and as active participants in the ideological and social construction of childhood" (James et al., 1998: 207). The NSSC thus recognised the child as a social actor in their own right and argued that childhood should not be considered universal or natural, but in fact a socially constructed concept. This was an important interjection and opened the way for children to be granted the status of participants in the construction of their social worlds, and so capable of reporting on and interpreting their own experiences (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). It also led to an interest and increased focus on children's geographies, with emphasis placed on the spatiality of childhood and the diversity of childhood experiences (James et al, 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Christensen and Prout, 2002). This geographical turn in the study of childhood led to an extensive exploration of children's understanding of place and space, their relationship to their local environments, and the ways in which their age constructs their access to and experience of place and space. Children's geographies, inspired by the work of the NSSC, thus focused its attention on children's everyday lives and the spaces which make this up, such as the family, the neighbourhood, or the school (James et al., 1998; Besten, 2008).

The NSCC thus reconceptualised the place of the child in sociological research, making clear the need to explore the diversity of their experiences as well as, crucially, to examine the ways in which childhood itself is socially constructed. As James et al., (1998:6) state, "children are social actors shaping as well as shaped by their circumstances". However, the epistemological focus of the NSCC on either the diversity of children's experiences across the world and their position within different nation-states, or on children's everyday spaces and their relationships to their local neighbourhood, school, home etc., also meant that connections between these two spheres – the local and the global – were missed. The result is that less attention has been paid to the broader structural and social processes through which children's lives are shaped (Ansell, 2008). As Holloway and Valentine state, "the global in these analyses tends to be conflated with the universal and the local with particularity" (2000: 767). To overcome this separation, scholars such as Massey suggested using a progressive understanding of place (Massey, 1993), that is, to recognise the ways in which the global and the local are intimately bound together, shaped by mutually constituting sets of practices. Global processes thus operate in local areas, so shaping that area, while local social relations and cultures are formed in interaction with global influences. This research therefore follows the NSSC, viewing children as subjects able to report on and interpret their own experiences of the world around them,

so centring their experiences in this research (Christensen and Prout, 2002: 480). However, it is also concerned with the broader social, economic, and political forces of globalisation that shape the lives and childhoods of Latin American young people in London and how they in turn perceive and respond to these processes in their everyday lives. The theoretical insights of the NSSC, taken alongside a progressive sense of place as advocated by Massey (1993), therefore provide a means of examining children's local worlds whilst recognising the influence of global processes on these spaces.

In thinking of the specific ways of conducting research with children, the use of participatory methodologies has often been advocated (Morrow and Richards, 1996; Cousins and Milner, 2007: 448). Such methodologies are useful as they can, to varying degrees, democratise the research process between adult researcher and child participant by involving children in different stages, from the choice of research topic to the collection of data to the interpretation and analysis and finally in the writing up of the research. However, as has often been the case with research done on children, participatory methodologies have tended to focus on the impact of local practices and events on children's material lives, often on the basis that children, particularly in western societies, live spatially confined lives, within the home, school, or playground, for example. In line with the insights of critical social theory, I suggest that this micro-scale approach to examining children's everyday lives offers a limited analysis of the broader political-economic and social-cultural processes that shape the lives of children, such as economic globalisation and the expansion of neoliberal policies, and so fails to adequately theorise the ways in which global processes intersect with local lives (Ansell, 2009). Moreover, the aim of participatory methodologies to democratise the research process through full collaboration between researcher and participant fails to account for the inherent power inequalities between adults and children and the varied social competencies of children (Mauthner, 1997; Punch, 2002b). It suggests that children and young people have acquired the critical skills and knowledge required for research analysis in their everyday lives (Morrow and Richards, 1996: 98-99).

Qualitative research methods, as informed by these two philosophical approaches, were thus chosen as the most appropriate research method for the aims of this project. Qualitative research is an inductivist strategy which privileges understanding the social meanings that people ascribe to their social and material circumstances, and the events, situations, and

activities in their lives (Ritchie et al, 2014). It involves a reflexive and interpretive approach, one that is interested in building complex, thick descriptions of people's social worlds (Leavy, 2014: 2). Qualitative research offers a means of critiquing the power relations inherent to the organisation of social reproduction, while focusing attention on the subjective accounts of children and young people's everyday lives. Qualitative research on the family also explores the meanings that family members attribute to their lived experiences, providing insights into the practices, beliefs and values that shape family relationships and interactions within the private sphere of the home (Gibson, 2012: 148; Ganong and Coleman, 2014: 454). When working with migrant and multilingual/multicultural communities qualitative research is also flexible, and importantly, when conducted in a culturally competent way, it can represent, involve and benefit understudied populations (Lu and Gatua, 2014).

The following section outlines my data collection approach and provides an overview of the methods used.

Research site

My research took place in London over a year and a half, from September 2019 to February 2021. A mix of methods was used for data collection, which included in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant and non-participant observations and the use of secondary data. London was chosen as the primary site of the study as the area of the UK with the largest population of Latin Americans. Latin Americans are a strong and established community in the capital, with the first flows of migration from Latin America arriving from the 1970s onwards, often as political refugees from Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. Onward migration from other European countries, following the global economic crash in 2008, led to increasing numbers of Latin Americans migrating to the U.K., many with European passports. The largest scale study available of the Latin American population in the U.K. found Latin Americans in the UK to total 247,378, of which approximately 142,721 (60%) are resident in London (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 8). Historical connections have meant that Latin Americans in London tend to be concentrated in particular boroughs; 10.3% of the total population live in Lambeth, followed by Southwark (8.9%) and then Brent and Barnet (9.4% combined)

(McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 71). Focusing on Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in London, again, Lambeth and Southwark feature prominently; 26% of the total Colombians in London, 25% of Ecuadorians, 63% of Bolivians and 33% of Peruvians (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 33). Latin Americans who moved to London from another European country (known as Onward Latin Americans – OLAs) also largely reside in Lambeth (21%) and Southwark (27%), followed by boroughs outside of south London, including Haringey (8%), Newham (4.5%) and Brent (4%) (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 33). OLAs who migrated from 2000 onwards in fact make up the majority of Latin Americans in London (68%) (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 22), with 40% of the current Latin American population arriving after 2006 (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 22), a pattern linked to onward migration following the global economic recession (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 40-41). Of these OLAs, approximately 82.5% entered the UK with EU passports, with Spain overwhelmingly being the previous country of residence (80%) (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 40-43). In terms of the nationality of OLAs, again, Colombians (47%), Ecuadorians (30%), Peruvians (36%) and Bolivians (61%) are the largest groups in Lambeth and Southwark (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 34).[3]

The population concentrations of Latin Americans in London, particularly of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans, led me to focus on the boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark as the starting point for recruitment of participants.

Participant criteria

There were two groups of people interviewed for this study – Spanish-speaking Latin American participants and professional stakeholders. The criteria for the first group of participants were 'Latin American families' and within that group, Latin American children (13

[3] The data detailed above was gathered from the 2011 Census, the Annual Population Survey, and other data sets (second generation figures, Latin American National Insurance Number registrations from 2012-2013, Latin Americans with EU passports from 2012-2013, irregular migrants from 2012-2013). However, this figure underrepresents various groups: Latin Americans with non-European passports, irregular Latin American migrants, second-generation Latin Americans, those living in precarious housing or labour and those with limited English (McIlwaine et al., 2011:16-18; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 5). Moreover, they do not incorporate Latin American population increases or decreases between 2016 and now, nor the most recent 2021 Census, which did not collect specific 'ethnicity' data on the Latin American population in London.

years and above) and Latin American adults. This thesis recognises that the term 'Latin American', used throughout this thesis, does not wholly reflect the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity of the countries that make up Latin America, and is similarly problematic in terms of its colonial heritage. However, it is employed in this thesis as a term chosen by Latin American community organisations and activists in the U.K., as well as one which is used in much of the research conducted with the community (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Berg, 2019; Montanez, 2020). Additionally, this thesis refers solely to the Spanish-speaking Latin American communities in Central, North and South America and the Caribbean, including Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Excluding Brazil from this understanding of 'Latin American' poses several methodological questions and issues about what constitutes a 'Latin American' identity. The reasons for doing so were primarily practical. First, I speak Spanish as a second Language, but I do not speak any Portuguese; therefore, I was only able to conduct interviews myself with participants of Spanish-speaking countries in their native language (if they wished). Having a degree of cultural competence as well as the ability to communicate in the mother tongue was important for the in-depth nature of this research (Ojeda et al., 2011; Lu and Gatua, 2014: 3) and has been identified as a "powerful route to acceptance and an indicator of one's willingness to enter into the world of the interviewees" (Welch and Piekkari, 2006: 420) Moreover, the Latin American community organisation, IRMO, that I volunteered with as part of this research works primarily with Spanish-speaking Latin Americans. Therefore, given the sites and areas of London where I was trying to recruit participants, it was also more likely that I would be able to recruit Spanish-speaking Latin Americans to take part.

I refer to 'Latin American family' throughout this thesis, which for the purposes of this project was defined as a family configuration involving children and young people, who themselves had to be living in London. To be part of a 'family', a participant did not have to be a blood or legal relation, however. While attempts were made to speak to multiple members of the same family, this was not considered essential to participant criteria. To be part of a 'family', a participant therefore had to be one of the following:

a) a parent or primary carer of a child/young person, in which the child/young person lives in London (but not necessarily in the same home).

b) an extended family member, e.g., grandparent, uncle, aunt living in London and involved in the care of a child/young person, but not necessarily living in the same home.

c) a non-familial carer of a child/young person, e.g., godparent, family friend, and involved in the care of a child/young person.

d) a child or young person, living with their parent/s or guardian in London

Mapping family relations around the child in this way allowed the study to incorporate the variety of carers and guardians that can be involved in the care of children and young people, as well as move beyond much of the migration and transnational literature which tends to focus on families in which parents and carers are separated from their children who remain 'back home'. Therefore, a participant could have been a mother and/or father living in London with their children, a grandmother who collected their grandchild from school but does not live with them, or a child living with a non-familial carer such as a godparent or in a private fostering arrangement.

The criteria for the second group of interview participants were those identified as professional stakeholders working in some professional capacity with the Latin American community in London. This included staff at community and charity organisations, officers within local authorities, citizens groups, community leaders and staff within local schools in the boroughs of Lambeth and Southwark.

Recruitment strategies

The first phase of recruitment involved approaching a Latin American community organisation based in Brixton called Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO).

IRMO is an organisation which provides a number of services for the Latin American community across London and further afield, including English language classes, training, employment, and housing support, as well as healthcare and legal advice. Having grown up in Brixton and having volunteered with the organisation in 2014 as an English language teacher, I was very familiar

with their work and the significance of the organisation to the Latin American community. After meeting and discussing my research with IRMO I took on a volunteer role in their Family Project team, and it was agreed that they would help assist with the recruitment of participants for the study. It was important to build trust with IRMO as a potential gatekeeper to the Latin American community; moreover, volunteering offered a way to further my understanding of the needs and demographics of the community in London, gain insight from expert practitioners, while contributing in some way to the community itself (Ojeda et al., 2011).

Figure 2: Front of the IRMO office, in Brixton, south London.

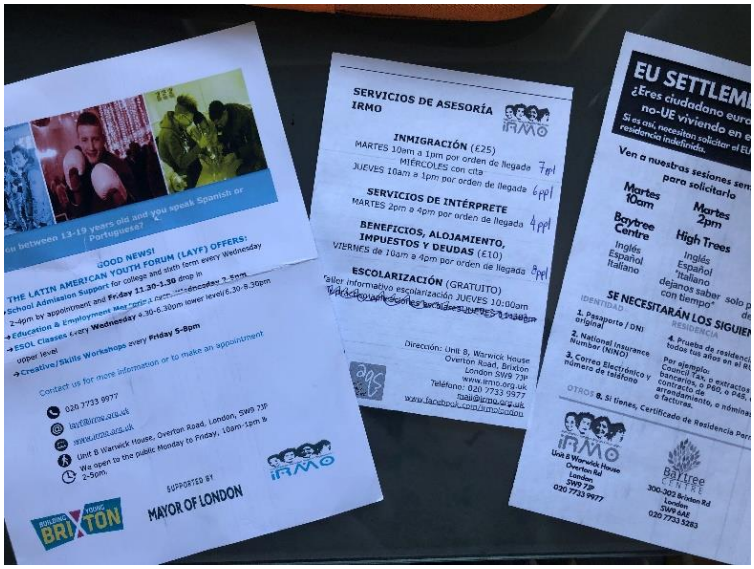

Figure 3: Leaflets handed out to service users at IRMO, with information on support for young people and appointment times for advice on the EU settlement scheme, immigration, welfare, and housing.

In September 2019 I began volunteering at IRMO once a week, a role I continued up until May 2022. The role involved a variety of tasks, mainly helping parents and guardians apply for schools, contacting local authorities to chase up applications, and supporting activities for children and young people in the organisation. Beginning in September 2019, I started the first phase of my data collection as the IRMO office in Brixton became a site for weekly observations and fieldwork. I collected 6-months' worth of fieldnotes from the time spent in-person at the office, until the Covid-19 pandemic closed the office and moved my role online.

In February 2020 I started the next phase of my data collection – recruiting participants for interviews and participant observations. I arranged workshops at IRMO where I discussed my research with two groups: AMPLA (Association of Latin American Parents) and LAYF (Latin American Youth Forum). I also spoke with schools in Lambeth and Southwark that had large Latin American student populations. Through these methods, I was able to recruit two participants who I interviewed in-person in the middle of March 2020, right before my recruitment process and subsequent data collection was completely disrupted by the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. This resulted in all face-to-face fieldwork and potential lines of recruitment being suspended indefinitely from the end of March 2020.

In May 2020, having spent the previous month and a half adapting my research study in light of the changes caused by the pandemic, I resumed my recruitment of participants and at this stage, decided to focus at on recruiting professional stakeholders. This included speaking with community organisations and charities such as IRMO, Casa Latina and Latin Elephant; local authorities, Lambeth Council, Southwark Council, a secondary school in Southwark with a large Latin American student population, St Gabriel's College; and Hansen Palomares, a solicitor's firm based in south London that speaks Spanish and Portuguese. IRMO were instrumental to this process, introducing me to useful personal contacts within the community, local authorities, and secondary schools. A strategic decision was made at this stage to focus on recruiting participants from the professional stakeholder group, on the basis that they may have been better equipped to carry out a remote interview as they were working from home.

In July 2020 I began my recruitment of Latin American participants. I did so primarily through IRMO; emails and WhatsApp messages detailing my research were sent out to the families supported by the Family Project at IRMO and I also started volunteering as an online ESOL teacher with three families. This allowed me to access a new network of parent groups and

requests for interviews were sent out to this email list. I also presented my research at several LAYF events to recruit participants in the 13-18 years old age group. Chain referral sampling meant that I was able to recruit the majority of my participants through these various networks. Outside of IRMO, I contacted a group of young Latin American activists working in the public sphere called LatinXcluded, and a parents' citizens group called Empoderando Padres, both of which were able to refer me to other participants.

The nature of the support that IRMO provides means that the majority of IRMO's service users tend to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, working in low wage and insecure work. Research has also found that Latin Americans in London are largely concentrated in the capital's low-wage labour market and earn substantially lower household incomes than the U.K. average (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 66; Berg, 2019: 186), with more than half of Latin Americans identifying as working class (34.5%) or lower middle class (20.5%) (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 35). The socio-economic position of Latin Americans in London and the nature of my recruitment through an organisation like IRMO meant that my sample of Latin American participants does not include people at the highest incomes. In relation to my research questions, this pro-poor/working class sample was appropriate given that I am interested in how social reproduction needs are met by migrant families living in conditions of relative scarcity/precarity.

Data collection methods, sample size and participant details

Semi-structured interviews

The bulk of my data collection involved semi-structured interviews (a total of 44). Over half of these interviews (29) were conducted with Spanish-speaking Latin American adults and children aged 13 and above. While it is generally accepted that children aged 6 years and above have the skills necessary to self-report and take part in interviews (Doherty and Sandelowski, 1999: 179), particularly when efforts are taken to ensure the language and methods of interviews are developmentally appropriate to different age groups (Mauthner, 1997: 23; Gibson, 2012: 151), I chose the age range of 13+ as the point at which children can formally consent to participate in research on their own behalf (although I did also get the consent of

their parents for children aged 13 to 16 years). The other 15 interviews were with professional stakeholders.

In total, 44 semi-structured interviews were conducted during the research study, with participants recruited through a combination of personal and professional networks using snowballing sampling. Ritchie et al., suggest that interview sample size "usually lie at under 50" (Ritchie et al., 2014: 118), and is generally accepted to total between 20 and 50 interviews (Mason, 2010). I therefore considered this an appropriate number to capture a range of factors within the sample population, yet not too unmanageable in terms of the research resources required (Ritchie et al., 2014: 117). It was also an appropriate size in terms of the point at which data saturation was reached and no new information was revealed from conducting further fieldwork, such as additional interviews (Mason, 2010; Ritchie et al., 2014: 115).

Age	Participant type	Total	Gender		Migration route		
(years)	(Professional or Family respondent)		Boys/ Men	Girls/ Women	Onward	Direct	Born in U.K.
13 – 18	Family	8	4	4	4	3	1
19 – 24	Family	8	4	4	3	4	1
25 – 54	Family	13	1	12	8	5	0
N/A	Professional	15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Of the 29 interviews with Latin American participants, 2 were carried out in-person at a café and office space in March 2020, days before the pandemic and a national lockdown was announced in the UK. The 27 subsequent interviews were conducted remotely through Zoom and WhatsApp phone calls.

Eight interviews were with children and adolescents aged 13-18 years and a further eight were with young people aged 19-24 years. There was an even mix of 8 female and 8 male interview participants across these two groups. Countries of origin amongst this group of children and young people were Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Just under half of this group migrated directly to the U.K. from their countries of origin, while seven

participants migrated onwards from countries with Europe (Spain and Italy), and two participants were born in the U.K. Those that migrated onwards from European countries had spent at least 10 years living in another European country, with some moving briefly back to their countries of origin before moving to London, and others moving directly onwards to London. At the time of our interviews, participants had lived in London from just over a month for one participant, to over 15 years. [4]

The remaining 13 interviews carried out with Latin American participants were with parents and extended family aged between 25-45 years; all except one interview participant in this group were women. Countries of origin amongst this group were Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, and Ecuador. Eight of these participants migrated onwards to London from Spain, having lived in cities such as Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia for between 5 and 20 years. Those participants that migrated directly to the U.K. from their countries of origin had arrived relatively recently, with all of them living in London for five years or less.

Interviews with Latin American participants were carried out primarily in Spanish, with some participants using a mix of English and Spanish. There were occasions where words were not understood and so Google translate was then used to communicate a specific word. Interviews ranged in duration; for the younger children, the average time was approximately 45 minutes, while interviews with adults ranged between 1 and 2-hours long. The remote interviews all appeared to be held in the homes of participants, and there were times when participants were sharing the room with someone else. Interviews with children were generally held in the couple of hours after they got back from school, although two were held in the middle of the day as the children had recently arrived in the UK and had not yet been allocated a school place. The timing of adult interviews tended to revolve around their work and childcare schedules, with interviews held early in the morning between 7 and 9am, in the few hours in the middle of the day while children were engaged with schooling, or late at night, between 9 and 11pm. Adults often had to negotiate childcare while doing the interview, performing domestic tasks, and leaving the interview on occasion to tend to their child's needs. These moments highlighted both the positives and negatives of online interviews; the ease and convenience for the participant to take part in the research while continuing other essential

[4] I did not include a chart with specific information about each participant because of concerns about breaking anonymity.

activities as well as the limited privacy that came from being at home during lockdown. At this stage of the pandemic people had also become somewhat used to being on video software such as Zoom; in the absence of physically being able to go into people's homes, these interviews often afforded an insight into the day-to-day of individual's lives, as disrupted as they were.

All fifteen professional stakeholder interviews were carried out on Zoom and included five interviews with staff at IRMO, 4 interviews with staff at Lambeth and Southwark council, 1 interview with a staff member at Latin Elephant, 1 interview with a staff member at Casa Latina, 1 interview with a teacher at St Gabriel's College, 2 interviews with lawyers at a firm working with Latin Americans, and 1 interview with a community organiser working with Empoderando Padres.

Interviews were audio or video recorded, either through the voice recorder app on my phone, or, in the majority of cases, through Zoom's meeting recording function. In this case, most participants kept their cameras on during the interview, producing both a video record of the interview as well as a separate audio file. Hand-written notes were taken during interviews; however, given the challenges forming trust and maintaining a sense of connection in an online interview, I tried to limit the notes I took during the session so that I could look at the camera and create a sense of eye contact. I would then spend time after the interview writing up my impressions and thoughts. All data was stored on my personal computer and backed up on my Birkbeck associated Microsoft One Drive cloud storage account.

Role of interviews

Interviews are a well-established method within qualitative research for obtaining a rich insight into participants lives and histories, and the meanings that they themselves make of their lived experiences (Seidman, 2006: 9; Ritchie et al., 2014: 55). However, moving from face-to-face interviews to remote interviews brought about specific challenges and there were important issues to consider before doing so. For example, technical issues such as time lags and poor connectivity could impact the development of rapport, an essential component of qualitative research. These could also occur during a discussion on an emotional topic which could create

a loss of intimacy (Lo Iacono et al., 2016: 6). Video-calling also required my participants to have the right software and devices to be able to participate in the interview. Although the pandemic has forced people to work online, there were significant disparities at the outset, and which continue, between those who could easily adapt to working from home, and those who did not have the right device, sufficient internet access or personal space to be able to do so. This was in addition to the additional caring responsibilities that many individuals and families suddenly faced, as well as the mental and health anxieties that the pandemic has provoked. For these reasons, I decided that in an attempt to allow people to settle into the 'new normal' of the pandemic, I would wait for several months once the pandemic began before approaching Latin American participants for online interviews,

There were also considerations to make in terms of the quality of data capable of being generated through video interviews. Although conducting physical face-to-face fieldwork is widely considered the 'gold standard' of qualitative research, a growing body of research has looked at the use of digital communication technology in research. This has pointed to the advances in digital communication technology that have occurred, particularly in video technology such as Skype, Zoom, FaceTime and WhatsApp video, which means that remote interviews have become an increasingly used tool of qualitative researchers (Weller, 2017: 613). Video-calls allow the researcher and participant to conduct an interview in a comparable manner to that of an in-person interview; for example, natural language, facial cues, and changes in voice expression are similarly communicated (Nehls et al., 2015: 146). It is also possible to build rapport over video-calls, with research suggesting the topic of conversation and personality of participant and interviewer play more of a role in the development of rapport; additionally, participants may feel more comfortable talking about topics online rather than face-to-face (Lo Iacono et al., 2016: 6). Within my research, there were additional advantages that emerged from the move to remote interviews. On a practical level, video calls were quicker, easier, and cheaper to arrange compared to in-person interviews, which afforded both myself and participants greater flexibility (Nehls et al., 2015:146). I was able to access a number of participants who might have found it more difficult to take part in an in-person interview, as they could participate at any time of the day that was convenient for them – I spoke with people at 7am before they went to work, and at 10pm after they came home from work, for instance. Indeed, it was also possible that the disruption to normal routines

caused by the pandemic made people more inclined or willing to participate in the research project. Video calls also offered an insight into my participant's lived context and home life during this pandemic, as they were all conducted in the home of the participant. Finally, there was also the added advantage of safety and security, both for myself and participants (Krouwel et al., 2019: 2).

The data collected from these interviews addressed the research questions, 'how do Latin American families interact with state institutions in their day-to-day lives, to what extent are they able to achieve their social reproduction needs, and what transnational practices and strategies do they engage in to meet their social reproduction needs'. The one-to-one nature of these interviews was important as it allowed for discussion of complex or potentially sensitive issues, such as challenges accessing state resources (welfare, housing, healthcare). The interviews were structured around questions related to participants' migration histories and experiences, family and home life, free time and social activities, school life, work life, cultural celebrations and cultural activities, communication with family members, visiting Spain and/or Latin America and broadly, the impact of Covid-19 on all of these activities.

The 15 remote interviews I carried out with professional stakeholders at IRMO, Casa Latina, Lambeth and Southwark council, Latin Elephant, Empoderando Padres, St. Gabriel's College in Camberwell and Hansen Palomares allowed me to answer the research questions, 'what types of structures and institutions shape Latin American family life and how do Latin American families interact with these structures?'. Speaking to people with expert knowledge aided the cultural competency of the research (Ojeda et al., 2011) and produced data on how Latin Americans as a specific community group interact with state institutions, while also building on existing knowledge as to the types of services accessed and used by Latin Americans.

Participant observation

Alongside semi-structured interviews, my research methods also included fieldwork and participant observations. Participant observation offers a means of understanding the "explicit and tacit aspects of [their] life routines and [their] culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011: 12), increasing the validity of a study by familiarising the researcher with a community, offering a

better understanding of cultural and social norms, and allowing for the development of additional research questions (Kawulich, 2005).

Participant observation primarily took place at IRMO over a period of two and a half years. Between September 2019 and March 2020, this involved in-person fieldwork once a week at the IRMO office in Brixton as well as two external trips with the Latin American Youth Forum body of the organisation. From March 2020 until March 2022 the remaining fieldwork took place virtually as I supported the organisation remotely as a Family Support Worker and ESOL teacher.

Participant observations at IRMO addressed the question, 'how do Latin American families interact with state structures and institutions in their day-to-day lives?'. As a volunteer I took part in workshops and 1-2-1 advice sessions with Latin American families, offering information on the school admissions procedure, checking applications, and following up with schools and local authorities. Spending a period of two and a half years volunteering with IRMO was necessary as the informal nature of participant observation requires immersion for an extended period of time. This breadth of time allowed me to observe a range and variety of experiences and activities that addressed the questions related to the structures and state services that shape Latin American lives (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011: 15). As previously discussed, conducting participant observation with IRMO also aided my other research methods by granting better access to participants and activities, creating deeper contacts within the community, as well as the providing the opportunity to build more trusting relationships.

During my time at IRMO I examined the ways in which Latin American families manage their social reproductive needs through their use of the third sector, focusing specifically on how Latin Americans access housing, education, healthcare, employment, and immigration advice. I analysed the types of experiences (positive, negative, confusing, frustrating etc.) that people had with different services and the levels of success or not they had in accessing the resources they needed. This included, for example, how successfully parents were able to apply for schools and communicate with local authorities, how long it took for their children to get places at a school, what delays were caused by virtue of missing paperwork, or a lack of understanding about the process, or the distances that people had to travel to get to IRMO. Conducting these observations involved writing detailed fieldnotes at the end of each volunteering day. These

included: the date, time and place of the observation, anonymised and generic descriptions of the various participants, a description of activities in the order they occurred, descriptions of the atmosphere at IRMO and physical environment including sounds, smells, background information to provide context, and thoughts, questions, and comments. When the IRMO office in Brixton closed and the support provided move online at the start of the pandemic, these fieldnotes noted how families have navigated the move away from a physical space, how they used online platforms and support to access resources and meet their needs, the resources that were made been available to them and the use of different technologies to access support.

In periods between lockdown restrictions, observations also took place at the Elephant and Castle shopping centre before the process of demolition began in September 2020. Conducting participant observation at this site sought to answer the research question, 'what social and cultural resources do LA families engage in, and what transnational practices do they use which contribute to the social reproduction of their family'. The Elephant and Castle shopping centre emerged as an important site for the Latin American community in my MSc research and indeed, it's significance as a social, cultural, and economic space for Latin Americans in south London and the impact of its forced closure has been well-documented (Cock, 2011; McIlwaine et al., 2011; Román-Velázquez, 2014).

In carrying out observations at the Elephant and Castle shopping centre I looked at the types of businesses, shops, and social spaces that people used, such as restaurants, internet cafes, money exchange offices, travel agencies, what public spaces children and adults used, as well as the age groups of people in the centre, the foods and products people bought and the types of events and gatherings that took place in the shopping centre. I took photos of the environment, making sure not to include any identifiable information of participants.

Figure 4: Colombian restaurant in Elephant and Castle

Figure 6: 'Latin Shop' in Elephant and Castle.

Figure 5: Hair and beauty salon in Elephant & Castle

The significance of language: moving between English and Spanish

As detailed, interviews and observations were conducted in Spanish or English, depending on the preferences of the participants. However, it is important to state that my first language is English, while Spanish is a second language that I have acquired in the last decade. Although there is a growing trend towards conducting qualitative research in multiple languages, such a practice does pose several practical and methodological issues (Goitom, 2020). First, the issue of translation; although Spanish is not my native language, I did not use a translator or interpreter. This was for several reasons. I have a sound knowledge of the Spanish language and as such, conducting interviews in Spanish allowed me to demonstrate a level of cultural competency and ensure that the research was open to as many participants as possible. It also ensured I retained control over the interview process, maintained as few interruptions or distractions to the flow of conversation, and avoided the significant financial cost of hiring a translator. This meant however that I was responsible for translating my participants stories to an accurate enough standard while making the meaningful interpretations and conclusions about social experience and the social world which qualitative research requires (Smith et al., 2008). Carrying out the translation and interpretation myself therefore required me to reflect on possible challenges that may emerge, such as misinterpreting or losing aspects of participants experience through the act of translating; I also reflected on how far I could convey participants intended meaning through my own translation (Goitom, 2020) given that language is "more than a medium for communication; rather it is a cultural resource that (re)produces the social world" (Welch and Piekkari, 2006; 419). In reflecting on how best I could mitigate these issues, I worked in several ways. In the act of translating participants stories, for instance, I strived for 'conceptual equivalence'– to translate Spanish into English in a way that conveyed a comparable meaning and in a culturally appropriate manner. This process was aided by two things. First, to maintain a strong level of Spanish during this research process I enrolled in a year-long, twice weekly language course at Kings, University of London, during which I completed regular written and verbal assignments. My volunteering at IRMO was also a strategy through which I improved and maintained my Spanish language, as I was working with Spanish speaking colleagues and speaking with service users in Spanish wherever possible; this space also provided me with aspects of the cultural familiarity, connotations, and meanings that language also conveys.

Throughout this thesis I have also included participants original Spanish quotes alongside an English translation, both to be transparent about my translation process but also to provide written recognition of participants own words in this thesis (Smith et al., 2008: 7). The methodological issues of working with two languages was also relevant to other aspects of the research process, such as in the analysis stage and the presentation research findings. I decided to translate Spanish-speaking interviews into English first before conducting my thematic analysis and used these translations when developing my codes. Coding is an iterative process however, and in the process of going back and forth to develop and review the codes, I also went back and forth between the original interview transcripts and translated transcripts to clarify meaning and concepts, and so ensure that my codes as written in English remained plausible and meaningful to the Spanish text on which they were based.

Considerations when conducting research with children

In order to address the unequal power relationship between adult researchers and children, certain methodological issues must be explored and negotiated. These could include the use of flexible techniques, such as photos and videos to elicit discussion, asking children to describe life events through storytelling, using stimulus material, and task-based activities (Mauthner, 1997: 25; Punch, 2002a). Children aged 13 and above are recognised as being able to participate fully in interviews (Mauthner, 1997; Punch, 2002b) but it was important to reflect on their varying skills and preferences and to develop an interview guide that was better suited to different age ranges.

There were also important considerations concerning consent, access, privacy, and confidentiality when carrying out research with children and young people. For instance, to carry out research with children I had to go through a variety of individual and institutional gatekeepers, including parents, carers, and staff at community organisations. As interviews were all held remotely in children's homes, I had to consider the social implications of staging an interviewing in such a setting. This involved reflecting on the types of topics and extent of information that children would want to talk about, with siblings, parents, family members or other people potentially nearby and whether it was ethical to ask children to give up their free-

time to participate (Mauthner, 1997; Fargas-Malet et al., 2010: 178). To counter these issues, I ensured that interviews were conducted at a time that children decided upon, I carefully explained the need for a degree of privacy and emphasised to children that all answers are correct. During interviews children were given as much time as needed to reflect on questions and their answers, and they were encouraged to ask questions if they weren't sure of something. Mitigating the risk of doing harm required consideration of how topics of conversation could potentially cause emotional distress to children, such as the impact of being separated from other family members, moving to a new school, and learning a new language. It was important to be aware of the need to change the interview question or to stop interviews altogether if these issues became apparent. It was also necessary to look for non-verbal cues, such as if children fell silent or changed the subject, and to be ready to end the interview if they appeared unwilling to continue, though making sure to do so in a positive way. Consideration was also given to whether children had been pressured to participate in interviews by their parents or guardians, or whether they were being asked to talk about a subject that was uncomfortable.

It was also essential to obtain informed consent from children throughout the research process. This involved explaining the details of the research, including its aims, what will be expected from them, the length of time, the collection of data, how it will be used, who will have access to it and their rights as participants. Children were made aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time and were informed that their names and identifiable information would be anonymised from the outset. As interviews were conducted remotely, I conveyed all this information in several ways. I sent written documents in Spanish and English (depending on the preference of the child and young person) via email or WhatsApp. As there were occasions where people couldn't open the document on their phone or laptop, I also made sure to have phone calls or text message conversations that went through the document and all the information. Children were encouraged to message me with questions and concerns, and I made sure to verbally discuss what the research involved at the start of interviews as well. As I couldn't provide physical copies of consent forms for participants to sign, and participants may have not have always had printers and scanners to send back copies to me, I sent template consent forms to participants via WhatsApp and email which they could fill out and send back to me, or they could email and WhatsApp me confirmation that they had

read the information and consented. Where necessary, I also recorded verbal consent at the start of interviews as well.

Finally, the issue of confidentiality was crucial to consider when working with both children and adults. To give children and parents/carers fully informed consent, it was explained that were limitations to confidentiality, for instance, if a child disclosed abuse or if I witnessed some form of abuse during the research. This was clearly explained to participants, while being aware that this may have limited my ability to gain access to children, or it may have impacted on the strength of the relationship I was able to form with my participants.

Limitations

Research design within migration studies often uses ethnic or national categories as the variables of the study, as they are viewed as "naturally given entities" (Faist, 2012: 56). This can pose a problem as it fails to consider the ways in which group identities are constructed as well as "the processes by which ethnic and national categories are socially developed, distributed, and applied" (Faist, 2012: 56). Indeed, I have used the term 'Latin American' as the focus group of the research, but in fact, it signifies people originating only from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. This was a practical decision as I speak Spanish but not Portuguese. However, the implication of this decision was to exclude a significant community from my analysis of the 'Latin American' experience. In response, I suggest that the use of ethnicity and nationality as the criteria for selecting research participants can be a valid choice, so long as reflection is taken to avoid issues regarding essentialism. One of the ways this can be achieved is by using alternative identifiers beyond national or ethnic origin. Drawing upon the insights of transnationalism can assist with this, as it emphasises the varying attachments to identities that people hold that do not solely correspond to national origin – for instance, as members of a religious group, as part of a transnational community, or as people with multiple citizenship. These attachments transcend nation-state borders, for a persons' engagement with a social position can operate across multiple social spaces. In the case of my research, certainly the ethnicity and nationality of the participants is directly relevant to the research question – 'understanding the social reproductive experiences of Latin Americans' – but so too

is their positionality within a transnational family, as citizens of European states outside of the U.K., and as gendered, classed and 'generationed' individuals.

The question of self-reflection also brings in an important point concerning the positionality of the researcher and the limitations posed. I speak Spanish as second language, but I am not of Latin American origin. My positionality as an 'outsider' may have impacted both the collection of data, that is, my ability to access participants and the level of 'insider' information that participants shared with me, as well as how the data is interpreted, for example, a lack of understanding concerning contextual references. As a qualitative researcher, I also recognise that I come to the research topic from a place of situated knowledge, shaped by my own social, political, and economic background. Situating the place of the researcher in the production of knowledge and in the interpretation of information has been well discussed within feminist literature for "experience never enters knowledge direct and unmediated" (Thorne, 1987: 102). I addressed these issues in two ways. First, through my volunteering with IRMO which I have continued for over two years at this point. This role has allowed me to seek advice from community members and professionals who have expert knowledge on Latin American life in the UK, as well as the chance to develop and demonstrate culturally competent skills and knowledge (Ojeda et al., 2011: 187). These factors and the length of time I have been with IRMO has allowed me to be considered a trusted person within the community. Second, I sought to build trust with participants by offering personal information about myself, including my background as a mixed-race English-Pakistani woman, my mothers' experience growing up in a transnational family and how this led me to my interest in this topic. I talked with participants of my previous MSc research working with Latin American young people, and finally my own experiences living and travelling in Spain and Latin America. By acknowledging the positionality factors of myself, such as race, gender, religion, age, education etc., participants may view me as someone with multiple identities and defining characteristics rather than solely a 'researcher'.

It was also essential to consider the affective atmosphere of conducting social research during this pandemic, not only as people's normal routines have been disrupted in a significant way but because of the heightened emotional distress that people may be feeling during this period. Several practical and ethical issues had to be considered. Space within homes could have been limited and participants may not have had a private room to carry out the interview,

for instance. Participants may have felt uncomfortable talking about emotional or personal topics in front of children and partners/other adults, increased caring responsibilities may have been difficult to manage, and there was also an increased chance that interviews could be interrupted by other people in the home. Video calls also do not allow the researcher to reassure or comfort participants if they become distressed in any physical way, such as by passing a tissue (Krouwel et al., 2019: 3). During video interviews there were certainly occasions where I could hear other people in the background of videos or children came into view because they needed something from their parent. In these moments I asked participants if they wanted to pause the interview, if they wanted to continue at another time or if they needed to stop altogether. Several interviews were put on hold in this way, which allowed for the participants to come back at another time that better suited them. I also sought to build trust before interviews by exchanging a series of texts, WhatsApp messages and emails and then checking in with participants after interviews concluded.

Ethics

During data collection I was attune to the intersection of power with academic knowledge (Caretta and Riaño, 2016: 258), particularly in terms of the classed and gendered dynamics, as well as my status as a citizen of the UK. As the researcher, I had the power to choose which questions to ask, how the data will be interpreted and how the research will be presented. Conflict could have arisen as a result of this perceived difference in status, and it could have revealed itself in less obvious ways. For example, participants may feel that certain knowledge about the Latin American community is interpreted in a way that makes them feel misrepresented or even exploited. Working with potentially vulnerable communities requires attending to the possibility that they may view the researcher as an extension of the state, and so justifiably be concerned about the level of information they provide for fear it may be misused (Ojeda et al., 2011: 186). Additionally, perceived, or real differences in cultural norms may affect the quality of rapport established between the researcher and participant.

I addressed the issue of power hierarchies in various ways. Using semi-structured interviews allowed for the creation of dialogue and a trusting environment between myself and participants by creating space for participants to respond in their own time to questions and to bring in other issues or questions if they wanted. Participants over the age of 16 were also

able to choose whether they wanted to be anonymous or to have their real names used in the research. Feminist research has suggested that anonymising names can reinforce power hierarchies between researcher and participant, running the risk of paternalism by denying participants the right to "tell and be heard" (Berkhout, 2013: 26). Allowing participants to choose whether to be anonymous or not demonstrated greater regard for participants' voices and dignity and addressed some of the issues of power and knowledge production, particularly when working with potentially marginalised communities. Once my research is published, I will also produce a pamphlet in English and Spanish that summarises the results of the research which will help to emphasise the contribution of the participants to the research.

The ethical issues of asking participants to give up their leisure time for the research was also in part mitigated by offering £10.55 per hour compensation for their time, which at the time of conducting the research was the London Living Wage. This was offered to both child and adult participants. It was important to be mindful of how offering compensation might make people feel compelled to take part, and to make clear that participation was voluntary, and that participants could withdraw at any time, even after completing an interview and receiving compensation. Moreover, it was particularly important to consider financial compensation when working with individuals from under-researched and often marginalised groups, such as Latin Americans, whose free time may be limited (Ojeda et al., 2011: 191).

There is thus a need for critical reflexivity in order to be open, accountable, and ethical during the research process. This required being transparent about how my research was conducted and in how knowledge was produced, being forthcoming about my background and identity, and remaining sensitive to how the research could cause emotional distress. Reflexivity can hold researchers accountable for their interpretation of data, as well as the representations of reality and representations of the participants that they produce. It also creates a level of trust between researcher and participants, by ensuring that the process is ethical and as participatory as possible.

Data analysis

The following section discusses the data analysis methods I used to interpret the data generated from interviews and participant observations. A preliminary level of analysis occurred throughout the data collection and during the transcription process, during which I reflected on the research questions and conceptual framework of the study.

Data transcription

A total of 44 interview transcripts were transcribed, in chronological order. Notes were also taken during and after interviews, to capture non-verbal expressions, key points, feelings, and my personal impressions of the interview. These were included as fieldnotes for coding and analysis. The breadth of data collected produced rich and in-depth material for analysis but also came with various practical challenges, particularly around time constraints when transcribing such an amount of interview. As such, interviews were transcribed using the free Microsoft Office Word 365 automatic transcription feature and then checking the transcript produced for accuracy. This method was very helpful in reducing the amount of time needed for transcription, particularly for interviews conducted in Spanish; for instance, it took approximately eight hours to transcribe manually an interview conducted in Spanish, versus four hours for one conducted in English. By producing a first draft of the transcript using this software, I then immersed myself in the data by reviewing the transcript for accuracy alongside the audio and video recordings.

As detailed earlier, all participants under the age of 16 were allocated a pseudonym, which were chosen to reflect the cultural and ethnic background of the participant. Using pseudonyms is a well-established practice within research for preserving anonymity and ensuring that participants identities are kept secret (Allen and Wiles, 2016: 151). This was particularly important when working with children under 16 years old. As the sample size was relatively large, using pseudonyms was also more appropriate for capturing 'real life' compared to codes such as Participant 1 or Interviewee 1. However, participants over 16 years were able to choose whether they wanted a pseudonym or for their real name to be used, as a means of addressing various issues of power and knowledge production that are particularly prevalent

when working with potentially marginalised communities. Finally, during the transcription process, an index of associated real-world identifiers including the age, gender, ethnic background, nationality, neighbourhood in London, and recruitment method of the participants was created, as these were crucial characteristics to the research.

Fieldnotes were also produced from my weekly volunteering sessions and participant observations at IRMO's community centre in Brixton, as well as informal conversations I had with staff members and service users, and other events, such as trips with the Latin American Youth Forum or talks and events organised by the community organisation. These were made up of short notes taken during a volunteering day, followed by a more complete and detailed account typed up at the end of each day.

All data was stored on my personal laptop and uploaded to a Microsoft cloud storage service associated with my Birkbeck account.

Data analysis

The process of analysing my data occurred whilst I was simultaneously conducting further interviews and collecting data through fieldwork, as I remained working with IRMO until May 2022. This process was useful as it allowed me to reflect on any insights I had gathered from my initial analysis and build this into subsequent interviews, asking additional questions and probing for clarification on themes with other participants. For instance, understanding the stratified forms of labour of Latin American parents and their childcare strategies brought into focus new themes such as children's productive labour. Additionally, my continued weekly volunteering work with IRMO and their position as respected and expert advisors within the Latin American community meant that I could speak with them about ideas and trends that emerged from my data analysis, allowing me to gain further contextual information. For instance, when I began volunteering with IRMO in September 2019 the majority of service users that came to IRMO were from Latin American countries with long-standing historical and cultural links with London – Colombian, Ecuadorian, Peruvian – and had largely arrived in London as onwards migrants from other European countries. My interview participants were also predominantly from these countries with the majority of them holding European citizenship. However, throughout the almost three years that I volunteered with IRMO, during

which Brexit was finalised and the Covid pandemic began, new migration trends clearly began to emerge. An increasing number of people began to come to London directly, often as asylum seekers from El Salvador or as family members of European citizens, attempting to reunite with their family before Brexit regulations fully came into place.

The unique context of the Covid pandemic within which my entire research took place also shaped my analysis in various ways. Interviews begun in September 2020 when various Covid restrictions were still in place, although were easing from the height of the early months of the pandemic. However, they continued until February 2021 during which time Covid restrictions were drastically reintroduced. As such, throughout this period, various questions, themes, and ideas became more or less important. For instance, it became clear that questions related to certain transnational practices of Latin American families, such as travelling back and forth to provide childcare or return visits home, no longer held relevance as people were unable to travel or, even during brief periods when it was possible, did not feel confident to do so. As national and local Covid restrictions and guidance changed throughout this period, questions about peoples everyday also had to be constantly reformulated in order to consider the extent to which people's lives, networks, and ways of being were fundamentally disrupted.

The process of my data analysis was therefore as follows. I used thematic analysis, an interactive and flexible method of qualitative analysis, which focuses on "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). It requires the researcher to play an active role in the interpretation of the data, finding implicit and explicit ideas, and selecting themes that are of interest to the research topic, in order to describe the data set in rich detail (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 80). Given the number of interviews and fieldnotes collected, this was a time-consuming process. To start, the transcripts and fieldnotes were uploaded to NVivo and organised into three groups and in chronological order – interviews with Latin American children and young people, interviews with Latin American parents and interviews with professional stakeholders. I reviewed the data and documents produced several times in order to familiarise myself and generate a broader level of understanding of the data (Noble and Smith, 2014: 3). At times I added brief notes to the documents which reflected a general insight or thought. Reading the documents was literal, interpretative, and reflexive (Mason, 2010). Following this organisation stage, the textual data was reduced to identify patterns of meaning and themes relevant to the research questions

(Braun and Clarke, 2006). This involved coding the data, whereby each line of the transcript and fieldnotes were reviewed and annotated using a descriptive keyword or phrase. To do this, I referred to 'a priori codes' derived from the theoretical framework and literature review on social reproduction, migrant rights, and transnational families, as well as from the fieldwork and initial analysis. These 'a priori codes' included: stratified access, stratified labour, transnational practices, social capital, local and transnational networks, care labour/care circulation, divisions of labour, cultural norms, gender roles. Coding was a cyclical process and I carried it out until a more specific coding framework was developed that answered the research questions related to migrant family's daily and generational social reproductive practices, as well as children's strategies and roles within such processes. This produced a number of codes which included: mobilising European citizenship, migration motives, social mobility, English language ability, translating for parents, children and young people's information sharing, Latin American networks, inter-ethnic networks, ICT communication, third sector support and children's perceptions of work. Coding is an iterative process, and I went back and forth between the data, developing and reviewing the codes until broader themes and subthemes emerged. A theme is something that "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82); it is "a pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations at a maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). At this stage, the themes were reviewed and finalised and which then became the subject of the analysis chapters of this thesis. These were: social reproduction strategies and migration motivations; inequalities of access/ stratified access to public services; children and young people's social networks; children's social reproductive labour; and children's productive labour. In thinking of how to organise these chapters, I began by setting the context of Latin American family life in London – as such Chapters 4 and 5 focus on motivations for migrating, the strategies that families had employed to do and the reception as a migrant community that they faced on arrival. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 meanwhile discuss the experiences of Latin American children and young people and their various contributions to their own and their family's social reproduction. Finally, Chapter 9, the conclusion, draws together the arguments presented throughout the thesis to emphasise the various social dimensions beyond gender which structure the organisation of reproductive labour, and particularly, the significance of the intergenerational organisation of social reproduction to migrant households.

Chapter 4 – Migration motivations and strategies of Latin American migrant families in London

This chapter looks at the migration motivations of Latin American families living in London and the strategies that families developed in order to fulfil their migration projects. It does so through an analysis of the experiences of Latin American adults that participated in this project, the strategies that they developed to organise their own and their family's social reproduction needs, and their motivations for doing so. In doing so, it refers back to a conceptualisation of social reproduction that encompasses the everyday and intergenerational socio-cultural practices and activities that sustain life and the intergenerational transmission of culture (Glenn, 1992; Katz, 2001; Kofman, 2012), as well as the organisation of social reproduction through institutions such as the family, state, market and third sector (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007, Fraser, 2016). Migration is a strategy often used to overcome what has been understood as 'crises of social reproduction' (Fraser, 2016) in people's origin countries. In the short term, it can offer individuals and families the chance to secure their immediate social, physical, and emotional needs, such as better housing, employment, and safety; in the long term, migration can offer individuals and families the chance to organise the generational needs of the family more broadly. Migration can also be both a planned and unplanned strategy, an active decision made after much thought and consideration as well as a reactive decision made in response to unexpected social, political, and economic conditions, such as was the case for many Latin Americans who migrated onwards from other European countries after the 2008 economic crash. Indeed, the case of Onward Latin Americans from southern Europe makes clear that despite the opportunities that migration can initially offer, it is not always an assured strategy for social reproduction and that new risks and constraints can emerge. As this chapter will detail, the motivations of Latin Americans to migrate to London were multiple and complex, driven by economic instability in their previous countries of residence, the prospect of better educational opportunities for their children, assurance of safety and security, as well as personal motivators, such as the chance to learn English or even to have an adventure. The strategies developed to facilitate their migration and then settlement in the U.K. required Latin Americans to negotiate and draw upon various forms of capital. In the case of Onward Latin Americans for instance, this was

primarily the use of European citizenship and practical knowledge acquired from their previous experience of migration; for those that migrated directly from countries in Latin America, it was information gathered through social networks or for some of the children in this study, using the social mobility of other family members with European citizenship. The literature on social reproduction as it relates to migrant social reproduction often focuses on South – North migration flows (Bonizzoni, 2018) yet the enlargement of the European union in 2004 and 2007 (Nijhoff and Gordano, 2017) and the economic crisis of 2008 has made clear the need to examine intra-European mobility and the negotiation and use of various forms of capital that generate such movement (McIlwaine, 2012). This chapter examines the multiple and interrelated migration motivations of Latin Americans living in London, including those who migrated directly from countries within Latin America as well as those Latin Americans who migrated from another European country, and the ways in which these motivations were embedded within the social reproduction strategies of the family. In doing so, the chapter moves away from an emphasis on the economic motivations of migration, to reveal the complexity of personal, social, and cultural motives that allowed Latin Americans to imagine a migration to London as possible. While this research is concerned, in part, with situating children and young people's role in social reproduction within migrant families, it is also focused on how migrant households as a whole consciously and actively develop social reproduction strategies to respond to global pressures felt at the local and national scale (Nunn and Tepe-Belfrage, 2019). This includes how adults conceived of and strategised their migration possibilities, and the ways in which children and young people were shaped by, but also shaped, these strategies and motivations, at times acting as a "deployable resource" (Orellana et al., 2001: 581) for a family's future social reproduction, at other times being involved in decision-making processes. As the Childhood Studies literature makes clear, while children and young people are not simply passive objects of the institutional and collective structures within which they are embedded, their experiences, opportunities and identities are nonetheless structured and shaped by local and global social, political, and cultural processes (James et al., 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Christensen and Prout, 2002; Wells, 2018; Wells, 2021). Thus, recognising the ways that migrant households develop and adapt their social reproduction strategies, and the ways in which children choose to and become incorporated into such work, also offers an insight into how inequalities of social reproduction emerge at the micro-level.

Economic opportunities and perceptions of work

Early migration studies conceptualised the motivations of migrants within traditional economic models of push – pull factors, in which migration was understood as driven by economic drivers related to unemployment and low wages (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002). Various bodies of work since, such as the transnational literature or research on intra-European migration flows (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; van Liempt, 2011; McIlwaine, 2012; Ahrens et al., 2016; Nijhoff and Gordano, 2017; Baldassar et al., 2018; McIlwaine, 2020), has revealed the complexity behind decisions to migrate and the varied motivations that drive human mobility, whether this is related to demographic characteristics, political climate, or economic and social experiences (Luthra et al., 2014). Economic stability was an important driver in the decision to migrate for all the participants in this study, both those that had migrated directly to London from Latin America as well as those that migrated onwards from another European country. Amongst the latter group, which made up the majority of participants, it was the 2008 global economic crash, and the deterioration in socio-economic conditions that followed, that motivated many to migrate to London. In Spain, where the majority of Latin Americans in Europe reside (INE, 2012), migrant communities experienced particular economic difficulties following the crash. For instance, the mortgage crisis of 2008 had an acute impact on the Latin American community in Spain. Many had been encouraged to buy houses before the crisis but when they became unable to meet their mortgage repayments, they nonetheless remained liable for the debt, even after repossession (Hierro, 2013; Bermudez and Oso, 2019). There was also a widespread loss of jobs in sectors with high numbers of migrants, such as hospitality and construction and a deterioration in labour conditions in those sectors (Domingo et al., 2014; Domínguez-Mujica et al. 2014; Lopez-Sala and Oso, 2015). According to Spain's National Statistics Institute, the rate of unemployment among non-Spanish citizens was 36.6% during this period (INE, 2014: 5)

In interviews, Onward Latin Americans, all of whom were women, discussed the challenges their families had faced after the financial crisis. Although they had managed to retain their jobs after the crash, their husbands had not; with limited employment opportunities and in the face of limited financial and welfare support from the state, families struggled to survive on one income and standards of living fell. This was the case for Luciana, who lives in south London

with her two children and husband. Luciana was originally from Bolivia where she lived for 20 years until she made her first migration to Spain. She lived in Cartagena, Spain for a further 20 years with her family, her husband and two children, before making the decision to migrate to London at the end of 2019. Discussing the family's reasons for moving to London, Luciana described the severe economic difficulties they faced when her husband lost his job.

> [M]i marido tenía un trabajo fijo, mi marido trabaja muy bien. Estaba en una institución pública de mi país, de Bolivia, entonces él tenía un trabajo asegurado y tal ha estado durante 9 años. Pero al final, pues, llegó su carta de cesión de trabajar ya y ya nos vemos prácticamente sin nada. Porque con lo que yo ganaba, no íbamos a poder subsistir. Entonces yo aquí en Londres tengo una prima que ella ya estaba 6 años, siempre me iba diciendo, vente, que...mejores condiciones de trabajo, vas a encontrar trabajo en tu carrera…[D]igo, pues ahora es cuando, nos tenemos que mover y pues cogemos 4 maletas y digo – vamos (Luciana).
>
> [M]y husband had a steady job, it was a good job. He worked for a public institution for my country, Bolivia, so it was secure [job] and he'd been there for 9 years. But in the end, he was sacked, and we were left with basically nothing. Because just on my salary, we weren't going to survive. I had a cousin in London who'd already been here for six years, and she was always telling me, come on, there's better working conditions here, you can get a job here in your field…So I said, ok we have to go, so we got our four suitcases, and we went (Luciana).

Like many of the participants this study, the economic crash precipitated a sharp downward turn for Luciana's family. They went from economically comfortable – her husband had a 'good' job in Spain as Luciana described – to suddenly facing a crisis in how they managed their social reproduction – "nos vemos prácticamente sin nada [we found ourselves with basically nothing]." Although Luciana was able to continue working as a cleaner, this salary alone was not enough. In the face of instability and changes in their social and economic conditions, households develop and adapt new social reproduction strategies for their daily and inter-generational reproduction. In this context, onward migration to London became a response to the global pressures created by the economic crash, a response that Luciana framed as a survival strategy, a way for the family to meet its day-to-day needs – as Luciana stated, "no ibamos a poder subsister [we weren't going to survive]." The onward migration of Latin

Americans to London points to the reactiveness that marks some migration journeys, as well the levels of insecurity and uncertainty that can mark such migration projects. Luciana's description, for instance, that she packed four suitcases and left, after being reassured by her cousin that there was work in London, implies that the decision was made with the possibility that they could return to Spain – the family did not pack up their entire home and ship it to the U.K. Their migration was a pragmatic decision, based on the need for Luciana, and her husband particularly, to find better paid work. Yet it was a decision they had not anticipated in the context of their original migration from Bolivia to Spain and so the length of time they might settle in the U.K. was also unknown.

Luciana's story, and the family's swift transition into economic precarity, can also be understood in the context of diminishing welfare support made available by the state. Economic insecurity was a motivating factor for nearly all of the Latin American participants that migrated onwards to London from other countries in Europe, yet it was one which also coincided with drastic austerity measures that were taking place across the continent. After the 2008 economic crash Spain implemented its own significant austerity measures which saw drastic cuts in the provision of social welfare at the same time that social demand dramatically increased (Elteto, 2011; Ornellas et al., 2017). This withdrawal in the provision of social welfare left families that were already managing the fallout from the economic crash with fewer resources to maintain their social reproduction needs. Although the U.K. implemented its own severe austerity measures (Kitson et al., 2011; Gray and Barford, 2018), the deterioration in socio-economic conditions and the challenges finding new employment in Spain, combined with reduced state support, led participants, such as Alicia, to consider London a viable place to migrate. Alicia is originally from Ecuador, in her 40s, and had been living in London since 2017 when we spoke at the end of 2020. In our interview, Alicia pointed to the specific impact that Spain's limited social welfare provision had on the decision to migrate to London. Alicia and her husband had migrated from Ecuador to Spain where they had lived for 17 years; Alicia worked as a cleaner and carer while her husband worked as a carpenter. She told me that their life had been comfortable in Spain, and she described their family as middle-class; they had jobs, they owned a car, their standard of living was high. However, the economic crash caused Alicia's husband to lose his job, and he became unable to find any other work in his field as a carpenter. He was able to access welfare support for a short period, allowing the family to

sustain, to some extent, their social reproduction needs, but soon this too diminished and the family's financial situation became even more precarious. This insecurity drove Alicia's husband to take up an offer from a friend who had already migrated to London and who was trying to convince him to join him and find work there.

> Y allá por qué? Porque se quedó en el paro, en España cuando tú trabajas, tienes derecho al paro, pero el paro te da por un cierto tiempo, entonces después ya te quedas sin nada de ayudas...[Y] él se quedó en el paro, agotó el paro, empezó a hacer otra actividad que no era lo de carpintería y no estaba a gusto. Y hubo la invitación, la oportunidad y se vino. Saber inglés, aventura por aquí…(Alicia).
>
> Why did we come here? Well, my husband was unemployed and in Spain when you're working you have the right to unemployment support, but unemployment only lasts for a certain time and then after that you're left with nothing…[And] he was unemployed, he'd used up his welfare, he'd been able to get other work that wasn't carpentry, but he wasn't happy. And then the invite came from his friend, an opportunity [to go to London], and he went. To learn English, to have an adventure… (Alicia).

The current era of neoliberal capitalism has ushered in a transformation in the organisation of socially reproductive activities at the local, national, and international level (Katz, 2001: 711; Bezanson, 2006: 175). This expansion of global capital has occurred alongside the imposition of severe austerity policies, with states withdrawing from the provision of crucial public services, such as welfare support or housing, allowing the market to step in and commoditise these services (Katz, 2001; Bakker, 2007). As Alicia's story highlights, the limited social provision protections offered in Spain and the precarious nature of work that followed the 2008 economic crash was an important factor in their decision to migrate. Unable to find work in his field, her husband took up the opportunity to move to London where he was told that there was work was available and which, as it turned out, he was able to quickly secure on arrival. Alicia's testimony thus makes clear how families have navigated the global withdrawal in the provision of social reproduction resources that has marked the neoliberal era. It also highlights the ways in which economic motivations overlapped with other personal and

professional factors. Alicia, for example, pointed to the added advantage of being able to learn English in London, a skill which was seen as essential to accessing better paid positions, both in London as well as if Alicia and her husband were to return to Spain. Meanwhile Alicia's description of their move to London as an "adventura [adventure]" reflects the various personal aspirations and dreams that migrants have for themselves which interlap with and support the economic factors that drive migration. These individual factors, the opportunity to travel, to experience life in a new country, and to learn about new cultures are too often only conceptualised within analyses of middle-class migrants but as the stories highlight, are similarly important motivating factors for working class migrants. It is crucial to recognise the complexity of these push factors in people's motivations to migrate, in order to move away from an exclusive focus on the economic needs of, particularly, working class migrants. Such an analytical focus neglects the various strategies for mobility that migrants develop not only to find better forms of work and advance their careers, but which they mobilise to also sustain themselves as social, cultural, and emotional beings.

Luciana and Alicia's testimonies also point to the significance of social networks in the migration decisions of Latin Americans in London. These social networks, spanning across Latin America, Spain, and London, were mobilised at various points of the migration journey, from influencing and facilitating the initial move, to aiding with the settlement in the new country. For Latin Americans living in Spain, word spread from friends and family already in London of the amount of work available in comparison to the employment situation in Spain. In discussing how she and her husband were able to find work when they first arrived in London, Alicia stated for example, "siempre es el boca a boca, siempre es un amigo y así fue [it's always word of mouth, it's always a friend, that's how it was." In this sense, the perception of opportunity of employment was significant; Latin Americans believed that there was a lot of work available in the U.K., that this work was available to anyone and that in some cases, there was opportunity to find more varied jobs than they had had in Spain. They drew upon their social networks, made up of friends and family, of other Latin Americans, in order to provide them with accurate and trustworthy information about life in the U.K. These networks played important roles in influencing people's decision to migrate and indeed their choice of destination, allowing people to plan and prepare for their migration projects. Even for those participants that migrated onwards to London, a largely reactive decision based on the deteriorating economic

conditions in Spain, their migration projects were similarly marked by a degree of foresight and planning, and the mobilisation of contacts and information through networks that spanned borders.

Participant's migration motivations were therefore shaped by a belief that there were opportunities to enter into more skilled work in London, but failing that, the certainty that there would be work in non-skilled sectors. This work was plentiful and would be better paid than what was available in Spain or in Latin America. On arrival to the U.K., many of the participants indeed told me that they found it relatively easy to find work, albeit not in more professional sectors as they had hoped, but in low wage and insecure sectors such as cleaning and hospitality. However, several participants also told me that once they began working in these sectors, and as over time their English improved, they were then able to progress into more administrative roles. These were opportunities which they said had not existed for them in Spain, even with the shared language and the advantages this should have conferred upon them. The lack of such opportunities in Spain had made it difficult for many of the participants to improve their economic position. Luciana, for instance, worked as a waitress in various cafes when she first arrived in London, but as her English improved, she was able to make use of her accounting degree and training from Bolivia to take on some of the accounting needs of the business. This was work she had not been able to do in Spain, where despite her qualifications and the shared language, she was only able to find low paid work in cleaning. The amount of work that was available in London, the option to choose between different jobs, the belief that there were opportunities to advance your position, and, crucially, the extent to which these opportunities contrasted with the situation they had faced in Spain, was therefore a significant factor in many participants motivations to migrate to the U.K.

> No es como en España que te tienes que quedar con lo que hay porque no hay más, no puedes coger. Aquí sí, sí que te puedes dar el lujo de, si no estás a gusto en un sitio, puedes buscar en otro sitio (Alicia).
>
> It is not like in Spain where you have to stay [in your job] because there's nothing else, because you can't get anything else. Here, you have the luxury of looking somewhere else for work if you're not happy in one place (Alicia).

> Hay oportunidades, es lo que te digo, hay trabajo. Aquí, no miran edad, no miran nada para para darte trabajo y eso. Es un país de oportunidades, la verdad que (Franceska).
>
> There are opportunities, that's what I'm telling you, there's work. They don't care how old you are here, they don't care about anything about you when they give you a job. It's a country of opportunities, that's the truth (Franceska).

Franceska's quote above also points to a particular attitude amongst participans that not only was work readily available, but it was also *equally* available to all in London. Participants felt that there was little discrimination in terms of nationality, ethnicity, age, or gender when it came to finding work, and that as Franceska stated, "[E]s un pais de opportunidades [it's a country of opportunities]". For participants that had lived in Spain before migrating to London, this feeling was particularly pronounced, especially in the context of the discrimination they had faced in Spain in the workplace and in Spanish society more broadly. For these Onward Latin Americans, the sense of equal opportunity was an important factor in their decision to migrate to London and then remain in the capital. In our discussions, they discussed their experiences of living and working in Spain; in spite of the shared language and the historical and cultural connections, they had experienced prejudice and discrimination in various areas of life, whether it was trying to find work, particularly more professionalised forms of work, or being made to feel 'other' and inferior to Spanish society because they were Latin American. In contrast, participants described London as more welcoming and open to people from different backgrounds and ethnicities. In interviews, they told me about the connections they had made with the Latin American community in London, and the opportunity they had to celebrate their ethnicity and heritage, in comparison to Spain where they were made to feel like an outsider.

> [N]o hay comparación. España está muy mal, no. España, al principio, cuando...me a gastarme, me costó, porque España por ser pequeño no sé…Eran racistas. Si, esa es la mentalidad española, es pequeña, cabeza pequeña. Entonces, al principio fue un poco difícil adaptarse. Y las costumbres, ellos, ellos quieren que uno haga todo lo cómo lo hacen ellos (Sara).
>
> [T]here's no comparison. Spain is really bad. At the beginning, it wore me out, it was tough because Spain was…I don't know, small minded. They were racist. Yes, that's it,

> the Spanish mentality, it's small minded. So, at first it was a bit difficult to adjust. And the customs and traditions…they, they want you to do everything like they do (Sara).

> Pero aquí empecé a valorar más esas raíces latinas. Eso es raíces de nuestros países. Y es tan bonito, no? Aquí encontrado muchas asociaciones, mucha gente que que cuida y valora y transmite. Eso no pasa en España (Alicia).

> [In London] I started to value my Latin roots more. The roots of our countries. And it's beautiful, no? I came across so many [Latin American] groups here, so many people that care and appreciate [the culture] and instil those values in you. That doesn't happen in Spain (Alicia).

In our interviews participants pointed to the impact this discrimination had on their career prospects in Spain and the nepotism and cronyism that determined who was given work or not – Luciana stated that "los trabajos se coloca el, el cuñado de tal o el primo o el amigo, no sé quién, pero no entra gente extranjera [jobs are given to the brother in law of so and so, or the cousin or the friend, but if you're from somewhere else, you don't get them]." In London, in contrast, participants were adamant that there was less discrimination and that opportunities for work were not limited by their ethnic background. Even before they migrated to London, participants heard through stories shared in their social networks of the amount of, comparatively, well paid work available in the U.K. and the economic security they could achieve – Luciana's cousin telling her, for instance, that she could find work in her preferred field if she moved to London. Once they arrived and settled in London, their experiences of work and greater financial stability in comparison to Spain reinforced their perception of London as a place of opportunity.

> Aquí he conseguido lo que en 20 años en España no me han dado. Que es oportunidad. Aquí no se fijan en la parte física, a ver si eres guapa o no o eres blanquita o lo que sea …En España no te aceptan a puesto de oficina, a yo que sea...practicamente en España, tristemente te puedo decir que estamos predestinados a trabajar, cuidando con el campo o cuidando los abuelos. No puedes optar otra cosa (Luciana).

> Here I've managed to achieve what 20 years in Spain couldn't give. Which is opportunity. They don't care what you look like here, if you're pretty, if you're white,

> whatever…In Spain you can't get a job in an office or anything like that. In Spain, the reality is, sadly, that we're destined to work in the fields or look after the elderly…You have no other choice (Luciana).

Participants' belief that opportunities are equally available to all in London stands in contrast to the reality that a disproportionate number of London's low-paid and insecure jobs are performed by migrant labour (Datta et al., 2007; May et al., 2007). Indeed, global cities such as London (Sassen, 2001) have become marked by this 'migrant division of labour' (Wills et al., 2010), a division which has emerged in the context of labour market de-regulation and welfare reform that has defined the neoliberal era. In London, as I have detailed throughout this thesis, occupational mobility is limited for Latin Americans and the majority of the community find themselves segregated in low wage, precarious forms of work (McIlwaine et al., 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019). Despite this, participants described London as a tolerant and open society, somewhere that they could be economically stable and where there was the possibility of improving their economic position. This was a progression that for those participants that had already migrated to Spain, had been disrupted because of the economic crash or limited because of the discrimination they had faced. Examining how Latin Americans perceived London as a social space therefore offers an important insight into the complexity of migration motivations and the compromises and negotiations that people must make in the fulfilment of their migration projects. Although Latin Americans are, largely, segregated in precarious forms of work such as cleaning and hospitality, there is nonetheless a significant amount of this work available in the U.K. This means that people have the option of looking for other work or quitting their jobs when they want to, knowing that there will be other work available. As Alicia stated, "aqui te puedes dar el lujo de, si no estás a gusto en un sitio, puedes buscar en otro sitio [here, you have the luxury of looking somewhere else for work if you're not happy in one place]." While this work is low wage, often takes place during unsociable hours, and offers few workplace protections, it provides a sense of financial security that stood in stark contrast to the economic situation many participants had experienced either in their home countries or in Spain where work opportunities were few, poorly paid or closed off to them entirely. In discussing her reasons for migrating to London, Beatriz, for instance, highlights the various compromises that inform people's migration decisions – as her quote below suggests, in London, even though her work as a cleaner meant she was unable to

see her family as much as she wanted, it nonetheless allowed her to earn enough money to support her family, something which was not the case in Spain.

> Si tienes que estar todo el día fuera de tu casa y resulta, no ves a tus hijos, no ves a tu familia, pero encima, no estás ganando dinero? Eso termina por, por agobiarte y pues por, por pasarte factura psicológicamente, no? (Beatriz).
>
> If your job means that you have to be away from your home all day and that means you don't see your children, you don't see your family and on top of that, you don't earn enough money? That gets you down, it takes its toll on you psychologically, no? (Beatriz).

Although Latin Americans saw the amount of work available in London as useful to certain aspects of their social reproduction needs, they nonetheless were aware of the different forms of precarity that employment in such work produces. Many participants, for example, often experienced a decline in their social mobility and status after migrating to London, as Alicia detailed:

> [Y]o creo que de la mayoría de gente Latina que hemos estado en España se puede decir que éramos de del nivel medio. Yo digo, aquí somos de nivel bajo…Pero allá, pues todos lograron comprar casa, se tenían su trabajo o teníamos trabajo, teníamos coche casi todos, todos, todos (Alicia).
>
> I think that the majority of Latin Americans who were in Spain, I'd say that we were middle class. Whereas here, I'd say we're working class…But there, well, everyone had managed to buy a house, they had their jobs, we had work, almost everyone had a car, everyone, everyone (Alicia).

As the stories suggest, for Latin Americans, migration to London was not solely about economic need or financial security, but about the fulfilment of various goals, such as their children's education, learning English or experiencing a new culture. Looking at the multiple and interlapping motivations makes clear the extent to which both structural forces and subjective agency shaped the lived experiences of Latin Americans in London. Indeed, recognising the complexity of motivations avoids both an overly deterministic structural argument, without undermining the very real inequalities created by Latin Americans' segregation in precarious

forms of work. For evidently, while work such as cleaning or hospitality is flexible and readily available in global cities such as London, these are also characteristics that define and indeed shape a precarious workforce (Datta et al., 2007; Alberti, 2014; McIlwaine, 2020). As discussed, this precarity was something that participants were well attuned to and indeed made clear in our interviews, particularly when discussing their settlement experience in the first few months after their arrival. Several of the women told me that in this period, in the absence of secure housing, employment or schools for their children, they were simply trying to 'survive'. Several participants also pointed particularly to the state welfare support they received as essential to this survival.

> Entonces tenemos la ayuda del Universal Credit, pues, hasta cierto punto, es un lujo, no, que te puedes dar. Yo pienso que es una de las cosas muy importantes que hace el Gobierno. Si no hubiera habido lo de la ayuda, sería muy difícil, que hubiera regresado para España. Ahí amigas que lo han hecho porque no podían con los gastos (Alicia).
>
> We get Universal Credit, which is a luxury that you can even get it, no? I think it's one of the most important things that the government does. If there hadn't been this financial support, it would have been really difficult, I would have had to go back to Spain. We have friends who had to do this because they couldn't afford the cost [of living in London] (Alicia).

As Alicia's statement suggests, despite the retrenchment of social welfare provision in the U.K. in recent years, the limited provision that remains available and the wealth of work available makes it possible to continue to live in London. Although there is the option of returning to Spain, where the cost of living is lower, for many participants staying in the U.K. is preferred and strived for in order to fulfil the various aspirations of the family, such as their children's education or learning English. Educational opportunities, as will be examined in the following section, was therefore also an important driver in Latin American family's migration decisions, and a significant factor in people's decisions to then remain in London.

Children and young people's education and generational social reproduction

Migration motivations are complex and multiple and for the participants in this study, the economic security they could achieve in London was interwoven with other important factors. For all of the participants in this study, the educational opportunities available in London and the chance for their children to learn English, were key factors in their decision to migrate. I spoke with Azucena, 46, at the end of 2020, who I met through my work as an English teacher for her son. She told me that she had migrated directly from Ecuador in 2018 without her two children but with the support of IRMO, she had been able to regularise her migration status and a year after arriving, was able to bring her two children to London. This was a decision that was made both because of the educational opportunities that would be available for her children in London and the limited job prospects available in Ecuador to support her family if they remained there. The experience of migrating to London had not been easy for Azucena and her family; the cost of housing meant they had moved several times, they had always lived in flats with several people from different families and soon after arriving to London, Azucena was also diagnosed with a serious illness. Despite these challenges, Azucena told me that the opportunities for her children to get a better education and for to find better work were important factors in why they came and then remained in the country.

> Aquí en este país, es más avanzado, se tiene más oportunidades de conseguir un mejor estudio, mejor trabajo. Se puede, se puede vivir de una manera diferente a Sudamérica (Azucena).
>
> Here in this country, it's more advanced, there are more opportunities to get a better education, a better job. You can have a different life here than in South America (Azucena).

For some participants, education was in fact the principal motivator in their decision to migrate to London. This was the case for Ruth, for example, who had been living in London with her husband and four children for 6 months when I interviewed her at the end of 2020. I had met Ruth and her family through IRMO where I was teaching online ESOL classes to two of her children at the time. Ruth had migrated as a young person from Bolivia to Spain with her own parents and siblings, settling in Sevilla where she lived for 17 years. Ruth's story was somewhat

distinct from the majority of participants that migrated onwards from Spain. Her family was economically stable in Spain and her husband had owned his own construction business which survived the economic crash in 2008 and continued to do well. The decision to migrate to London was made solely because of the education opportunities for their children – the children's prospects for university and work were considered greater if they could speak and write in English. As Ruth and her husband already had friends in London, they also knew that there was work available. The decision to move was therefore framed as a chance to see if they could settle in London and give their children a better education, with the understanding that the move was potentially temporary, and they could go back to Spain if need be. In fact, Ruth said many times throughout our interview that she was regretting the decision to come to London and that she wanted to go back to Spain. Although her husband had found work in London, the family had found it very difficult to find secure and quality accommodation and had moved house many times in the months since they moved to the U.K. Ruth told me that the family had also been the victims of a housing scam when they first arrived, losing a large amount of money in a fake tenancy scheme which left them temporarily homeless. Even in this moment however, they chose not to return to Spain as the children had settled in school and after many delays caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, were finally starting to improve their English.

> Y el proyecto, el plan de venirnos a cada la verdad ha sido un poco más por abrirle campo a nuestros hijos. Con el idioma, es que tal vez ellos se tengan tal vez mejores, mejores oportunidades uno piensa, no? Es ha sido el motivo de la migración no? Y aunque después aquí ha sido duro, nos ha costado mucho los primeros meses, no es como esperar…[C]omo decirte que muchas veces me gustaría volverme, me gustaría, pero bueno, es del objetivo de mis hijos. Y que ellos a ver, vamos a ver hasta dónde aprenden el idioma y si Dios lo permite, pues seguimos y si no, pues, no pasa nada. Fue una, una aventura más (Ruth).
>
> The reason for coming here was to open doors for our kids. Maybe if they know English, they'll have better…better opportunities…you would think, right? It was the reason we migrated. And although it's been hard here, it was difficult in the first months, it was not what I'd hoped…As I've told you many times I'd like to go back to Spain, I'd like to, but hey, this is for my children. And let's see, let's see how well they learn the language

> and God willing, we'll carry on and if not, well, no worries. It was one more adventure (Ruth).

Ruth's story points to the contradictions that exist between migration and social reproduction. From Ruth's account, migrating to London had put at risk certain aspects of the family's social reproduction; they had left what appeared to be an economically stable situation in Spain to move to London where they had faced unexpected and particularly acute precarity. However, the decision to migrate was a risk the parents knowingly chose and which, in the face of difficulties, they continued to endure for the future prospects of their children.

> Ha dejado todo y pues, pero bueno…no sabemos por qué estamos aquí, pero bueno…Y total estamos aquí, estamos bien donde sea, vamos a trabajar, vamos a sobrevivir, pero los niños, ellos estamos abriendo una puerta (Ruth).

> He [her husband] left everything behind and…we don't know why we're here, but hey. We're all here, we're fine, we're going to work, we're going to survive, but the children, they'll have opportunity (Ruth).

Ruth's migration story points to the strategies that families adopt not just for their immediate social reproduction needs, but for the generational reproduction of their families, making clear the extent to which people migrate not just for their own need but "as part of a larger strategy for supporting and caring for their children, parents, spouses and extended kin, and for planning for their future family life" (Baldassar et al., 2018: 431). Ruth's description of her children 'opening a door' also highlights that migrating to London was not just about maintaining the family's social reproduction resources but extending and increasing those resources. And it was through their children that these aspirations would be realised, pointing importantly to the role of children in the social reproduction strategies of families. Ruth's story also makes clear the ways in which processes of migration and social reproduction capacities are stratified by various axes of differentiation, such as class, income or even skill level. It could be suggested that Ruth and her family's migration to Spain was facilitated and even made easier because they were economically stable, and not because the parents needed to leave Spain in order to find work. This meant that their education aspirations for their children could take centre stage in their motivations, and that they could, perhaps, take greater risks. As Ruth stated, "vamos a trabajar, vamos a sobrevivir [we're going to work, we're going to survive]."

Their Spanish citizenship also gave them significant flexibility in these decisions, allowing them to be reactive to their changing social and economic circumstances across different national spaces. This was not the case for those Latin Americans in the study that migrated directly, such as Franceska or Azucena, whose mobility was significantly more constrained and therefore more insecure. Recognising the different social dimensions, such as class or migration status, that define different groups of Latin Americans in London, points to the ways in which social reproduction capacities are also experienced in stratified ways.

Migration strategies

Migration itself is a strategy used by individuals and families in order to secure their day-to-day and generational needs, a tactic employed to improve people's daily and future living conditions and opportunities. Migration is increasingly understood as encompassing complex and varied routes, multiple migration moves, temporary migration and onward migration between multiple places. The concept of onward migration and forms of "transnational, temporal or circular migration" (Mas Giralt, 2017: 1) have been particularly important in challenging the methodological nationalism that had dominated earlier and established understandings of migration (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). This offered an important corrective to traditional binary distinctions in migration research that thought of migration as a linear movement between two places, the home country and settlement country or rural and urban areas, for example (Ahrens et al., 2016: 85). Such an understanding of migration trajectories had presupposed that migrants have a definitive idea about their end settlement and that once acquiring citizenship in the host country, will settle indefinitely. Research into onward migration, however, has revealed the diversity of migration trajectories and the potential that exists for migrants to make multiple and repeated migrations (van Liempt, 2011; McIlwaine, 2012; Ahrens et al., 2016; Mas Giralt, 2017). This scholarship has largely focused on the changing landscape of contemporary Europe (McIlwaine, 2012; Ahrens, 2013; Ahrens et al., 2016; Mas Giralt, 2017). Intra-European mobility, whether permanent, temporary, circular, onward, or return, is not a new phenomenon; Strey et al. (2018) identified three periods of intra-European migration as: 'pre-enlargement' (before 2004), 'post-enlargement' (after 2007) and post 2008 economic crisis. The focus has often been on migration flows of certain types of

migration experiences, such as that of young students or middle-class professionals from southern Europe (Nijhoff and Gordano, 2017). A growing body of work is examining the mobilities of third-country nationals (TCNs) living in Europe who migrate again after living in a settlement country, with research examining particularly the multiple migrations made by several refugee populations after settlement. For instance, Lindley and Van Hear (2007) analysed the motivations and experiences of Somali and Tamil Sri Lankan Europeans who moved to the UK, while van Liempt (2011) looked at the relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the U.K. In these cases, onward migration was a reaction to conditions in the original settlement country rather than a planned strategy, whether it was a search for better opportunities or to seek out countries with larger communities of co-nationals (Ramos, 2018: 1842). In the case of asylum-seeking migrants, onward migration was a decision made because of limited options when choosing a country of settlement. In these cases, onward migration in fact only becomes an option once migrants have acquired citizenship and can legally relocate (van Liempt, 2011; Ahrens et al, 2016).

More recent studies have looked at the onward migration of TCNs with European passports who decided to migrate to other European countries in the period following the global economic crash in 2008. While the exact size and characteristics of this population is unclear, evidence has suggested that approximately 11.9 million third-country nationals who have become naturalised citizens in Europe use their acquired EU citizenship rights to move to another, usually more prosperous member state (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007; Bermudez, 2020). In the case of Spain, for instance, although official statistical data on the numbers of return and onward migration is difficult to establish, according to the INE an estimated 300,000 Spanish citizens left Spain between 2009 and 2010, of which 90% were third country nationals with Spanish passports (INE 2012: 2); however, research conducted by González-Ferrer (2013: 17) suggests that close to 700,000 people left Spain, with the U.K. a popular settlement country. This trend is exemplified in the case of Latin Americans who migrated from Spain to the U.K. in the years following the 2008 economic crash. Migration from Latin America to countries in Europe was largely a strategy for Latin American families to meet various social and economic needs, such as better employment, security and safety, and educational opportunities. In 2012, approximately 1.5 million Latin Americans were living in Spain, according to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE, 2012). A number of economic and

political factors can explain Latin American's population size in Spain. These include the shared culture and language, a consequence of historical colonial ties between the two regions; the right to citizenship for Latin Americans after only two years of continuous residence (compared to ten years for other foreign nationals) as well as amnesties for undocumented Latin Americans which allowed them to legalise their status; and the extent of economic prosperity in Spain in the 1990s that saw large numbers of Latin Americans migrating for work opportunities (Martín Díaz et al., 2012; Hierro, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2017: 4; Bermudez, 2020). However, southern European countries were hit particularly hard by the 2008 financial crisis as many countries, including Spain, experienced extensive unemployment, a deterioration in working conditions and a severe mortgage crisis (Martí and Pérez, 2016; Mas Giralt, 2017; Bermudez and Oso, 2019: 2; Bermudez, 2020). Countries which received financial assistance to alleviate their sovereign debt crisis were also required to make structural changes to their welfare and financial systems, resulting in the imposition of extensive austerity measures (Leahy et al., 2015: 24). The 2008 financial crisis had severe consequences for migrant communities in Europe. In Spain, there was a widespread loss of jobs in sectors with high numbers of migrants, such as hospitality and construction, a sharp deterioration of labour conditions, as well as demographic changes in terms of return and onward flows (Domingo, Sabater and Ortega, 2014; Dominguez-Mujica et al. 2014; Lopez-Sale and Oso, 2015). According to the INE, the rate of unemployment among non-Spanish citizens was 36.6% of nationals (INE, 2014: 5). The crisis had a specific impact on the Latin American community in Spain also. A large number of Latin Americans in Spain were also encouraged to buy houses before the crisis; however, when they became unable to meet the mortgage repayments, they remained liable for the debt, even after repossession (Hierro, 2013: 78). The result of the crisis was that a significant number of Latin Americans with European citizenship migrated to the U.K. McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) found that a third of Latin Americans in the U.K. had previous experience of migrating, with 80% of Onward Latin Americans (OLAs) moving from Spain and 70% leaving their previous EU country for economic reasons (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 33-37).

For many of the Latin Americans that participated in this research, the years spent in Spain had fulfilled their initial migration goals, providing economic stability, the ability to send remittances back home, safety and security, and, crucially, Spanish citizenship. This acquired

European citizenship, and the skills gained in navigating and negotiating immigration regimes across Europe, was an essential resource which increased their social and civic capital as well as the resources available to them to manage their social reproduction needs (McIlwaine, 2012: 294-295). Mobilising the civic capital gained through European citizenship meant, for example, that Latin Americans could move back and forth between Spain and Latin America, at times going back 'home' for several years. This citizenship of course made migration to other European countries, like the U.K., a possibility. The participants in this study that migrated from Spain to London all did so before Brexit or during the transition period when they were still able to migrate freely. Freedom of movement within the European Union means that it is comparatively easy to travel, live, work, and study between the countries of the E.U., and there are fewer border controls and restrictions in comparison to other countries.

> Cómo fue, fue relativamente un poco fácil en el sentido del, de los papeles como tengo pasaporte español. Pues se me hizo muy facil la…la transición de España (Sara).
>
> Well, it was relatively easy in relation to [migration] documentation as I have a Spanish passport. So, in that sense, the transition from Spain was very easy for me (Sara).

Acquiring European citizenship and the freedom of movement it offered was a significant incentive for participants when considering whether to migrate to the U.K. The availability of cheap, quick flights within the European bloc, the widespread access to IT communication such as WhatsApp, and of course, little or no border controls (before Brexit) meant that participants could plan and prepare for their migration to London with greater ease. People were also able to draw upon their social networks of friends and family already in London and travelled back and forth between Spain and the U.K. to get a sense of what life might be like and the opportunities and challenges they might face. In interviews, for instance, several participants discussed how one parent, often the father or husband, migrated first to London, sometimes for several years before the family joined. In that period there was constant back and forth movement between the two countries. This was the case for Esteban, 17, whose father moved to London after the economic crash to look for work, joining his brother, Esteban's uncle, who had been in London for several years. Esteban's father spent five years in the capital before his family joined him and during this time, his father would go back and forth to Spain, the family would speak on WhatsApp and Skype, and Esteban would visit his father in London for several weeks at a time.

> And we also have, like even before we permanently moved to the UK, we'd already visited my dad sometimes, so we would like come up to the UK and go back to Spain (Esteban, 17).

In our interview, Esteban told me that his fathers' move to London had initially been a temporary one; he had joined his brother to help him out with a short-term work contract, however his stay then became more permanent because of a chance of fate – his flight back to Spain was cancelled because of the Icelandic volcano eruption in 2010 and while waiting for a new one, he found a new job. This story highlights the flexibility and possibilities that European citizenship offered to his father and to the family more broadly. At the end of the work contract, Esteban's father could stay in the U.K. and see what opportunities came his way, without fear of overstaying a visa or being unable to see his family for long periods of time. European citizenship therefore enabled and better prepared people's transition and settlement into a new country.

The acquisition of European citizenship, and the rights it granted, was not just limited to the individual that acquired it but also used to reunite family members living outside of the EU. One of the young people in this study, Lucas, migrated directly to the U.K. from Colombia to join his father who had been living in London for a year prior. Lucas migrated to London for the educational opportunities available in the country and was able to do so with relative ease as his father had married a Spanish woman. This meant that under the EU's family reunification agreement, Lucas was entitled to join them in London.

> [F]ue planeado como hace como 2 años, como 2018 fue planeado más o menos…La fue porque las, pues a mi papá estaba acá y porque yo tambien de Colombia, pero pues ella tiene nacionale de española y está acá de visita. Y entonces mi papá, como que, vio la oportunidad y hablaron entre los dos y decidieron cómo tomar esa decisión (Lucas, 17).

> [I]t was planned, like, 2 years ago, like in 2018 more or less it was all planned...My dad was here [in London] and because I'm also from Colombia, but she [his wife] has Spanish nationality and he's here with her. So, my dad, he kind of saw the opportunity for me to come and they talked to each other and decided to make that decision to bring me over (Lucas, 17).

Lucas's story emphasises the various strategies that families use to increase their mobility and facilitate their own and others' migration projects. These strategies allow families to fulfil their various social reproduction needs. The role of children in these decision-making processes is crucial – as dependants, they are both the beneficiaries of these strategies as well as the reason to mobilise citizenship in the first place. In Lucas' case, his father drew upon his wife's Spanish citizenship to bring his son over to the U.K. from Colombia where he could take advantage of greater educational opportunities and the chance to learn English. This decision had not been part of a broader planned strategy but one which emerged in the context of proximity to European citizenship and the rights and opportunities that this conferred.

Before Brexit, European citizenship therefore allowed most of the participants in this study to conceptualise their migration and settlement in the U.K. in different ways. With the various border restrictions involved in migrating to London or back to Latin America removed, peoples' migration motivations could also be more varied. Whether for economic prospects, education, the chance for an adventure or to experience a new culture, European citizenship (Luthra et al., 2014: 11) meant that migration did not entail the same risks and challenges as other forms of migrations, as people could freely move back and forth between multiple countries. It allowed them to easily travel to find out about work opportunities available, where to look for housing and in which neighbourhoods or to get a sense of the schooling system. In this way, these transnational families utilised the rights of European citizenship not only to best achieve their social reproduction needs, but to ensure a smoother transition to (another) new country for their families. The restrictions imposed by Brexit will clearly pose new challenges for how migration is conceptualised amongst Latin American families and the strategies that are conceived to meet social reproduction needs. New questions also emerge around how such bordering constructions have reconstructed everyday citizenship for migrant families and have shaped and possibly constrained the potential for social and political solidarity because of the different constructions of identity, belonging and citizenship that are inherent to such political agendas (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018: 230).

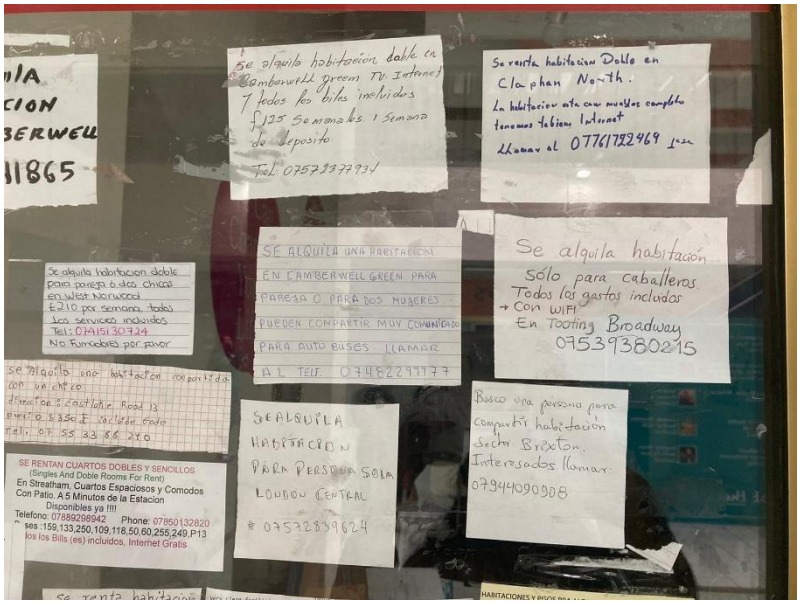

Figure 7: Adverts and notices in Spanish advertising rooms for rent, on a notice board in Elephant and Castle shopping centre before it was demolished.

For Onward Latin Americans, the first experience of migrating to and living in Spain was also a resource drawn upon when they planned and enacted their migration to London. This experience had enabled them to acquire various skills and know-how in navigating the process of migration and settlement, knowledge which they could use to prepare them for a further migration (Ramos, 2018). It gave them the insight into how to access resources and services, where to look for support and advice and the skills to build useful relationships once they settled in the new country. These skills were assets that were remarked upon by several of the organisations and individuals working with Latin Americans in London.

> I have the feeling that a lot of people we see, especially for those that have moved from one country, you know, it's not the first time…that they've changed countries, so I think they're kind of used to…like, ok, there's another document I need to complete for whatever reason (Paula, immigration advisor, IRMO).

Participants previous experience of migration had also embedded them in new social networks, as well as strengthened their existing ones. These networks existed in various sites – in people's countries of origin, in Europe following a first migration, as well as in the U.K. amongst those who had already migrated. They were crucial resources that participants mobilised before, during and after migration, and through which information and support

about life in London was offered. Even before migrating, most participants for instance, through networks of friends, families, and acquaintances, knew of the 'Latin American' neighbourhoods in London. Such spaces and the 'Latin' identities that were remade within them in opposition to and conjunction with wider social, political, and economic processes, are of particular cultural significance for the Latin American community in London (Román-Velázquez, 1999). These areas – Elephant and Castle, Seven Sisters, as well as smaller pockets of the community in neighbourhoods such as Brixton, had been signposted to them as places where they could look for jobs, find out about services, inquire about housing, buy culturally specific foods, listen to Latin music. Several participants also told me how they joined different Facebook and WhatsApp groups before migrating to find work opportunities or information about housing. Alicia, for example, told me that she used social media to find somewhere for her family to live both before she arrived and then once she got to London:

> Me buscaba por Facebook, un grupo 'Colombianos en Londres', 'Españoles en Londres', en Facebook y les escribía, escribía, 'oye, estoy buscando casas, por favor, si saben de algo'. Unas personas, si son buenas y se toman el tiempo de leer, me mandaron, me mandaron teléfono de personas que consiguen aquí casas y eso …[Y] en 4 días encontré - lo que mi esposo es, mi esposo en 6 meses no lo había podido hacer, y yo, 4 días (Alicia).

> I would search on Facebook, groups like 'Colombians in London', 'Spaniards in London', and I'd wrote in them, 'hey, I'm looking for houses, if you know anything please let me know". A few people, if they were nice and took the time to read them, they sent me phone numbers of people who find houses here and things like that…[A]nd in 4 days I found somewhere – in 4 days I managed what my husband hadn't been able to do in 6 months (Alicia).

Developing and maintaining these networks were skills that people acquired before leaving their countries of origin in Latin America, as well as once they arrived in Spain. They were networks that were mobilised before, during and after each migration, providing, for example, its members with information on jobs available in London or somewhere to stay in the first few weeks and months in the capital. These networks were thus essential to the migration strategies of families and to ensuring, particularly, the immediate social, emotional, and practical needs of the family on arrival (Luthra et al., 2014).

> Cuando me mudé a Londres, solo los, solo mi hijo y yo. So…la experiencia al principio fue, no difícil pero para aprender la lengua, para mí, si, que es un poco difícil porque venía con un niño menor de edad que necesitaba escolarización y... Bueno, tuve un suporté de una señora que yo conocí aquí colombiana. Llegué a, viví a su casa y bueno, ella me ayudó con la información porque ya tuvo una experiencia también con un nieto de ella. Y…y tuve mucha suerte porque al tercer día que he llegado a Londres yo encontré trabajo (Mariana).
>
> When I moved to London it was just me and my son. So...at the beginning it wasn't difficult, but learning the language, well yeah, for me that was a little difficult because I came here with a child who needed to go to school. But a woman I knew helped me, a Colombian woman. I came here, I lived in her house, and she helped me [with schooling] because she had some experience with her grandson. And…and I was very lucky because on the third day after I arrived in London, I found a job (Mariana).

Participants previous experience of migration meant that they not only knew where to look for support, but the types of people that could assist them with their settlement into the U.K. Latin American community organisations such as IRMO or Casa Latina were widely referenced while several participants also discussed using the services of a *gestor* or *tramitadore* (agent) once they arrived in London. A *gestor* is someone who, because of their English language skills and familiarity with the local system, is paid privately to help with various tasks and needs, such as filling out documents or completing applications.

> Hay muchos acá. Mucho. Y casi todo el mundo sabe - mira, gestor en Camberwell, en Brixton. Porque en eso, sí, he visto que la gente que habla español e inglés gana dinero. Completan las aplicaciones, las aplicaciones de colegios, aplicaciones para...cualquier cosa, entonces ellos cobran por hacer una aplicación (Sara).
>
> There's loads here. Loads. And nearly everyone knows one – oh, there's a *gestor* in Camberwell or one in Brixton. People that can speak Spanish and English can make money because of it. They fill out applications, college applications, applications for… anything, they get paid to do an application (Sara).
>
> [T]he *gestor*, he is this figure in Spain. Everyone knows who a gestor is…Someone who sorts out all your *tramites,* your paperwork. And in this ccountry, we don't really have

a figure like that. So, it seems to me, just empirically, there are these people who have just set themselves up as *gestores*, which is something people who come from Spain, for example, will recognise (Elliot, Immigration Advisor, Casa Latina).

Figure 8: Advert for a *gestor*, Elephant and Castle

Participants told me that the concept of the *gestor* is well known amongst the Latin American community and was commonly used by participants when they had lived in Spain. These *gestors* had supported several families when they first arrived from Latin America and as a resource, had been transferred to the U.K. to help Spanish-speaking migrants with access to various services and support.

Conclusion

Migration projects are increasingly dynamic and unpredictable, potentially encompassing more than one move to a new country, and shaped by various factors such as economic aspirations, disillusionment, racism and discrimination, the availability of social networks, as well as structural factors including constrained movement in host countries (Ahrens et al., 2016). As this chapter has detailed, the motivations of Latin American families to come to the U.K. were complex and multiple and were embedded within the immediate and long-term social reproduction strategies and needs of the family. Securing these social reproduction

needs wasn't just about securing the material, practical resources necessary for social reproduction, through security of work or better paid work for example. It was also about accessing resources to sustain the family and its members as social and cultural beings. For instance, although motivations were certainly formed on the basis of the perceived job prosperity and opportunity for work progression available in London, they also stood alongside the educational opportunities that would be available to their children, as well as the chance to learn English. Despite the reality that the work of participants often embedded them into different forms of precarity, the possibility that life in the U.K. would bring about other resources for their social reproduction meant that many Latin Americans in this research chose to stay in the capital. The strategies through which Latin Americans achieved the goal of migrating to London were similarly varied. Those that moved onwards to London from another European country utilised the increased social mobility they had acquired through European citizenship. Others, particularly the young people in this study, made use of European family reunification policies to migrate directly to London to join a family member with European citizenship. Moreover, those that had already migrated once before knew that, despite the challenges they might face – settling their families, learning English, finding employment, finding housing etc. – they had considerable knowledge in how to manage life in a new country and the spaces and people through which to find support. Once they arrived in London, participants found themselves adapting and creating new social reproduction strategies to organise their social, economic, and cultural needs. This included drawing on the resources within their local, national, and transnational networks, which they used to gather advice and support before, during and after migration. Evidently, in the context of Brexit, and the end to particular legal entitlements that European citizenship afforded to many Latin Americans, (such as freedom of movement, right to residence, access to state services, access to employment, etc.), there will be important questions as to how Latin Americans now imagine a migration to the U.K., and the resources available, or not, to them to do so. For instance, EU citizens in the U.K. with settled or pre-settled status face new restrictions on family migration, such as proof of minimum income and a fee to process biometric information fee (Turcatti and Vargas-Silva, 2022: 290). As the everyday bordering literature makes clear, the re-bordering processes inherent to the Brexit project and which have led to the "territorial displacement and relocation of borders and border controls" (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018: 230) mean that the possibilities for migration and the scope of such projects have become more restricted.

However, what is clear is the extent to which migration is viewed by Latin American families as a strategy for fulfilling the day-to-day and generational social reproduction needs of the family, and importantly the interrelated ways in which they strategise to make this migration possible.

Chapter 5 – Accessing the resources of social reproduction

As the literature on social reproduction and transnational migration has emphasised, in an era of increased global migration, migrants and their family members secure the resources they need for their social reproduction through a configuration of actors – household, the state, the market, and the third sector – across local, national, and transnational networks. However, in global cities such as London, characterised by the super-diversity of its population (McIlwaine, 2011; Berg, 2019; Román-Velázquez and Retis, 2020), important questions remain as to the extent to which migrant groups are able to access the resources of social reproduction through services and support provided by the state and the ways in which such experiences are stratified as a result of various social dimensions of difference. Drawing on fieldwork with Latin American children and adults as well as service providers in the public, private and third sector, this chapter examines the multiple and intersecting inequalities of access that Latin Americans in London experience when attempting to organise their social reproduction needs and the intensification of these barriers within the context of the hostile environment, practices of everyday bordering, and the re-privatisation of social reproduction that has defined the years of austerity in the U.K. As a population diverse in terms of nationality, ethnicity, class, educational background, and migration status (McIlwaine, 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2019), the Latin American community offers a unique insight into the nature of precarity and the inequalities of access that mark migrant communities experience of social reproduction. Examining the day-to-day lives of Latin Americans in this way will focus on specific spaces understood as essential to how social reproduction is accomplished – access to secure and well-paid employment, access to welfare and social service resources such as quality and affordable housing, and children's experience in the education system and their access to schooling. The chapter will examine these sites, the institutions responsible for its provision, and the various barriers to access that Latin Americans experience as a result of structural inequalities of class, gender, race, ethnicity, migration status, as well as job market stratification and language discrimination. As in Chapter 4, this chapter examines access to services and thus social reproduction resources through the lens of the Latin American migrant family as a whole, and not just the role of children, with an emphasis on the specific role of the state in shaping and so stratifying the experience of social reproduction in the lives of migrant

families. It does so to emphasise how strategies for organising and managing social reproduction are differentially experienced, the result of structural processes and various hierarchies of material and social inequalities that produce advantage for some and disadvantage for others (Nunn and Tepe-Belfrage, 2019). In doing so it so makes clear the social, political, and economic context for examining children and young people's role in social reproduction, as chapters 6-8 will do.

This chapter argues that the barriers that Latin Americans experience are in essence barriers to the material and social resources necessary for social reproduction and thus the regeneration of life (Berg, 2019; Stevano et al., 2021). Taking this position, it will analyse these barriers in two ways. First, drawing on the literature on welfare policy implementation and internal bordering (Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018; Cassidy, 2019) they are understood as structural; the result of social, economic, and political policies designed to deliberately exclude or limit different categories of people from accessing social services. In this respect, the term migrant encompasses a range of legal statuses and policy groups in the U.K., whether third-country nationals, asylum-seekers, refugees, or European citizens, as was the case of many of the Latin Americans that participated in this research. 'Migrant' encompasses all of these statuses to reflect the fact that although some groups of migrants may have legally sanctioned access to social services, coercive and contradictory immigration regimes, and harassment by government institutions (Shah and Lerche, 2020) means that this does not translate to practical access to services. In its analysis, this chapter also draws on Lydia Morris' concept of 'civic stratification' to examine how Latin Americans in London, both with and without European passports, and in the context of Brexit and changing legal entitlements, face exclusion from certain services as a result of various barriers to access. These barriers are upheld through conscious and unconscious 'everyday bordering' practices, and the ongoing practices designated by the UK's 'hostile environment' approach (Cassidy, 2018; Cassidy et al., 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). Everyday bordering, in this respect, refers to the ways in which borders are articulated both as classic territorial boundaries between nation-states but also through geo-political imaginaries and bordering practices that pervade the everyday in cultural, social, and symbolic ways (Walsh et al., 2022). This could be through bureaucratic practices that require ordinary citizens, from frontline service providers, teachers, landlords and employers, to guard the (internal) border and to oversee and thus control who can and

cannot access various resources of the state. The barriers to service access that Latin Americans in the U.K. face in relation to their migration status also intersects with their emplacement within a stratified system of labour which is based on their race-ethnicity, class, gender, and language ability. The chapter therefore draws upon Shellee Colen's (1995) concept of stratified reproduction, in conjunction with Lydia Morris' (2006) concept of civic stratification, to examine how the social, economic, and political structures within which Latin Americans are situated on arrival in the U.K. determines their access to services and thus the resources required for social reproduction.

Given that this research was situated within the U.K., this chapter also examines barriers to service access for migrant communities as 'resource related', a product of austerity measures and social and economic policy changes related to welfare reform and which have been enacted in the U.K from 2010 onwards (Lonergan, 2015; Gray and Barford, 2018). These ideologically driven measures have led to drastic reductions in public expenditure and financial cuts made across almost all government and local authority budgets, including social care, social security, and healthcare (Gray and Barford, 2018). These cuts and the reduction in public service provision have been felt in various ways, for instance, in the amount of resources that local councils were allocated to run services such as language classes, as well as the funding that has been available to third sector organisations and outreach services, a substantial source of service provision for migrant communities (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2017). Public services and social protections reduce vulnerability and households' reliance on low wages (Greene and Morvant-Roux, 2020: 1500) yet inherent to the neoliberal agenda is to "externalize as much as possible the costs of social reproduction on to the populace at large" (Harvey, 2014: 436). A reduction therefore in resources and funding for services, either to the extent that services no longer function effectively, or they become intentionally withheld from certain groups, such as migrants with 'no recourse to public funds', creates significant barriers to how it is that such groups are able to access the resources necessary for social reproduction (Berg, 2019). Although these barriers could be seen as an indirect outcome of public spending austerity, this chapter argues that they should also be understood as deliberate, an evitable outcome of aggressive neoliberal reform within industrialised countries that has shifted responsibility for social reproduction away from the state and placed more of the responsibility onto households (Bakker, 2007). As this chapter will detail, this shift has had implications for

the production and reproduction of inequality and precarity for, particularly, migrant groups in the U.K. (Stevano et al., 2021).

Latin American's job market stratification: the intersection of language and work

Latin Americans have one of the highest employment rates in comparison to other foreign-born workers and in relation to the London population as a whole, (McIlwaine et al, 2011). The majority of Latin Americans are employed at an average rate of 69% in London and 66% in England and Wales as a whole, an employment rate that is much higher than other migrants in the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 24). As a group they are also largely very well-educated, with three quarters obtaining qualifications in their home country before migrating (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 35) and 51% achieving a tertiary level/university education (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 20). Despite these high levels of education, Latin Americans in London tend to be concentrated in low wage and precarious employment, working multiple jobs, often at irregular hours and predominantly in minimally regulated industries such as cleaning or hospitality (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 54-56; Berg, 2017; Berg, 2019; Montanez, 2020). Almost half (47%) of all Latin Americans living in London are concentrated in low-wage, elementary, service sector and personal service jobs, such as contract cleaners, waiters, security guards, kitchen assistants, au pairing, and shop assistants (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 56). This is much higher than the majority of other Londoners working in elementary jobs; only Romanians are found in higher proportions in elementary jobs (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 25). Within London, the boroughs of Newham (40%), Lambeth (39%) and Southwark (38%) have the highest concentrations of Latin Americans working in elementary jobs (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 27). The high levels of education and professional qualifications in their previous countries of residence means that Latin Americans often experience a decrease in social mobility after migrating to the U.K. and difficulty progressing out of low-wage work; only a very small minority worked in elementary jobs in their home country. This job market stratification appears somewhat uniform between Latin Americans with different citizenship statuses, such as British Latin Americans; Latin Americans with EU citizenship (who are entitled to continue working in the U.K. without a visa if they were living in the UK before 1 January 2021); and Latin Americans without EU citizenship (who now need work visas and permits to continue working)

(Berg, 2019). A study by Mas Giralt (2015) found that Latin Americans migrating to the U.K. from Spain and other European countries were concentrated in similar low paid sectors as those Latin Americans who had been settled in the U.K. for longer periods of time, although Latin Americans who arrived in the UK after 2000 are much more likely to be employed in elementary jobs (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 57).

The segregation of Latin Americans in insecure and low wage industries, such as cleaning and hospitality, exemplifies what has been described as a 'migrant division of labour' that has emerged in global cities such as London (Sassen, 2001; Wills et al., 2010). As a global city, the London labour market has been particularly marked by the changes in the new global economy brought about under neo liberalisation, which has seen a shift from a manufacturing economy to a service-based economy, increased flexible and minimally regulated working arrangements and the removal of social welfare and protections. This shift has led to a disproportionate number of migrants, including Latin Americans, employed in particular forms of precarious work (Sassen, 2001; May et al., 2007; Kofman, 2014: 85; Stevano et al., 2021; McIlwaine, 2019; McIlwaine, 2020). It is a polarisation of employment determined by multiple and intersecting inequalities, one of which is language discrimination and the barriers experienced by the community in accessing language support. Analysis from the 2011 Census found that Latin Americans have a limited grasp of English, with 1 in 5 Latin Americans in London (approximately 17%) unable to speak English or not speak it well (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 74). These language limitations are reflected in the make-up of particular areas of the capital, and the level of translation support that becomes needed by the Latin American community in those areas. For instance, in London boroughs with large populations of Latin Americans, such as Lambeth and Southwark, Spanish was the most commonly spoken language after English and the most requested language for translation services in 2014-15 (Berg, 2019). Language discrimination intersects with employment in important ways, most clearly in limiting the opportunities for Latin Americans to enter into more permanent, secure, and better paid forms of work in London. Interviews with service providers and the third sector consistently highlighted the relationship between language capacity and job opportunity for Latin Americans.

> [T]here are some particular barriers that I think that community faces often in terms of language, so we sometimes see higher numbers of Spanish and Portuguese speakers in

> lower-paid employment. [It's] quite often related to the hospitality industry as well, we're kind of seeing quite high numbers of people working in things like housekeeping and those kind of service industries. And where people are struggling to progress and get into better paid work because of, particularly, written language skills rather than necessarily spoken language skills (Employment officer, Lambeth Council).

Latin Americans' segregation in precarious forms of work within sectors such as hospitality and cleaning, the low wages offered and the unsociable hours that are required, also limit the opportunities that individuals have to improve their language skills. The work involved in these sectors creates additional economic and material disadvantages, whether being able to afford and regularly attend English language classes outside of work or being able to access subsidised support for services such as language classes. For instance, as most Latin Americans are employed in multiple jobs and with different employers, they are not eligible for income-related benefits, which means that they cannot qualify for subsidised ESOL classes; on the other hand, they also cannot afford to pay the market rate for private language classes (McIlwaine et al., 2011; Berg, 2019). Beyond being able to regularly attend or afford English classes, Latin Americans' job market stratification also reduced the time, energy, and capacity to learn English outside of work. In my interview with an employment officer at Lambeth Council, he discussed the challenges that Latin Americans face managing their work-life balance and the implications of this precarity for meeting their daily and generational social reproduction needs.

> Some of the feedback that we've got from community engagement is that people who are in work, even though perhaps they need to improve their language skills to move on in work, don't have the time because they're either at work or they're then…coming home to look after families. Or just getting on with their day-to-day lives. Or they're working so much that actually, you know that they just don't have, physically the time to…study (Employment officer, Lambeth Council).

In our interviews, Latin American participants described how their work hindered their capacity to meet and sustain their other day-to-day needs, particularly, finding the time to learn English. Franceska, for example, was in her late 30s when we spoke at the beginning of 2021 and had been living in south London for nearly 5 years. She migrated directly from the Dominican

Republic with her husband, who had passed away from COVID-19 only a few months before our interview. Franceska has a son, a baby who was under a year old at the time of our interview and they were living in a flat with a few other people also from the Dominican Republic. Franceska works as a cleaner in and around Liverpool Street and I met her through the IWGB union which she had recently joined in order to get support with a pay dispute. Franceska had studied accounting in the Dominican Republic and had worked in administration before migrating to the U.K. because, as she described, "tú puedes estudiar una carrera, pero hay pocas posibilidades de trabajos (you can study for a career, but there are few job opportunities)." In our interview, Franceska told me that she wanted to go to English classes and improve her language skills, but with the demands of her job and looking after her child, she was unable to find the time and indeed energy to do so.

> [C]uando tú no tienes quien te mantenga, tú tienes que trabajar, sí o sí. Porque aquí no estamos en nuestro país, es que alguien te pueda un plato de comida aquí no? Y ya, pues por el momento me lo estoy pensando estudiar, pero también tengo que pensármelo bien porque tengo mi bebé, estoy sola. Está en cuestión de que, hay que trabajar, comprendo. Pero sí, quiero volver a entrar porque quiero seguir estudiando. Me interesaría estudiar aquí enfermería. Estoy mirando la oportunidad a ver (Franceska).

> [W]hen you don't have anyone to support you, you have to work, one way or the other. Because we're not in our country, no one's going to just give you food, are they? So, although I'm thinking about studying, I also have to make good decisions because I have my baby and I'm alone. I have to work, you understand. But yeah, I want to go back to learning English because I want to continue studying. I'd be interested in studying nursing here. I'm looking at what opportunities there are (Franceska).

For Latin Americans, language barriers create and exacerbate different forms of precarity, whether, as discussed, finding secure employment, or having the resources and time to improve their language level. Language barriers also increase the insecurity and precarity of employment that many Latin Americans face once in their jobs, whether in respect of negotiating and understanding their work contracts, being able to actualise employment rights and benefits when needed or being able to progress their position within the workplace. In this

way, language barriers thus also work to sustain the job market segregation and exploitation experienced by the Latin American community, while simultaneously ensuring a constant supply of low wage labour. Interviews with service providers and community workers highlighted that the challenges caused by language barriers are particularly acute for Latin American women, who are more likely to be employed in minimally regulated sectors such as hospitality and cleaning. As a result, they are more vulnerable to sexual discrimination and abuse within the workplace, pointing to the ways in which gender inequalities intersect with inequalities of citizenship status and access to social services and welfare (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015; Berg, 2019: 192).

> Some people don't have a [written] contract and it's like, that is where…the issue starts because there's nothing for them to go on, they don't know their rights, they don't know if they're classed as employed, or self-employed (Employment advisor, IRMO).

> [It's] predominantly women who are in those types of work and often…it's really exploitative…often women will be hired into a home to do cleaning, childcare, whatever, and then are super exploited. [A]nd I think a lot of those women also don't have recourse to public funds and so they're extra vulnerable (Employment advisor, IRMO).

> The way I see it is, they [Latin Americans] have the same problems that, for example English speakers have, and that's compounded by the language issue, and if you're economically disadvantaged, you know, the barriers that that creates. So, it's…everyone has problems accessing services [but] with the Latin American community, it's multiplied I think, compounded (Advice worker, Casa Latina).

Economic precarity, insecurity of wage and language barriers leaves Latin Americans vulnerable to changing social and political conditions, as the Covid-19 pandemic acutely demonstrated. Much of the two years I spent volunteering with IRMO was through the height of the Covid pandemic. During this period, it became clear how the services offered by the organisation had to adapt to meet the huge increase in the number of people who were suddenly unemployed or were living on a drastically reduced income, but who were also without any social protections. I observed how the families I worked with in education and

schooling were increasingly asking to be referred to food banks or applying for free school meals or asking for advice on welfare applications. In an interview with a welfare office at IRMO in July 2020, I was told:

> The demand for the service increased. Completely, it was from 100% to 200, maybe 250…The service is more challenging (Samuel, welfare officer, IRMO).

During the pandemic, Latin American workers in London, who are predominantly concentrated in sectors such as cleaning and hospitality, found their working hours significantly reduced as offices emptied of workers and restaurants and businesses were forced to close. Many of these workers were also not eligible for the furlough schemes set up by the government as they were employed in informal, often unregulated, working arrangements, leaving them with few, if any, legal protections, and financial support once national lockdowns were imposed. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and this sudden decrease in income increased the precarity of participants in various ways. Ruth, for example, who had been living in London with her husband and four children for 6 months when I interviewed her at the end of 2020 told me, "Es duro porque muchas veces tú estás acostumbrada a vivir bien. Aquí a pasar incomodidades y todo eso [It's hard because you're used to living well. Here, it's uncomfortable]". Alicia, originally from Ecuador, had moved to London in 2017 from Spain, and described the challenges she and her family faced during the pandemic when her hours working as a cleaner were drastically reduced.

> Están vasadas, todas las oficinas, están vacías. Estuve de 6 a 8 en Farringdon, igual. Lo mismo. Llegaban 5 personas por piso y no más. En el otro, estaba por London Bridge, por ahí, y lo mismo, o sea, pocita gente. No vienen a las oficinas o sea. Son oficinas que son a veces de 100 personas, pero no - todos están trabajando pero trabajan en casa. Y este va a ser un problema para nosotros, para los 'cleaners', es un problema (Alicia).

> They're empty, all the offices are empty. I was working from 6 to 8am in Farringdon, and it's the same there. There's 5 people per floor and that's it. In the other office by London Bridge, it's the same there, there's only a few people. They're not coming to offices. These are offices that had 100 people in them sometimes, but now, they're all working from home. And this is going to be a problem for us, for cleaners, it's a problem (Alicia).

Language discrimination and access to social reproduction resources

The language discrimination experienced by the Latin American community also inevitably interacts with and compound other barriers faced by the community in such a way as to limit their access to the resources necessary for social reproduction. Fieldwork and interviews with Latin Americans, service providers, schools and staff at community organisations emphasised the multiple and interrelated ways that language barriers and particularly a lack of literacy in how services function impact on Latin Americans' access to state-administered services such as housing, education, and welfare.

> [O]bviously the language barrier I think is huge. In terms of them understanding the kind of the provisions that are out there. And also, in terms of them advocating for their own support they need (IRMO Employment Officer).

These same issues also limit Latin Americans' inclusion and participation in society more broadly, whether in respect of obtaining information about what services are available and how to access them, communicating with service providers at the front line in order to seek advice or advocating for support in the face of barriers. A lack of language literacy also has implications in a more practical sense, such as correctly filling out a school application form, applying for a National Insurance number or opening a bank account.

> [There is a] lack of understanding of the services. That's because…you have everything on gov.uk, but every-, if everybody could read or understand exactly how to manage that information, they will not need advisors, they will not need citizen advisers. They have everything on their pages. But[it] is not fully transparent. So, I will say…the barrier of don't speaking a second language. This lack of understanding of the services and lack of terminology (Welfare advisor, IRMO).

> [People] are not fully aware of all of their rights, mainly due to the language barrier or maybe due to the fact that, as myself, we were not raised in this country, so therefore there are a lot of things that you start finding out and learning on the way and I think that that's probably pertinent to any migrants. I mean people were not even aware that evictions were banned during Covid, the pandemic, so you know, that's how

> vulnerable a person could be and if they happen to have a not very ethical landlords, you know what can happen, you can imagine (Advisor, Latin Elephant).

An Early Years Help officer at Lambeth working with a number of Latin American families in the borough discussed how the challenges that the community faces when communicating with service providers means that people cannot pass on important information or cannot have their concerns and needs adequately addressed. In our interview, we discussed the case of a family who struggled to get appropriate educational support for one of their children because they weren't able to communicate with the school and because a translator wasn't offered.

> So, one family in particular at the moment we've got...um, limited English however they understand more than in which - what they're able to articulate. But what we found when we kind of started working with them is they were having a lot of difficulty with a local school. One, one of their, the youngest child sadly has a lot of high-end learning needs, but the school I think, they weren't being held to account and the family were trying to advocate as best they could for the support for that child but it, it just wasn't penetrating, so they were feeling very kind of oppressed and disempowered (Lambeth officer).

The complexity of state services in the U.K. and the intricacies of the various application forms, regulations, requirements, and procedures associated with these services, makes access even more challenging for non-English speakers. Basic literacy in systems and a high degree of cultural competency, for both migrant communities and UK-born residents, is essential to successfully accessing the resources necessary for day-to-day life (Harris, 2006). Yet participants consistently expressed how their limited English left them unsure about how to find out the right information, access support or even advocate for their rights and entitlements, as one participant, Alicia discussed:

> Cuando no sabemos inglés tenemos mucho miedo. Mucho miedo de todo, aunque sea fácil, pero es el miedo, es el miedo a las cosas, el hecho de no saber cómo funciona. Y mientras más tenga seguridad en el inglés, es mejor. Es muy muy muy necesario (Alicia).

> When you don't know English, you're really afraid. I'm really afraid of everything, even if it's easy, but it's the fear, it's a fear of things, of not knowing how things work. The more confident you are in English, the better. It is really really really necessary (Alicia).

Despite the well-known concerns as to the impact of language barriers for Latin Americans and non-English speaking communities more widely, and the general consensus at the policy and academic level that speaking English is essential in order to be able to participate fully in society (Casey, 2016: 94; Berg, 2019; Montañez, 2020), access to English language classes and language support in the U.K. has become increasingly limited for migrant groups in recent years. Significant cuts of almost 60% have been made to funding for providers of ESOL classes (English for Speakers of Other Languages), reducing the budget from £213 million in 2008 to £105 million in 2018 (Refugee Action, 2019). There has been an associated decline in adult participation in ESOL classes of nearly 40% in the same period (Refugee Action, 2019). However, gaining proficiency in the language of the settlement country is embedded within the migration policy of most countries (Khan and McNamara, 2017), with language acquisition considered one of the ways in which migrant communities are deemed worthy (enough) of belonging in the settlement country, and a way in which, moreover, they are deemed eligible for citizenship itself (Burke et al., 2018). Take, for instance, the fact that the U.K. (like many countries) requires those who wish to acquire British citizenship (as well as Indefinite Leave to Remain) to demonstrate they have a strong command of English as part of their citizenship test (Cooke, 2009; Khan and McNamara, 2017). In this sense, migration policy, understood as the ways in which governments' laws, measures, and various regulations "select, administrate, control, and deport foreign citizens (Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019: 3), works alongside social policy, the laws that seek to facilitate social inclusion through instruments such as the welfare state. It does so in such ways as to limit the rights of migrants in their settlement countries, including those who hold legally entitled rights, for instance, to access welfare. One of the ways this is achieved is through the enforcement of language competence, whether symbolically in the sense that the official language is ascribed status as the norm and therefore as legitimate, but also through language discrimination embedded within the administration and functioning of, for instance, state services (Holzinger, 2019). Proficiency in English is therefore viewed as one marker of 'successful' integration and is embedded within a migration policy that seeks to promote a singular cultural identity, in contrast to a more pluralistic one. In this way language

discrimination is inherent to everyday bordering practices and questions of identity, belonging and deservingness, values and practices which are embedded in how social services are administered and provided for at the practical 'street' level. For Latin Americans then, competence in English therefore works as a gatekeeping function to the resources necessary for day-to-day life.

Language barriers and language discrimination also intersect with other structural inequalities and institutional barriers related to and created by public expenditure reductions and welfare policy provisions enacted throughout the austerity years in the U.K. The reduced provision of ESOL classes, the cuts in funding for services, the long wait times to get into an English class, the costs associated with language learning, and, moreover, the ideological impetus behind such reductions in service, should therefore be understood in the context of a broader transformation that is occurring in the organisation of social reproduction activities at the local and national level that includes the retrenchment of public programmes and a reduction and withdrawal in funding of service provision. This includes accessible and affordable language learning as well as translation and interpretation support for migrant communities (Katz, 2001; Bakker, 2007; Montañez, 2020). The impact of this transformation is that learning English has now become the responsibility of the individual, whose only option to improve their English, in the absence of free or subsided and accessible options, is to increase their own labour in order to be able to afford a solution through the market. The removal of public funding for the provision of language support, and the emphasis on the individual to acquire English language without this support, thus makes clear the aims of migration policy in the U.K. and who it aims to include and exclude in its provision. As I have highlighted, proficiency in language regulates the extent to which Latin Americans are able to participate in life, socially, politically, and economically, in London. English language acquisition thus becomes a "measure of morality of prospective citizens and their willingness to integrate or assimilate" (Burke et al., 2018: 84). The result is that non-English speaking migrant groups in the U.K., such as Latin Americans, are effectively excluded from learning English, and as such, from accessing services and participating in society more broadly.

Accessing social welfare

As discussed thus far, the barriers in accessing resources necessary for social reproduction that are experienced by Latin Americans in London are thus formal, the result of ongoing policies that work to effectively exclude particular groups from accessing public services. This exclusion is also related to Latin Americans' migration status in the U.K., and the complex and differing degrees of entitlements and access to services that accompany different citizenship statuses. The legislation and protocol governing access to the welfare system in relation to immigration status in the U.K. is intensely complicated to navigate, particularly for non-English speakers. The distinctions made between different citizenship groups have implications for Latin Americans in the U.K. and their levels of entitlement to services. These different groups include EU citizens, non-EU citizens, children born in the UK to EU parents, children born in the U.K. to non-EU/non-UK parents, or children born outside the U.K. (McIlwaine et al., 2011; Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016; Montañez, 2020). As the concept of civic stratification emphasises (Morris, 2006), these distinctions create different sets of rights and entitlements, and function to exclude or include different categories of Latin Americans from accessing essential services. For instance, Latin Americans without European passports, are generally restricted from accessing any welfare benefits in the U.K., the result of which is increased economic vulnerability on a range of levels. Research has found that this economic precarity is often managed through borrowing money with almost 40% of Latin Americans reporting having borrowed money in the UK; two-thirds of this was from formal sources while 26% borrowed from friends and family (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 70). For those Latin Americans who are eligible to access welfare, as a result of their European citizenship and subsequent settled status (after Brexit), around 1 in 5 receive welfare benefits, often working-tax credits, housing benefits and council relief (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 70). However, an increasing number of Latin Americans in the U.K, particularly in the context of Brexit and the new restrictions imposed on European citizens, are arriving directly from countries within Latin America, which creates additional barriers to accessing welfare support. During my time volunteering with IRMO, I observed an increase in the number of service users who were arriving directly from countries such as El Salvador and claiming asylum. In my experiencing supporting such individuals and families to access education, their exclusion from services was more distinct;

while asylum seekers are able to receive some financial assistance from the Home Office (for housing and cash support), this is extremely limited – asylum seekers receive only £40.85 for each person per household per week but they have no recourse to public funds (NRPF) and so cannot claim any other forms of welfare. For those young people that had arrived in such way, although they were legally entitled to access education, conditions of precarity combined with welfare restrictions meant they experienced barriers such as not being able to afford the fee to pay for the Oyster Travelcard, or difficulties buying school uniforms. I spoke with an immigration advisor for Casa Latina who reported on the increase in Latin Americans arriving to the U.K. without EU passports and the complexity of their applications for support.

> So, one thing, I think, where we're different from other communities perhaps is we have such a high proportion of applicants who are not from the EU. And in fact they're the ones who need the most help, I think, in many ways…[A]nd their applications can be more challenging, and more complex, because sometimes more evidence is required for example…[A]nd it, it can go on for months and months, and they have lots of issues with access to work and benefits and very little clarity from the government (Advisor, Casa Latina).

For those Latin Americans with European passports, new forms of precarity are emerging as a result of the U.K. leaving the European Union at the end of 2020. Before Brexit, access to social security for European Citizens was related to habitual residence in the U.K. and employment history, with varying entitlements to services attached to this status; if you were not employed you could be entitled to social assistance, but not to housing benefits, for example. After the U.K. withdrew from the European Union on 1 January 2021, new rules were implemented requiring EU nationals in the U.K. to apply for settled status, or pre-settled status (if they had lived in the U.K. for less than five years), in order to access the same advantages as before – the right to freedom of movement, the right to reside in the U.K., the right to access the welfare system, and so on. There is additional precarity for children and young people born in the U.K. to EU parents who have until their 18th birthday to register for UK citizenship before being at risk of becoming undocumented. As discussed earlier, literacy in such systems and language discrimination creates particular barriers in understanding how to apply for this new citizenship status, navigating the new rules, and knowing what support you are entitled to. This has been exemplified in the new restrictions imposed on family migration and the additional criteria

required to bring EU family members to the U.K., such as showing proof of income and paying the NHS health surcharge (Turcatti and Vargas-Silva, 2022: 290). The new immigration legislation and restrictions that have come into effect as a result of Brexit has also meant that those Latin Americans who had previously been 'settled' in the U.K. find themselves, potentially, in a position of vulnerability and uncertainty and subject to increased bordering practices they might not have anticipated. Though OLA's previous experience of migrating and their relatively recent acquisition of European citizenship may provide the knowledge and know-how to navigate their new insecure status, in the context of Brexit, research suggests that OLAs have been less confident about their rights as EU citizens (Turcatti and Vargas-Silva, 2022: 292). The complexity of the new system, the increased restrictions imposed, and the intensification of existing structural barriers mean that even for those Latin Americans that have greater entitlement to services than Third Country Nationals, the practical experience of accessing such services remains stratified. Once again, as detailed, Latin Americans' labour market stratification compounds these issues. If they are engaged in precarious work, working multiple jobs with different employers, in short term contracts, or paid in cash, then proving employment history and therefore proving entitlement to welfare benefits, becomes more complicated. This was an issue that several service providers and professionals noted in our interviews:

> [Their] access to social security mostly depends on…whether or not they're working…[T]hey are very much tied into being able to prove that you have the status of work or having had that status before and for some reason you've retained that status...And so you know they're treated differently to British citizens, and they have to satisfy specific criteria (Solicitor, Hansen Palomares).

The impact of neoliberal reform and service retrenchment is also felt in the provision of immigration advice available to migrant communities in London. Interviews with service providers pointed to the significant gaps in service provision that have emerged in the context of austerity, and the clear need for affordable and reliable immigration advice, particularly in the context of Brexit, the changing requirements of citizenship and entitlements, and what this means for Latin Americans with European passports. An immigration officer at IRMO explained

how challenging and confusing it is for individuals and families to navigate the notoriously complex immigration rules in the U.K., as well as the new requirements introduced by Brexit.

> I guess it gets confusing and you know it might be frustrating in some cases. Also, just because…it's just one more thing that they need to do (Paula, Immigration Advisor, IRMO).

Although onward migration from other European countries gave many individuals the knowledge and skills to navigate settlement and citizenship in a new country, the impact of Brexit has been made particularly clear throughout 2021. Indeed, as part of my volunteering with IRMO, I worked with families attempting to navigate the pre-settled and settled status schemes and witnessed how delays with their applications caused significant emotional stress. With the availability of resources and funding for advice on immigration significantly reduced, both within the public sector and the third sector, support for individuals has also been significantly reduced. The result of these cuts is that these services are in effect encouraged to exclude particular groups of communities. With few avenues to access support, inequalities of access to services are produced and reproduced.

> [S]o, language barrier, the earnings…that also has an impact on access to immigration advice. Because if you have a lot of money, then you know, you can pay for a solicitor and that's no problem, but if you don't… (Immigration advisor, IRMO).

Workplace segregation and housing

Structural inequalities related to Latin Americans' migration status, job market stratification and language discrimination, which work to determine their access to the resources of social reproduction, were also significant in their experience of accessing quality and affordable housing. Access to housing is a significant issue for many migrant groups in London, and in areas of London where Latin Americans are most concentrated, such as Lambeth and Southwark, housing shortages are particularly acute. However, eligibility and access to social housing is dependent on immigration status and proof of employment – whether you have settled status, you are employed or self-employed or if you acquired permanent residence

after living in the U.K. for five years before 31 December 2020. The result is that many Latin Americans instead turn to the private sector for accommodation, which is generally expensive, highly sought after, often of poor quality or run by exploitative landlords (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015: 7). However, finding accommodation within the private sector housing market is not straightforward for Latin Americans, particularly for those who are newly arrived in the U.K. Luciana, who with her two children and husband, migrated to London from Spain at the end of 2019, told me:

> Cuando tú eres recién llego, tienes que demostrar, bueno, el tiempo que yo llegué, vale, tienes que demostrar que tu ya trabajaste. Te piden nóminas de tres meses, te piden luz, agua, te piden muchas cosas, que es un poco difícil conseguirlo si estás recién llegado…(Luciana).
>
> When you've just arrived, [to get a house] you have to show – well, when I arrived you had to prove that you already had a job. They ask for pay slips for the last three months, they ask for an electricity bill, a water bill, they ask for so many things which is a bit difficult to get if you've only just arrived in the country… (Luciana).

The ways in which non-British citizens attempt to access the resources of social reproduction, such as housing, also requires the everyday citizen to engage in 'bordering practices', (Guenter et al., 2016; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). For instance, in order to offer a tenancy agreement or employment contract to someone, the landlord and employer is asked to check the immigration status of the potential tenants and employees. This is a process that requires navigating increasingly complicated legislation and protocol, and with the added risk of facing financial or legal penalties for not doing so or not doing so correctly. This one example illustrates the ways in which the 'border' extends beyond its classic territorial boundary to become mobilised as a political imaginary, through the laws, institutions, and daily practices of everyday life. It does so in ways which have significant implications for how access to the services and resources of life become governed (Gerrard and Sriprakash, 2018). The effect of these 'hostile environment' policies and the contemporary politics of border control is to increase the precarity of migrants, who find themselves in effect blocked from the resources they need. Housing benefit, for instance, often remains restricted for migrants, despite the fact that many are eligible for some form of support, as landlords may choose not to rent to them because of the need to verify immigration status.

Despite the difficulties involved in accessing housing, the private sector is where many Latin Americans, as with other newly arrived migrant groups, are often living; research conducted for the No Longer Invisible study showed that two-thirds of Latin Americans are living in private rented accommodation as either named tenants or, as is often the case, in sub-letting arrangements (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 75). These various informal living arrangements mean that getting the documentation such as proof of tenancy is not always possible, which then has implications for how individuals and families are able to access other resources, such as education for their children. Service providers reported that while social housing offers more security (for example, in terms of eviction or the possibility of exploitative landlords), difficulties accessing quality housing remain an issue, in both the private and social sector. Research has found, for instance, that 45% of Latin Americans are living in overcrowded or inadequate housing in London (McIlwaine et al., 2011: 8)

> [I]t's very difficult to find adequate housing and families are often living in quite cramped conditions, often several people in a room…I mean there have been more specific housing issues as well with the coronavirus. I'm thinking of one particular family…she's been in touch a few times with landlords trying to evict her during this time, which obviously isn't legal, and…then she's just been moved and she's having a similar problem elsewhere. So, I think it's also a case of, you can support a family through one crisis and then another can hit them so it can be quite relentless (IRMO Family Support advisor).

> The standard of accommodation provided by local authorities can be…can be extremely bad…The whole system is absolutely awful because where you often end up is in properties that were previously owned by the local authorities, that then were sold to their tenants...And so a lot of that housing stock that used to be in the hands of local authorities are now owned by private individuals, who will then let it back to the local authority to be used as temporary accommodation. And they charge very high rents for very low standard of accommodation which is paid generally by housing benefit (Solicitor, Hansen Palomares).

The quote above from a Spanish-speaking law firm in south London offers an important insight into the varied ways that social reproduction, and the resources needed for its accomplishment, have become 're-privatised' under neoliberal economic systems, and not just at the level of the individual, but at the level of capital and private corporations. The Housing Act of 1980 passed legislation allowing tenants in council properties the legal 'right to buy' their homes. This led to a huge increase in property purchases by individuals living within social housing, and then later on, a re-selling of these properties to commercial investors. In the years since this Act, these commercial investors have let back the property to local authorities who now, in effect, rent a property to social housing tenants that they once owned. The result of this privatisation of resources necessary for social reproduction, such as housing, at the level of capital is that accessing essential, secure, and good quality resources becomes even more stratified.

Children and young people's access to education

The barriers that Latin Americans face in relation to their labour market position, immigration status and language discrimination intersect to produce practical barriers to education for Latin American children and young people in London, to such an extent that access to education for migrant communities becomes a bordering practice (Gerrard and Sriprakash, 2018). All children in the UK, regardless of migration status, have the right to access education and register in a state school (Mas Giralt and Granada, 2015: 4). However, significant cuts to education, particularly in the years of austerity, have seen reductions in school places and in specialised support and information services, particularly for migrant families. Interviews with Latin American parents and children, as well as fieldwork with schools, local authorities and organisations supporting school admissions, consistently highlighted the various barriers that Latin American children and young people face in accessing education and the lengths of time they ended up out of education as a result. These barriers were often administrative and bureaucratic, whether because of a convoluted application process that differs between primary, secondary, and in-year admissions, limited information available in other languages, or differences in applications processes depending on the local authority and the type of school (community, academy, religious, independent etc.). The parents I spoke with for this research

told me of the extra lengths they went to try find a school for their children. Sara, originally from Colombia, migrated from Spain with her two children and husband. She told me that when she arrived in London, she spent three months looking for schools for her two sons, a process that saw her walk each day to different schools asking if they had spaces.

> Sí, aquí es difícil en el sentido que uno no sabe. Yo fui al Council porque la gente me asesoraba, pues cogí. Yo me fui a los colegios a preguntar - hay espacio para mis hijos? ¿Hay espacio para mis hijos?... Entonces, duré casi 3 meses. Buscando colegio (Sara).

> Yeah, here it's hard because you just don't know. I went to the Council because people told me to, and I took their advice. I went to schools to ask – do you have any places for my kids? Is there room for my children? It was almost three months of this, looking for schools (Sara).

Luciana told me a similar story of navigating the education system with very little support and with little English.

> Es completamente diferente de viniendo de España. Es muy diferente en la educación, el sistema, la manera de poder encontrar ayuda o aclararte cómo van las cosas. Unos me decían, bueno, tienes que ir a este sitio, otros tienes que ir a otro sitio…Y me fui colegio por colegio, ayudándome de traductor porque no sabía hablar absolutamente nada y aun así pues, conseguí inscribir a mis niños, pero después de caminar casi 2 meses, 2 meses exactamente atrás de ellos, llamando, yendo al colegio, preguntar a los diferentes 'councils', a ver si había sitio, mis hijos se han pasado un mes, todo septiembre, casi sin ir al cole porque no encontraban espacio para mis niños (Luciana).

> It's completely different having come from Spain. It's very different, the education, the system, the way to get help or to find out how things are going. People told me, go onto this site, others told me you have to go to another website…I went to school after school, using a translator to help because I didn't know how to speak English at all, and I managed to enrol my children. But I went to these schools for two months, two months exactly, calling them, going to the school, asking different councils to find out if there was space, and throughout this my children spent a month, all of September almost, not in school because they couldn't find space for my children (Luciana).

The restructuring of public service provision in the years of neoliberal reform has also seen many schools, particularly at the secondary level, run as academies, rather than under the direct control of the local authority they are situated in. This process begun under a Labour government in 2000 and was significantly expanded under the Coalition Government from 2010 onwards. In the borough of Southwark for example, there are no longer any community schools as they have all been converted into academies. This has various implications for education access, for instance in the availability of school places and the ability of the local authority to allocate places.

> [The] main one is, is just like, it's a very – it's a complicated system and it changes from each borough, as you know, and so there's…different types of schools and depending on what type of school it depends on how you apply and it depends on the borough, how you apply to the different types of schools. So, it's not very…it doesn't feel like it's centralised and clear and you know, it can be confusing (Family Support worker, IRMO).

At an institutional level, the types of paperwork such as proof of address or proof of residency that are required by schools and local authorities in order to complete school applications presents additional barriers to education access. Solutions to this issue often requires Latin Americans to pay privately for advice and even for documentation that proves their residency through such means as a sworn affidavit. This once again illustrates the ways in which other structural inequalities faced by Latin Americans – difficulty finding secure housing, job market stratification, immigration status – impact on access to various services. Moreover, it illustrates the extent to which the lack of affordable and accessible support requires people to find alternative solutions in order to meet their needs, such as turning to the market. This is one intended effect of immigration law in that people become forced into finding private solutions in order to access essential resources. It also exemplifies further the ways in which the resources needed for social reproduction have become privatised in recent years, with the responsibility placed on the individual to find solutions, in this case, simply to access education.

Limited resources, practices within schools, as well as organisational resistance to change presents additional barriers to education access for Latin American children and young people. An EAL teacher at a secondary school in Camberwell with a large Latin American student population pointed to the lack of teaching staff and translation and interpretation support for non-English speaking children within schools. The result of this is a lack of literacy amongst

Latin Americans and incredibly limited support and resources available to navigate such a system at the public/state level. This has implications for how Latin American students and their families access information and meet their education needs.

> So, parents, a lot of them don't have much English, so it's a case of parents not knowing…about the school system or the processes. And students having to translate a lot for them. I think one of the main one issues is then the correct information not getting out there. So, a lot of it is, well, my neighbor said this, so this must be how it is or that's how it is. You know, misinterpretation of information from parents not knowing about the school system (EAL teacher, St Gabriel's College).

In our interviews, service providers stated that they felt that schools are in fact reluctant to accept non-English speaking students, particularly at the secondary level and in exam years, due to concerns over the impact that non-English speaking students may have on other students and on their exam results. A significant decline in funding that has reduced school places, limited ESOL provision and stripped back resources available to education institutions means that institutions such as schools develop practices to make entry more challenging for migrant students. For those migrant students in education, additional barriers present themselves, such as the types of resources they can access because of their migration status. Claudia, the EAL teacher, told me of the lengths she went to in order to secure laptops for her students during the first school closures, as some of the Latin American students in her class were on no recourse to public funds and therefore were not allowed to receive free laptops handed out by local authorities. These practices of exclusion accumulate and reproduce, with the result that Latin American children and young people are often barred from education for significant periods of time.

> Definitely with some academies and…I don't know whether they can do this, but they often ask for your report from your previous school report. So, it feels like there is a sense, I don't know if that's just to know where to group them, what set to put them in, but yeah, I do think that there can be a reluctance (Family Support Worker, IRMO).

> Entonces llegué como a mediados de noviembre y en España ya estaba en bachillerato, en primero de bachillerato. Aplique apenas llegué porque no quería quedarme sin

> escuela - pero eso también fue un problema y no entré al colegio como en 7 meses. Porque llegué con 16 y bueno, llegué con 15, casi por cumplir 16. Y entonces, entonces, como no tenía buen inglés, supuestamente me tocaba año 11 aquí. Pero me dijeron que por mi inglés tal vez me bajen de curso o no salieron. Aplique a distintos colegios y la mayoría no me quisieron recibir por mi edad y me dijo que me vaya a un colegio, pero yo no quería ir a un colegio. Entonces yo quería hacerlo los GCSEs (Martina).
>
> I came around the middle of November and in Spain at that point I was already in high school, in the first year of high school. So, I applied for school as soon as I arrived because I didn't want to miss out on school but there was a problem and I ended up not going to school for like 7 months. Because I came here when I was 16 – well I was 15, but almost 16. And so, I was supposed to go into Year 11, but they told me that because my English wasn't good enough, they'd have to drop me from the course or not take me at all. I applied to different schools but most of them didn't want to take me because of my age and they told me to go to a school [rather than a college], but I didn't want to go to a school. I wanted to do my GCSEs (Martina).

This reluctance over admitting non-English speaking students, and the lack of support made available to them, is related on the one hand to the limited resources available within schools, but also, I suggest, the result of an institutional unwillingness to adapt systems for non-English speakers and to recognise the complexity of conditions that make up migrants' day-to-day lives (such as difficulty obtaining documentation of proof of address, for example). This goes hand in hand with the political and social suspicion – the everyday bordering – that citizens such as teachers and school staff are encouraged to take towards, particularly, non-English students (Gerrard and Sriprakash, 2018). The negotiation of institutional and everyday discriminatory practices as experienced by Latin American students in the schooling system highlights the ways in which immigration status intersects and impacts on other dynamics of inequality. Practices within schools that coalesce to exclude children from education because of conditions related to immigration status point to the ways in which borders are constituted through practice and the tensions emerging in respect of how migration and borders are being experienced in education for Latin American young people.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways in which Latin American migrant family's access to the resources of social reproduction as administered by the state is stratified according to structural inequalities of class, gender, race, ethnicity, migration status, as well as job market stratification. These markers of difference interact to create varying degrees of entitlement and access to services for Latin Americans in London, producing and reinforcing the precarious nature of their lives (Butler, 2009). The ways in which these barriers both sustain and exacerbate one another, producing and reproducing differential access to the resources necessary for life, exemplifies Shellee Colen's concept of stratified reproduction (1995). These inequalities of access make clear those who are able to meet their social reproduction needs and those who are disempowered – in terms of time, energy, and material resources – from doing so.

> Entonces es lo que te digo, el de Londres, cuando tú no puedes ir, no puedes porque estás cansado épicos. El trabajo, se descansa (Franceska).
>
> That's what I'm telling you, in London, you can't do anything, you can't because you're so exhausted. You work, you rest (Franceska).

In a global city such as London, whose population is differentiated by such a diversity of factors, including ethnicity, gender, age, language, migration status as well as socio-economic status or labour market incorporation, the ways in which services and support are designed, administered, and accessed are essential areas for exploration. As the chapter made clear, the barriers to access to the resources of social reproduction that Latin American migrant families experience – whether in terms of accessing secure and well-paid employment, welfare, housing, or education for their children – are two things. They are the result of social, economic, and political policies designed to deliberately exclude or limit different categories of people from accessing social services, as well as resource related, the result of over ten years of public sector austerity measures that have drastically constrained the capacity of service providers to deliver and sustain these essential services. Although these barriers could be argued to ring true for a number of migrant groups in the U.K., looking at the experience of

Latin Americans offers particularly useful insights into the nature of precarity and stratified social reproduction in the U.K., given the complexity of the Latin American experience in the U.K., as a group with high levels of European citizenship, the associated entitlements that, pre-Brexit, this technically conferred, as well as high levels of employment and education. In this sense, Latin Americans do not share many of the structural features of precarity commonly experienced by other migrant groups. However, within the specific context of the U.K., and the reconstruction of borders and territorial displacement that has emerged in the wake of Brexit (Yuval-Davis, 2018) the day-to-day lives of Latin Americans remain precarious as a result of practical exclusion from services and welfare, job market stratification and language barriers that limit participation in public life, and thus impact on how it is that Latin Americans meet the daily and generational needs of social reproduction. The following chapters shall examine how it is that Latin American children and young people respond to the forms of precarity that mark their day-to-day lives and the strategies through which they actively seek to secure the resources necessary for social reproduction, both for themselves and their families more broadly.

Chapter 6 – Children and young people's social networks

The theoretical discussions of social capital within migration research largely examines the experiences of adult migrants, the networks they draw upon throughout their migration trajectories and the ways in which they mobilise social capital. However, children and young people are similarly involved in processes of social capital formation and accumulation and are capable of generating social capital through their own networks (Holland et al., 2007). Building on this research, this chapter examines the varying and complex social networks that Latin American children and young people actively construct for themselves before, during and after migration as well as those which they become embedded in on arrival to the U.K. In doing so, the chapter discusses the ways in which the social networks of migrant children and young people, and the ways in which they actively create and maintain these networks, generate forms of capital that enable access to a variety of institutions and services, and thus access the resources necessary for both daily and generational social reproduction. In this chapter I will examine the various local, national, and cross-border sites, and the interactions between them, within which Latin American children and young people build and sustain their social networks – the home, the school, the community, within Latin America, Spain, and of course the U.K. In doing so, children's relationship to their everyday spaces as well as their relationship to global structural and social processes, and the ways in which these two spheres shape and constitute one another, will be examined. Attention shall also be paid not just to the amount of social capital generated from these networks (Morrow, 1999) but to the individual practices that children and young people engage in when doing so, as well as the role of factors such as age, socio-economic status, gender, and ethnicity (Holland, 2009). As such, the chapter will analyse the diverse ways that Latin American children and young people drew upon multiple social networks to access different types of resources and meet their social reproduction needs, using and combining both bridging and bonding capital to identify opportunities and meet different needs at different points of the migration trajectory (Putnam, 2000). Throughout the discussion it is important to recognise the ways in which Latin American children's positionality and locality constrain their agency and therefore their opportunity to develop potentially useful social networks. Keeping this in mind is particularly important when examining how it is that Latin American migrant children access institutional services and support within the U.K.,

the impact that their age and migration status has on these interactions, and the extent to which the strength or weakness of their social networks is dependent on the social, cultural, economic, and political context within which they are embedded. The chapter therefore examines the various power relations and inequalities of access that determine Latin American children's ability to generate social capital and thus impact on how it is they contribute to the maintenance of those resources required for social reproduction.

'Strong ties' and the ethnic-specific social networks of Latin American young people: "Siempre es eso, el boca a boca"

On both an individual level and within their wider family circle, the social networks of the Latin American young people in this study functioned as important sources of information, emotional support and routes through which services, institutions and resources were better accessed, particularly in the initial stages of migration. On arrival to the U.K., like their parents, many of the young people initially used their bonding capital to both form and imbed themselves in social networks that were ethnic specific and circumstantial (Sime and Fox, 2015). These were generally made up of other Latin American youth as well as, often, with those who had the shared experience of having recently arrived in London. These 'strong' ties were quickly available to the young people and were formed through networks of family and friends that had already migrated to London, with other Spanish-speakers they met at school, in community organisations such as IRMO, as well as in spaces with large Latin American populations, including churches, shopping centres and neighbourhoods such as Elephant & Castle and Brixton. Local neighbourhoods took on a particular significance for all of the young people I spoke with, many of whom spoke particularly of the significance of places such as Elephant and Castle or Brixton as a jumping point for support and information when they first arrived in the city (Román-Velázquez, 1999).

> Within the community there is a lot of word of mouth, and I think a lot of people fail to understand that. The way that the community works - he says, she says, so I say now. And that's like a very, a very big thing. So, if one thing worked out for one person, another person will copy it and it will become like a chain (Valentina, 20).

These networks and the resources within them were often found through word of mouth, with information shared between its members in-person at school or community events, or through platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook. These networks served many purposes, providing the young people in this study with practical advice and material resources, such as which schools to apply to, or how to apply for free transport, as well as more socio-cultural support, such as where they could go to buy specific foods, as Rodrigo's quote below demonstrates:

> [Y]ou'd go to Seven Sisters or Elephant to get like plantain or like, um, coriander or stuff like that, ingredients that weren't as commonly found in Camden. Like it's not as easy to find plantain in Camden really. I guess it's less of a, like, Caribbean community, Afro Caribbean community so it's like less readily available, so we'd go to places like that to get the, like, um 'masa', which was flour to make arepas (Rodrigo, 24).

The emotional support that was offered through these 'strong' ethnic specific networks also emerged as a crucial resource for the young people in this study, especially during the first waves of the pandemic when the majority of interviews took place. During this period, Latin American young people, especially those that were newly arrived, found that with the closures of schools and social spaces, there were few other avenues to meet and form other social networks. In the absence of these spaces and with restrictions on face-to-face gatherings, young people were able to turn to their networks of other Latin American friends and family. These networks were important because of the shared language within them, with many of the interview participants discussing the anxieties they had about speaking English and the networks of Spanish-speakers they tried to find to alleviate these concerns. Elena, 14 years old, for example, told me that when she first arrived in London at the end of 2019, she was worried about being understood at school and about how other students would treat her because of her limited English. To overcome this, she quickly found a few people at her school who spoke Spanish, networks which helped her to adjust during the first stages of her migration to London.

> Cuando entré, estaba muy nerviosa porque tenía miedo de que la gente, pues no sé, me rechace y me hablen y eso. Pero había como unas chicas que hablaba en español, entonces pues mejor que con ellas (Elena, 14).

> When I started school, I was very nervous because I was scared that people would, I don't know, ignore me and everything. But there were some girls who spoke Spanish, so it was better with them (Elena, 14).

On a practical level, Latin American young people's social networks also functioned to signpost its members to important information about how to access services and support in London, such as the school admissions process, or schools which offered support for Spanish-speakers. This word-of-mouth information sharing was crucial to the ways that many young Latin Americans, as well as their parents and wider family network, secured their access to resources that were necessary for their daily and generational social reproduction. In some cases, the stories shared by the young people made clear that without these networks, basic resources, such as education, would have been limited for them. For example, Maylin, now 21, moved to London from Barcelona in 2014 when she was 15 years old, having already migrated from Ecuador at the age of 2 years old. She migrated with her older sister and on arrival, the two siblings lived with their aunt in south London until their parents arrived four months later. The family spent close to a year living all together with the aunt and her child before they were able to move to their own accommodation. In our interview, Maylin told me of her challenging experience finding and starting school in London when she first arrived. At 15 years old Maylin should have entered Year 11, the year in which students take their GCSE exams, but because of her limited English she found that there were few schools who were willing to offer her a place. The reluctance by schools to take in non-English speaking students in exam years was an issue discussed interviews by school educators and service providers within community organisations. In interviews, service providers discussed the additional barriers that they felt were put in place for students who didn't speak English, suggesting that this was the combination of a perceived impact these students would have on the schools' annual exam results, as well as a lack of resources (such as ESOL teachers) available within schools for non-English speakers. For Maylin, the difficulty and delays she had in finding a school that would accept her language level meant that she ended up spending five months out of education when she first arrived in London. It was only when information was passed on to her by Colombian friend of her sister that she was able to find a school; this friend told her to apply for a specific college that had been known to take in students quickly and who seemingly had less restrictive language requirements.

> Yo llegué y justamente una compañera de curso de mi hermana, qué es colombiana, pues, le dijo que hermano, que tenía la misma edad que yo, estaba estudiando en un colegio que aceptaban rápido. Entonces yo ellos me ayudaron y yo fui a aplicar y bueno, en febrero me dieron la plaza (Maylin, 21).
>
> I arrived [here in the U.K] and a classmate of my sister, who's Colombian, told her that her brother, who is the same age as me, was studying at a school that took in [students] quickly. So, they helped me, and I went and applied and in February they offered me a place (Maylin, 21).

Maylin's story highlights the significance of her social networks for accessing education and organising the resources she needed to accomplish her social reproduction needs. Although her aunt had been living in London for several years and had been a vital source of practical and emotional support for Maylin and her sister when they first arrived, her own child was primary school age which meant that her knowledge of the secondary school system was still somewhat limited. For Maylin to access any schooling, she had to source information from people her own age and from a similar background, as they had experienced the same challenges finding a school as Maylin. The unwillingness of schools to take in non-English speaking students and the length of time that Maylin spent out of education as a result, highlights several issues related to how migrants and migrant families access resources necessary for social reproduction. First, the extent to which resource related barriers that have emerged from public spending austerity in the U.K., an evitable outcome of neoliberal reform, have impacted migrant communities and migrant children. The reduced funding for EAL provision and specialist support for non-English speakers in schools, on top of the drastic reduction in funding for ESOL provision in the community more widely, has particularly damaging effects on non-English speaking young people's statutory right to access to education. Such barriers need to be understood within the context of a broader transformation that is occurring in the organisation of social reproduction activities at the local and national level. Second, despite the limited provision of English language support for both young and adult migrants, English language ability nonetheless gatekeeps access to resources, information, and the ability to advocate for yourself. Such a restriction points to the ways in which English language acquisition exists as a marker of 'successful' integration into the U.K. The language discrimination (Holzinger, 2019) that Maylin faced and the barriers this created

in allowing her to continue her education in the U.K. required her, and other young people who found themselves in similar situations, to find other solutions. These solutions included gathering information from individual and community social networks, networks which in the case of Maylin she fortunately was able to draw upon, but which are not, it should be stated, automatically available to all migrants on arrival to the settlement county. As shall be discussed further, when it came to their education, young people were also required to find individual and alternative ways to improve their English outside of the classroom setting, utilising the support of the third sector and seek out the assistance of specific community leaders.

Outside of the home and their immediate friendship groups, Latin American young people also looked to other spaces to build and nurture their social networks. The third sector – and in this study specifically, IRMO in Brixton and the networks within it – were important sources of emotional and practical support, with many of the respondents either attending English classes there, taking part in courses or sharing information about the services offered within their social networks. In particular, the Latin American Youth Forum (LAYF) at IRMO was a specific space within which young Latin Americans aged 13 and above could meet other young people. For Mateo, 18, who arrived in London just before the start of the pandemic, IRMO offered the opportunity to meet other Latin American young people as well as opportunities to practice English whilst he waited to be enrolled in full-time education. Mateo had migrated to London from Medellin, Colombia to join his father who was already living in the country, leaving his mother and the rest of his family behind. His father had spent close to a decade in Spain, had gained European citizenship before migrating to London, and having done so, it was decided that Matteo would join him there to make use of the educational opportunities available. Matteo ended up migrating in what he described as a very rushed manner – he finished his final studies in Colombia towards the end of 2019 and then quickly moved to London in December 2019 with the intention of starting college in January 2020. However, a combination of staffing issues and then severe delays caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, meant that Mateo didn't end up starting college until almost a year later, in September 2020. He was eventually able to enrol at a post-16 college in south London, studying an ESOL course in English and Maths so that he could then apply for a physiotherapy course. His fathers' friend had completed the college application for him, and once he joined the course, he quickly made friends with Lucas, who was from Bogotá, Colombia. It was Lucas that told him about IRMO,

the various extracurricular activities they offered and the online social spaces they had also created during the pandemic for young Latin Americans to meet and socialise.

> Y él me dijo que había unos cursos de fotografía y pues, la verdad, a mí me interesaban…[Y]o voy como para salir, como para cambiar del ambiente de las 4 paredes de la casa y salir y socializar y aprender cosas nuevas. Y en ese lugar puedo practicar el inglés porque la gente me hable en inglés, entonces (Mateo, 18).
>
> [Lucas] told me that there were some photography courses, which I was interested in. So, I thought, ok I'm going to go and get out of the four walls of this house and go out and socialise and learn new things. And there, I'll be able to practice English because people will talk to me in English (Mateo, 18).

The ways in which the third sector in particular facilitates the creation of spaces for young people was crucial to sustaining various emotional, social, and practical needs of the young people in this study. Moreover, the signposting of local services was as common amongst young people as it was for Latin American adults, with participants using networks outside of the home to identify opportunities, whether for extracurricular activities, to form friendships, or for help accessing services, such as education. It highlighted again the variety of sites in which children and young people are situated – in school, in their community, transnationally – and the ways in which they combine information from a range of networks to better identify support and access information. For instance, Latin American young people also sought out ethnic-specific networks in order to advocate for themselves at the local and indeed national level, as seen in the example of an advocacy group called LatinXcluded, a collective made up of first and second generation Latin American young people who work to campaign for the issues affecting the Latin American community in London. Significantly, the third sector was an important site in which Latin American young people exerted their agency, forming and sustaining social networks in ways which allowed them to secure resources and access practical, emotional and social support. This was both for themselves but also for their families, who learned of services such as immigration advice or welfare support, through activities and services that their children attended.

Like their parents and carers, the Latin American young people in this research also maintained and drew upon social networks they had transnationally, with all of the research respondents regularly keeping in touch with friends and family in Spain and in Latin America. These networks provided significant emotional support to young people, particularly those who had recently arrived and hadn't yet been able to access any schooling or build new friendship networks in London. They were also crucial spaces through which respondents accessed specific services, often when they had found it difficult to find support in the U.K. This emerged particularly in relation to healthcare. Research has shown that Latin Americans in London face several barriers to healthcare access in the U.K., and in response seek private solutions rather than utilise free state services (McIlwaine et al., 2011). Many Latin Americans, for instance, choose to travel to Spain or to countries in Latin America in order to pay privately to see a doctor or receive specific medical attention. The young participants in the study were also aware that they could access services 'back home'; those with a level of secure migration status (a British or European passport, or right to remain, for example) leveraged this citizenship to travel back and forth between different countries in order to access health services.

> [P]eople will go to Colombia and pay for private healthcare because they think it's better. And I guess like...so for specific things but also for things you could just do here, but people will go to Colombia, like I need dentistry or something like that, people will go to Colombia and pay privately there, I guess because its dead, it's much cheaper...even if it's free here, but they just like think the quality they're gonna get is better and the treatment and everything. And for example, my sister, she, she had a really bad back growing up, and like the doctors here couldn't really get to the bottom why it was but she was always in pain, had like loads of muscle pain down her legs and back. And so, we went to Colombia, and they took her to a private clinic. So, we all did a big, like, trip to Colombia. She got seen by a doctor there and then she went back [to Colombia] on her own and they flew her out to get this treatment… And its stories like that that everyone shares, just like, oh the doctors here don't really listen and like they don't know what they're doing as much so like they'll just send them to Colombia, um, and get private treatment there and it'll be better (Rodrigo, 24).

Rodrigo's story points to the transnational strategies that young Latin Americans adopt to secure the resources and services that they need, reproducing the strategies of their parents and adults around them. It also points to the importance of 'word of mouth' and information sharing that operates within Latin American networks in London, particularly when it comes to securing social reproduction needs, such as healthcare. In this area, the benefit of being able to speak in your own language, to trust the healthcare professional you're speaking with and to access a service more quickly and at a low cost was vital. Where migration status was also uncertain, participants also discussed how paying privately for services within the U.K. also offered a safer and more immediate route through which to meet their needs.

Information sharing, and the use particularly of virtual communication tools such as WhatsApp and Facebook, were crucial routes through which Latin American young people actively sought out information and knowledge to meet their various needs. This was even more so during the first waves of the pandemic, when opportunities to meet in person were severely restricted. Through their existing friendship networks as well as through IRMO's own youth groups, several participants discussed how they joined different WhatsApp groups, which provided them with essential information about schooling, extracurricular activities, how to apply for free public transport, help with translation and interpretation, as well as with job opportunities and housing.

> Y, un grupo de WhatsApp que se llama 'Latinos', pues, ahí siempre publican como cosas como...como trabajo de limpieza, trabajo de cocinero, trabajo de camarera. Y ahí mismo te pones si necesitas de inglés, si nos necesitas, también de habitaciones es...de todo ponen ahí (Maylin, 21).
>
> There's a WhatsApp group called 'Latinos' where they're always posting things like... like cleaning jobs, cooking jobs, waitressing jobs. And you can write in it if you need help in English, if you need a room...there's everything there (Maylin, 21).

> Sí, la verdad es que sí, o sea, este grupo es super, está bueno, ahora como no hay mucho trabajo, pero bueno, te sigo publicando hoy. Que hay trabajos, pero más como de construcciones y así. Y pero, pero sí la verdad es este, este grupo de WhatsApp sé,

> o sea, va muy bien a la gente, claro, pregunta cosas, en plan, si no sé, si algún traductor, cosas así o sea - tú puedes preguntar cosas y la gente te ayuda (Martina, 16).

> Yeah, the truth is that, I mean, this [WhatsApp] group is fantastic, it's great, there isn't much work at the moment, but hey, I'm still posting in it. There's jobs, more often than not in construction and so on, but honestly, this WhatsApp group it's really helpful, for asking things, like…I don't know, if there is a translator, things like that – you can ask questions and people will help you (Martina, 16).

The use of ICTs and social technologies as a critical aspect in the production and reproduction of transnational family networks, and as sources of capital, is an important feature of transnational family life (Wilding, 2006; Benítez, 2012). Transnational social fields are comprised of networks and flows between countries, made manifest in the forms of ideas, practices and resources, transnational communication. The use of ICT is fundamental to this process; for instance, video-calls, phone calls, social media communication etc. are used to maintain social ties and relationships, to strengthen and support shared identities and practices across borders, and to provide affective support for family members separated across borders. Equally, ICTs can act as forms of capital through which people can acquire knowledge, skills, and social networks. These resources can help prepare for migration and settlement in a new country, and as Horst suggests, can in fact provide "more realistic expectations of the migration experiences and opportunities associated with living abroad" (Horst 2006: 155). Benítez (2012) highlighted the relevance of ICTs to processes of international migration and the configuration of transnational social spaces with his case study of Salvadoran families communicating with family members abroad. Wilding (2006) similarly discusses the role that ICTs play in transnational family life, pointing to the ways in which it enables participation in important life events and allows for the links between families to be nurtured and sustained by offering "more opportunities for keeping in touch with those kin, and for creating a stronger sense of a shared social field" (Wilding 2006: 138). The significance of these virtual social networks to the day-to-day of transnational family life and the meeting of social reproduction needs is crucial, providing family members living across borders with ways to share moments of everyday life, participate in decision-making and negotiate social, cultural, and economic networks of support and capital (Benítez, 2012). As Wilding suggests, ICTs are "important for some transnational families in constructing or imagining a ''connected relationship'', enabling

them to overlook their physical separation by time and space even if only temporarily" (2006: 132). Looking at the use of ICT therefore provides important insights into the communication practices of transnational families and the means through which the social reproduction of transnational families is met and sustained.

In this way ICT communication acted as forms of capital through which Latin American young people acquired knowledge, skills, and information, both before and after migration. Beatriz (Colombian, 42), the mother of two sons, discussed how she drew on information gathered through the social networks of her son to quickly enrol him into school in London soon after arriving in the U.K. Beatriz had migrated to Spain from Cali, Colombia and had spent close to twenty years in Barcelona before she moved to London in 2019 to take advantage of the work opportunities and to get her sons into English-speaking schools. Through various WhatsApp messages with a friend of a friend already living in London, Beatriz's son was able to get the contact details of an EAL teacher working at a school in south London who was widely known within the Latin American community. In my own interviews and observations at IRMO, her name came up repeatedly and I found that her contact details were shared in networks both in the U.K. and in Spain. Beatriz got in touch with this teacher and asked for advice on the school admissions process, which schools to apply for and what support was available to non-English speaking students. The result was that Beatriz' son started school 10 days after arriving in the U.K. – the average time most councils offer a place is within 20 school days, while observations at IRMO found that some children waited close to 6 months to be placed in a school. Beatriz' family have since moved out of London to Essex, but her son continues to travel into London each day to attend this school, because of the friends he has there and the level of support as a Spanish-speaking student he has from the school. Conversely Beatriz' older son, who was too old to attend this same school, had, at the time of our interview, been out of education for close to a year since moving to the U.K., a combination of delays caused by the Covid-19 pandemic and a lack of information about how to access post-16 education. The social capital of Beatriz' younger son, the cross border social networks he was embedded in and his use of ICT, had therefore allowed him to access education much more swiftly than is often the case for new arrivals. Beatriz and her family's experience point to the influence that children, as well as adults, social networks have in facilitating migration journeys and in easing the transition in the initial stages of migration. Information sharing and the use of ICT were

specific practices through which young Latin Americans used their bonding capital and social networks to access resources and services. These practices emphasise the need to examine the ways in which children and young people contribute to the day-to-day functioning of their households and the ways in which all members of the family are mobilised in order to secure resources (Portes, 2001; Orellana et al., 2003).

However, in interviews with service providers and with adult Latin Americans, it also emerged that ethnic-specific networks at times negatively impacted access to services. This might have been where the wrong information was shared in a WhatsApp group, or when people were signposted to paid for services where free options were available. This pointed to the ways in which supposedly 'strong' ties can in fact limit opportunities for migrants to develop social capital.

> [I]n any community there are good and bad people. So, there's a woman who charges like 60 pounds for a translation, or to speak for every meeting that go on. And that's absurd, like it, it's not fair. I think that's kind of what's going on in our community, this, this word of mouth, hearing something…I always ask, why dont' you go to IRMO, why don't you do this, why don't you do that? And they said to us, like, one it's embarrassing, having to ask for help from an institution. And two, why, why isn't this information in Spanish? It takes time to go to IRMO, you have to wait, you have to speak to someone. I just want it now. Like I want to be able to find something online and read it and be like, OK, I've got it (Valentina, 20).

The misinformation that might circulate within social networks, and differences in resourcefulness in terms of navigating service access and information, at times exacerbated barriers to access for a number of the adult participants I spoke with. However, the young respondents interviewed appeared more able to successfully combine information and knowledge found in various networks they were in, whether this was with other Latin Americans or networks made up of 'weaker ties'. In this respect, the variety and complexity of networks and ties that young people had access to, in comparison to the opportunities available to their parents and adult Latin Americans, was clear. For instance, by virtue of their embeddedness within institutional sites such as schools, young Latin Americans had access to staff and authority figures, as well as English-speaking young people, all of whom they could turn to for additional support. The following section shall discuss the other social networks

based on bridging capital that young Latin Americans built, nurtured, and sustained, and the ways in which they generated capital for themselves and their families.

'Weak ties' and the strength of Latin American young people's bridging capital

The Latin American respondents in this study did not just rely on their bonding capital to form strong ties and social networks with other Latin Americans. They were also immersed in networks made up of what are considered 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973; Wells, 2011), including with non-Spanish speakers and people from a range of diverse ethnic backgrounds. These were networks which the young people both actively sought out, which they were placed into by virtue of their age, and through which various forms of social capital were accessed. Opportunities to develop these social networks and to form 'weak ties' were more readily available to Latin American young people than their parents and carers because they were more clearly immersed within non-Spanish speaking environments, such as schools. While these ties may be considered 'weak' according to traditional social capital conceptualisations, in that they weren't made up of other Latin American migrants, they were however important sources of social, cultural, and material resources, giving young people the opportunity to learn new skills and facilitating the sharing of information and guidance on various topics, such as schooling, extracurricular activities, their local neighbourhoods or service access, for instance.

The school was the key site in which opportunities for Latin American young people to develop such bridging networks occurred, although the third sector – in this case, IRMO – also sought out opportunities for its Latin American service users to collaborate with other youth organisations and so meet a range of people. At school however, each day Latin American young people sat in classes with people from a range of backgrounds, took part in group activities and were encouraged to interact in activities with students across the school. The school environment was also a space within which they could form weak, though formal ties, with teachers and other professional members of staff. The networks formed within school, whether they became strong ties or not, nonetheless allowed Latin American young people to access a greater level of information and support than may be available within the social

networks made up of other Latin Americans. Forming and maintaining bridging various networks with non-Spanish speakers, whether with their peers or with institutional actors, created opportunities for the young participants to gain cultural information and knowledge about the U.K. and about 'how things are done'. They provided them with the opportunity to learn about services and activities in their local area, to learn of new cultures and backgrounds or to seek support from a teacher or professional figure. The school, and the opportunities to meet and form relationships with people from a wide range of backgrounds – particularly because of the diversity of London itself – was discussed in several of the interviews as a factor that many respondents felt aided their migration. After close to a year in London, Lucas spoke of his appreciation for the diversity of his schooling environment, and of London more generally, and the opportunities this created for him to learn.

> Eso, eso me gusta demasiado, eso es algo que me gusta porque en Colombia, o de pronto en Latinoamérica no sé, pero en Colombia, pues siempre son, pues por ejemplo en Colombia yo siempre veía como colombianos. Pues ya después de diferentes ciudades, pero no como muchos. Acá que hay de diferentes lados, de Vietnam, de Pakistán, de, pués de España, pero de Francia, de Egipto. Entonces si uno va aprendiendo tambien (Lucas, 17).

> It's something that I really like because in Colombia, or maybe in Latin America as a whole, I don't know, but in Colombia…I only saw Colombians, maybe in different cities there's other people, but not much. Here [in London], everyone's from different places, from Vietnam, from Pakistan, from Spain, from France, from Egypt. So, you're always learning [about different places] (Lucas, 17).

The institutional arena of the school is thus a space within which young Latin Americans are able to have moments of interaction with a range of people, moments which although weak nonetheless offer opportunities to learn and acquire social capital. A number of the participants I spoke with were also actively engaged in developing and accumulating their bridging capital by seeking out networks with non-Spanish speakers at school and elsewhere. Their motivations for this were varied; they wanted to learn English at a faster rate, they wanted to improve in their schoolwork, or they wanted to know about other opportunities or things to do. Martina and Kimberly illustrated this clearly, with both making the choice to limit

their time with Spanish speakers at school in order to improve their English, even when this was difficult as newly arrived young people in London. As Kimberly states below, 'me costó un poco [it was hard].'

> Hice un ESOL para aprender inglés y pues intentaba - era muy difícil porque había mucha gente que hablaba español, pero sabía que si me juntaba con gente que hablaba español, no va a aprender. Entonces intenté juntarme con gente que no hablaba mi idioma. Pues se me hizo. Me costó un poco, pero yo creo que me fue bien (Kimberly, 24).
>
> I did an ESOL course to learn English and I was trying [but] it was really hard because there were a lot of people [in the class] who spoke Spanish, but I knew that if I hung out with only people who spoke Spanish, I wasn't going to learn. So, I tried to hang out with people who didn't speak my language. Well, it happened to me. It was hard but I think it went well (Kimberly, 24).

> Hay un par de gente que habla español, pero yo no trato de juntarme con ellos porque si no, no voy a aprender inglés. Entonces tengo amigas inglesas. Y así aprendo, hablando con mis amigas, aprendo más y así es como aprendí inglés y ahora estoy bien en el colegio (Martina, 16).
>
> There are a couple of people who speak Spanish, but I don't try to hang out with them because if I do, I'm not going to learn English. So, I have English friends. And that's how I learn, talking to my friends, I learnt more and that's how I learned English and now I'm doing well in school (Martina, 16).

Martina also discussed the conscious decision she made to learn English and to find alternative places to do so when schools were closed during the first waves of the Covid-19 pandemic. She started attending an English church where she had to read the Bible in English, sing English hymns, and speak with other members of the congregation, while she also tried to help her mother as much as possible with tasks like food shopping or going to the bank, so that she would be able to practice English with other people. Claudia, an EAL teacher at a school in south London, emphasised the impact that school closures had on newly arrived students,

putting into context the significance of the efforts that young Latin Americans made to find other ways to learn English.

> Their English stopped for about six months…[T]hey stopped speaking in English. This is where they hear English. This is where they practice their English. And online learning, however we put so much effort into it, it's not the same, a student logging on to Google Classroom and going through a PowerPoint, it's not the same as having a teacher explaining everything to them (Claudia, English as a Second Language Educator).

The school environment was therefore a key site in which young Latin Americans were able to form networks and ties with a diverse group of people, in ways which could generate various forms of capital and provide access to local services. However, in interviews several participants detailed forms of racism and discrimination they experienced from other students as well as teachers at their schools, and the ways in which this constrained the opportunities they had to develop potentially useful social networks with non-Latin American young people and adults. Valentina, for instance, described the language discrimination she faced from teachers,

> There were quite a few problems with my head teacher because I spoke Spanish with my mum…'Cause they would be like, 'oh you shouldn't be teaching her Spanish, you need to start speaking to her in English' (Valentina, 20).

In this way, the emphasis and value that is often placed on forming bridging ties can fail to account for the lived reality of migrant communities, the ways in which discriminatory practices, whether from local services and national bodies, can further segregate and isolate migrants' access to resources and services.

Looking at the social networks of young people nonetheless highlights the ways in which young people seek out opportunities and overcome challenges in order to gain a degree of cultural competency in their new environments. In doing so they generate crucial social capital for themselves and often, their families. Latin American young people's formation of what might be considered 'weak ties' with diverse groups of young people, as well as staff and professionals in various sectors, importantly also created bridging capital for their parents and wider family, often providing a means of connecting with services and resources. The stories illustrated above point to the conscious decision-making acts that Latin American young people

took in order to seek out a wider range of networks and so improve their language skills, a strategy employed not just for their own needs, but in recognition of the needs of the family more broadly. Siblings Maylin and Kimberly both talked about their own personal desire to learn English, but also, crucially, the need to do so that they could support their family's integration into the U.K.

> Con mis padres…yo soy las traducía a ellos…El principio cuando nos mudamos, cuando ya mis padres estaban en Londres y buscamos un piso, pues ellos se pedían los beneficios y, claro, tenían que rellenar los documentos y todo esto y lo les ayudábamos. Siempre les tenemos que ayudar (Kimberly, 24).
>
> With my parents...I translated for them...At the beginning when we first moved here, when my parents were already in London and we were looking for a flat, they applied for benefits and obviously, they had to fill documents out and all of that, and we [my sister and I] helped them. We always help them (Kimberly, 24).

The Latin American children and young people I spoke with learned English at a faster rate than their parents and adults in their life after arriving in the U.K., by actively making English-speaking friends as well as by spending more time in English-speaking environments. As was detailed in the previous chapter, language barriers and a restrictive approach to entitlements for migrant communities creates significant challenges for Latin Americans when accessing services and social welfare. By learning English, many young Latin Americans, willingly or not, became translators and interpreters for their families, whether it was filling out documents for school applications or welfare support, or booking and attending GP appointments (Orellana et al., 2003). Their English language proficiency therefore enabled both themselves and their families to acquire crucial cultural knowledge and competency, whether in identifying the right service, making demands for institutional support, or finding alternative means of access. Valentina, 20, discussed the knowledge and skills she developed after moving to the U.K. from Colombia when she was three years old with her mum and her grandmother, and how she uses these skills to now help the Latin American community more widely.

> Because I studied here, I grew up here, I kind of just, through lived experiences, lived a certain type of way and did certain things and knew different things. So now I have the

> ability to be able to talk to Latin American parents and just kind of help them out a little bit (Valentina, 20).

In this way, the social networks that Latin American young people constructed with non-Spanish speakers became important spaces through which they could improve and maintain their English language skills and so acquire social capital. Doing so was a purposeful decision on behalf of several of the young people, as Martina and Kimberly, who made great efforts to learn English, demonstrated. For several of the young people, translating was also not just limited to members of the family but was provided to other Latin Americans in their life who needed support with English.

> [W]ell, I call her my auntie, she's technically not an auntie, but she's a friend of my mom and she's Latina as well, she's from Venezuela. And loads of times she'll come down to Croydon, she'll call me, 'Ale, I need your help'. So, I'll go with her, because she doesn't speak English (Alejandro, 19).

Limitations of young people's social networks

Looking at the various sites in which Latin American young people form social networks, and the different forms of capital they generate from doing so, offers important insights into young peoples' active creation of such networks, and the ways in which they enable access to resources for themselves and their family. However, the social position of young people and the social context within which they were situated within London was also essential to consider when analysing the effectiveness and strength of their networks. The ability and opportunity of Latin American young people to develop useful social networks was constrained by their age and dependency on the adults in their lives, their families' social class positioning, both before and after migration, and their status as migrants and/or children of migrants. Moreover, differences in resourcefulness between families also impacted on how successfully parents were able to seek out the right service and support. This made developing social capital for themselves, and for their children, more challenging. All of the parents and carers of those young people interviewed were employed in precarious forms of work – as cleaners, construction workers and child carers. The class position of their parents impacted on the

opportunities that young people had to meet other people, or their capability to take advantage of opportunities they had heard about. The low wage and irregular working hours involved in the cleaning jobs that many Latin Americans are employed in also created limitations to the breadth and strength of social networks that Latin American young people could develop. Observations at IRMO also pointed to the ways in which socio-economic status conditioned access to services, for example, from parents who couldn't afford the £10 application fee for the Zip Oyster card that would give their children free travel or young people who weren't regularly able to attend classes at IRMO as they might be required at the last minute to look after younger siblings. Several of the young participants also discussed the *tareas* (chores) they carried out at home, work which was expected of them given the working hours of their parents and carers. Nicolas, 16, for instance, who moved to the UK within the last year, is responsible for the food shopping for his household and most days will make dinner for his aunt, cousin, and godmother. Their jobs as cleaners mean they work multiple jobs with irregular hours, often leaving the house at 4am and not returning till late at night. When interviewed, Nicolas had yet to be offered a place at a school and so with the free time he had, was expected to take on some of these household chores.

> Here in London, I make, I make, I don't know, uh, lo que haya? De hecho, uh, debería, después de esta entrevista, voy a ir a comprar lentejas porque me dijeron de hacer lentejas hoy. My cousin llega…how do you say, arriving home…at 4pm. And I make the food in, in, 1pm, 2pm and well...le dejo la comida lista (Nicolas, 16).

> Here [in London], I make, uhh, whatever we have. So, actually after this interview I'm going to go buy lentils because they told me to make lentil soup today. My cousin will – how do you say – get home at 4pm. So, I'll make the food at 1pm, 2pm and well...I'll have the food ready (Nicolas, 16).

For Latin American young people, their parents and carers emplacement within a stratified labour market significantly limited the time and space they had themselves to become knowledgeable and familiar with the social systems and culture that structure service access in the U.K. As Nicolas' story suggests, the impact of this job market stratification of Latin American adults was that young people were required to take up, to various degrees, the day-to-day work of the household for their parents and carers. However, taking up this work brings

into question that extent to which Latin American young people were able to maintain existing social networks or develop new ones.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how, as social actors in their own right (James et al., 1998), Latin American children and young people used their social networks as a practical, social, and emotional resource in the organisation of their social reproduction needs. They do so by utilising their bonding capital, which allowed them to form and imbed themselves in social networks that were ethnic specific, circumstantial, and made up of other Latin American youth they had met through networks of family and friends that had already migrated to London, other Spanish-speakers at school, and community organisations such as IRMO. 'Word of mouth' and information sharing were crucial to how these ethnic-specific networks operated, though at times these had negative impacts on how resources were secured, for instance, where the wrong information was shared in a WhatsApp group. Understanding that supposedly 'strong' ties can in fact limit opportunities for migrants to develop social capital, Latin American young people also actively utilised their bridging capital to form social networks made up of 'weak ties' with non-Spanish speakers and people from a range of diverse ethnic backgrounds. By virtue of their age, Latin American young people's opportunities to develop these social networks were more easily accessible in comparison to their parents and carers, and were crucial in securing social, cultural, and material resources for both themselves, such as finding a school and English language support, as well as for the family more broadly. By utilising their networks to learn English at a faster rate that than their parents, many young Latin Americans became translators and interpreters for their families, a resource which enabled both themselves and their families to acquire crucial cultural knowledge and competency. In examining the social networks of Latin American young people, it was crucial to examine both the local spaces through which children and young people operate within – the home, school, and the community – as well as the transnational networks within which migrant children are embedded in. Like their parents, Latin American young people adopted various transnational strategies to secure the resources and services that they needed, maintaining, and reproducing their transnational networks before, during and after their

migration. They did so particularly through ICT communication and their social media networks, which acted as important forms of capital. Thus, while most research on households and families tends to take an adult-centred perspective to the activities that sustain and reproduce the household, examining all the members of the household, including children and young people, points to the diverse strategies and practices that are mobilised by the family in order to secure its social reproduction resources and needs. This 'patchworking' process (Kibria in Orellana et al., 2003), and the role of young people is crucial to the maintenance and reproduction of the family yet is often overlooked in research of social reproduction and the organisation of its labour. This chapter therefore seeks to highlights the importance of examining age when understanding the social reproduction strategies of families.

Chapter 7 – Children and young people's social reproductive labour

One of the most significant contributions of feminist social reproduction theorists was to centre women in the study of work and production, challenging the public/private divide and expanding the conceptualisation of 'work' to encompass all the various forms of 'invisible labour' that women contribute to both production and reproduction (Dalla Costa and James, 1972). In doing so, the significance of this undervalued labour to capitalist relations and processes of social change was made clear. Despite the important contribution made by feminist social reproduction theorists to conceptions of work and production (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979), the literature often remains framed from the perspective of adults. The role and agency of other actors, such as children, in social reproduction remains side-lined as their reproductive labour, viewed as an extension of 'women's' work, is made invisible. Where children have been included in the social reproduction discourse, they tend to be portrayed in several ways; as passive recipients of the social reproductive labour of others; as objects of care; as victims of the global crisis in social reproduction (the children left behind); or as in need of education and socialisation in order to become future waged workers.

This research looks at social reproduction, and the various processes that are involved in the production and reproduction of people as cultural, social, and physical beings (Bonizzoni, 2018), from the perspective of children and young people. Drawing on the experiences of Latin American young people that participated in this research, this chapter will examine the ways in which children and young people actively engage in the work of social reproduction. In doing so, the research challenges the assumption that children are solely the recipients of a gendered, racialised social reproductive labour and instead offers an important insight into the intergenerational distribution of social reproduction labour within migrant households (Abebe, 2007; Cairns, 2020). As the chapter will detail, Latin American children participate in various forms of social reproductive labour, including cooking, cleaning, caring for siblings and other family members as well as acting as language brokers, and translating and interpreting for their family. Though this work takes place primarily within the private sphere of the home, some activities, such as translating, take place outside the home, and so provide a crucial mediation between the private sphere of the home and the public. Importantly, the work carried out by children is embedded within the social reproduction strategies of the family, both enabling the

production and reproduction of their parents as waged workers, and aiding their family's' settlement into the U.K. This research contributes then to a growing body of work that has begun to consider the participation of children in the processes and institutions of social reproduction (Katz, 2004; Abebe 2007; Ansell 2008; Ferguson 2017; Cairns 2018a; Cairns, 2018b; Rosen and Newberry, 2018; Newberry and Rosen, 2020), broadening the field of inquiry from gender and the labour of women, to look at the intergenerational organisation of social reproduction. In doing so, it holds on to one of the key political aims of social reproduction theory, to analyse not just the day-to-day experiences of children and young people, but to situate these experiences within the production and reproduction of global capitalism.

Domestic activities: cleaning, shopping, and cooking

Social reproduction consists of paid and unpaid physical, emotional, and mental work, often performed for free within the household but also organised through various other actors such as the state, the community, and the market (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Glen, 1992). The Latin American children and young people in this study were engaged in various forms of work within their households that can be understood as typically social reproductive labour (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Laslett and Brenner, 1989), such as shopping for food, cooking meals, cleaning, and at times, caring for siblings. In our conversations, the young people often conceptualised these activities simply as their chores – *tareas domésticas* – which most children and teenagers might be expected to do. Though these were activities that the young people considered a normal part of their everyday life, and indeed a routine part of life for migrant families more broadly (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021), they took an agentic role. I interviewed Martina, who is 16 years old and lives with her mother and two younger siblings in south London. When we spoke at the end of 2020, she had been living in London for just over a year, the majority of which she had spent at home and out of school because of the Covid-19 pandemic. Martina was born in Bolivia but migrated with her parents to Barcelona when she was a year old. She spent the next nine years in Spain before returning to Bolivia for four years with her parents and two younger sisters, as the family attempted to navigate better work opportunities between the two countries. Martina returned briefly to Spain for a year where the decision was made to move to London; her parents had separated at this point and her

mother was unable to find employment that could support herself and the two children in Barcelona. Martina told me that once in London her mother took on multiple jobs, working as a cleaner, cook and child carer in order to sustain the family. Martina, as the eldest, was responsible for her two younger sisters while her mother was at work and at home, the siblings would organise various domestic tasks amongst themselves before their mum returned.

> [M]i mama casi no está porque trabaja todo el día. Entonces nosotros cocinamos y limpiamos. Y nos repartimos, digamos, un día tu cocina, y hoy lavas los platos, y así si (Martina, 16).
>
> My mum is almost always never here because she works all day. So, we [my siblings] do the cooking and cleaning. And we share it, so we say, one day you do the cooking, today you wash the dishes, and so on (Martina, 16).

Looking at the social reproductive work of young people complicates conceptualisations of children as simply dependants within their family and instead highlights the various intergenerational interdependencies that structure family interactions. Latin American young people understood that their parents work required them to work long, irregular hours which meant they would have less time and energy to do the work of cooking, cleaning, and maintaining a household. Kimberly, 24, for instance, told me that as a teenager, she too collaborated with her younger sister to make sure that household work was completed before their mum came home from work. Kimberly was born in Ecuador and at the age of 4 years old migrated to Barcelona with her parents and younger sister. After the economic crash in 2008, her father lost his job, and like Martina above, the family became reliant on her mothers' income, which wasn't sufficient. The family decided to leave Spain for London when Kimberly was 17 years old; like many of the participants I spoke with for this research, migrating onwards had not been part of their original migration plans but deteriorating economic conditions in Spain meant new challenges to ensuring their social reproduction arose. When families migrate, significant transformations emerge in the ways that the physical, social, and emotional needs of the family and its members are met and maintained and new ways of distributing household labour take hold which incorporate children and young people to greater degrees. Once the family was in London, Kimberly and her sibling saw that their mother's job as a cleaner required her to work long and unsociable hours and so they decided to 'help out' with the domestic chores.

> Bueno, siempre hemos tratado de ayudar a mi mamá, porque cuando, nos mudamos a la casa, pues mis padres se separaron y ella se quedó sola. Y bueno, pues ella siempre estaba trabajando y le ayudamos a cocinar, intentar cocinar algo cuando llegaba del trabajo, pues que ya no, o sea que tuviera algo que comer y si, ayudar un poco a limpiar también (Kimberly, 24).

> Well, we've always tried to help out my mum because when we moved into the house, my parents had separated, and she was alone. And so…she was always working so we helped her cook, we tried to make something for her when she got home from work, so she had something to eat and yeah, help clean a little too (Kimberly, 24).

Despite the important contributions that children make to the day-to-day and generational maintenance of their households, as the stories of Martina, Kimberly and their siblings make clear, children and young people continue to be represented as solely the objects of reproductive labour in much of the research. Moreover, with this work both located within the 'invisible' realm of reproduction – the home – and performed by an 'invisible' group of people – children – (Cairns, 2020), children's domestic activities also remain under theorised in analyses of household labour. Social reproduction theory has made clear that the labour necessary to sustain and reproduce life is integrally connected to the production and reproduction of the waged labourer (Dalla Costa and James, 1972; Benería, 1979). Yet this labour is not only gendered, as social reproduction theorists emphasise, but also generational, for children's domestic labour is similarly involved in their parents' sustenance and reproduction as waged workers for capitalist production. For Martina and Kimberly, for example, washing the dishes, preparing meals, and helping to maintain the house means that their mother doesn't have to do it when she gets home from work. Children's domestic labour thus helps to ensure that their parents are replenished and regenerated to return to work the next day, labour which capitalism is dependent upon (Bakker and Gill, 2003). Looking to the everyday lives of Latin American young people reveals the important contributions they make to their household's reproduction and by virtue, their household's productive capacity too. It also makes clear the extent to which capital structures the social and material conditions upon which the work of social reproduction accomplished.

'Helping out' the family

The domestic labour that Martina, Kimberly, and their siblings carry out is situated, certainly, within the context of their family's economic insecurity, but it is also considered a normal part of their everyday life, work which they were expected to do and which in turn they wanted to perform. Studies on Latin American families suggest that values and attitudes are shaped by the concept of familism, an approach which emphasises and encourages responsibility and obligation towards members of the family and other kin, such as godparents (Portes and Bach, 1985; Valenzuela, 1999). Such an approach encourages and expects family members to rely on one another for social, emotional, and practical support and understand that these are reciprocal behaviours. Children and young people are similarly expected to adhere to these values and behaviours. When looking at how different cultural and social values shape the role of the child within families, some bodies of research have identified an 'integrationist approach' to child-rearing, which appears worldwide amongst different communities but is often found within Indigenous and Indigenous-heritage communities of the Americas (Coppens et al., 2016: 3). An integrationist approach to child-rearing recognises the helpfulness and autonomy of children, encourages collaboration and mutual endeavour between family members, and actively integrates children as valuable members of the household (Coppens et al., 2016: 7). It stands in contrast to a segregationist approach towards child rearing which encourages children to take an individualised attitude towards the completion of household chores, with parents assigning tasks and children completing them because they were told to, and not because doing so was for the common need of the family. This approach is common in most childhoods, particularly within middle-class European and western communities (Coppens et al., 2016: 7).

An approach to child rearing that is argued to be the result of particular ethnic backgrounds and identities of people and communities raises important questions around essentialism. The young people in this study came from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds; several of the participants had spent all their childhood in their countries of origin in Latin America, while others had spent the majority of their lives in Spain before migrating to London, and indeed a few had been raised largely in London. How these young people identified moreover, whether with their country of origin in Latin America, as European citizens, with a particular Indigenous

group or as a mix of several identities, was also varied. The complexities of these different experiences and identities would suggest that they would each have differing expectations of childhood and family, all of which would shape how they conceptualised their contributions to and responsibilities within the family. However, I would argue that an indigenous perspective can be useful in understanding "the continuity of children's (re)-productive activities" (Abebe, 2007: 83) and that some of the attitudes and expectations that define an 'integrationist' approach shaped the identities of some of the young people in this study. As two participants specifically state:

> "[It's] a big thing, I think, in the Latin cultures to help your parents…" (Alejandro, 19)."

> "[w]hen you live in Europe, when you're young, you're not expected to do anything but study. But…I was like, I was expected to, like, work with my dad, like, really young" (Geovanny, 19)

These examples point to a shared understanding about the role and expectations of children within the 'Latin' family, despite differences in experiences and identities between the two young people themselves – Alejandro, of Dominican and Italian heritage, who migrated onwards from Europe at a very young age, and has spent the majority of his life in London, and Geovanny, who migrated onwards from Ecuador and then Spain as a teenager and had only been living in London for a few years. Young people's description of their household work as 'helping out' therefore suggests an acknowledgement that they too could contribute to the needs of the household, as capable members of the household. Thus while it would be essentialist to claim that all children and young people within families of Latin American origin are shaped by an integrationist approach to child rearing, the willingness and understanding amongst the young people in this study to get involved in the work of the household – to cook and to clean – can be understood in part by shared cultural and social backgrounds that shaped familial discourses of obligation and which young people drew on to understand what it meant to be a 'good' child, in, specifically, a Latin American household.

Young people therefore positioned themselves therefore as valuable members of the household, invested in the idea of collaborating and sharing responsibility for the needs of the household. However, this 'helping out' was also situated in response to the social and

economic circumstances of their family life, which led young people to position themselves as allies of their parents (Cairns, 2018b; Crivello and Espinoza Revollo, 2018). In the case of Kimberly and Martina for instance, their sense of responsibility to help out was made more acute by their particular familial situation in which their parents had separated, and they received little support from their fathers. As Martina described, "[s]ólo estoy con mi mamá, mi papá no está aquí, ni tampoco nos ayuda [I'm here only with my mum, my dad isn't here, and he doesn't help us either]." Esteban, 17, similarly positioned himself as an ally of his mother. Esteban was born in Madrid to Colombian and Bolivian parents, where he spent his early childhood before moving with his mother and older brother to London at 11 years old. The family were reunited with Esteban's father in London, who had been living and working in the capital for the previous five years, separated from his family. In our interview Esteban told me of the ways he helps out around the house, which he frames as work he does particularly to alleviate his mother's workload.

> So, my mum will still, like, come home and she has to cook even though she works until like 6, so she doesn't get home until seven…And, well, my dad being, like I said, quite typical, slash misogynistic, like I said, he, he will literally come home and sit down and, I don't know, have a beer and watch a football game with my brother. And that's literally what they will do. So, it's like, unless I'm the one helping my mum, there's literally no one. And that's only because I enjoy cooking. But then there's times when I don't really feel like cooking, 'cause it's still a burden to have to cook all the time. Like I said, it's maintenance that has to be done (Esteban, 17).

As this quote suggests, the cooking that Esteban does is a choice he makes for various reasons; first, because he recognises that his mother, as the only woman in the household, is considered responsible for domestic activities yet nonetheless must be tired when she gets home from work; second, because he feels capable of helping out and finally, because he felt other members of the family – his father and older brother – were not helping out. That Esteban's brother is seemingly not engaged in household work disrupts somewhat the cultural 'integrationist' approach that can shape children's roles in Latin American households. However, in our interview Esteban informed me that his brother had learning difficulties to the extent that Esteban behaved like the older brother and was made responsible for supporting

his brother in various ways, such as helping him with his homework. This dynamic could imply that Esteban's brother was not expected to fulfil the role that children may have within Latin American families, a role therefore that only Esteban had to meet. Meanwhile Esteban's description of his father as "typical, slash misogynistic" suggests that his father viewed his contribution to the collective needs of the household as his paid productive work, and so was unlikely to engage in domestic labour. Esteban therefore saw himself as the only member of the family willing to contribute to domestic chores. The cooking he did was not seen as a 'feminised' activity that he shouldn't do as a young man, but one which he should do because it would help his mother, who would otherwise be 'burdened' alone with this household work. In this sense the gender organisation and responsibilities of domestic work appears to be somewhat shifting, though in this case not necessarily to other adult men but to young people. This may appear a tenuous point, and it could be said that this shift was only happening at the level of the individual. Given that Esteban also spent five years living only with his mother when his father first migrated to the U.K., he was perhaps particularly attuned to the needs of his mother. However, building on interviews with other young people, I will argue in the following section that Latin American young people's engagement in the work of the household not only indicates a generational order to social reproduction, but also an unsettling of the gendered regime.

The ways in which young people both recognised and needed to take up the tasks of the household in the face of social and economic challenges makes clear the ways in which "intergenerational ties of mutual support" (Cairns, 2018b: 181) emerge in situations of precarity and insecurity. As the literature on social reproduction makes clear, the work involved in the daily and generational renewal of life has no choice but to be completed, and as capital and the state continue to shift that responsibility onto individuals, various actors are compelled to take up that work (Katz, 2001; Bezanson and Luxton, 2006; Bakker, 2007; Bakker and Silvey, 2008). As this thesis argues, children and young people are clearly implicated in this work. However, in keeping with the Childhood Studies framework, what this thesis also seeks to do is centre the agency of children in its analysis and to make clear how it is that children and young people themselves understand and conceptualise their involvement in the work of social reproduction. 'Helping out' their families with the tasks of the household can also be understood therefore as an active choice made by the young people, shaped in part by their

understanding of the role they can and should play, and performed in the knowledge that it is work which is both important and valuable to the needs of themselves and the family.

Young people's household work: disrupting gendered divisions of labour

Existing research on divisions of labour amongst children in households has found that although boys take part in household activities, girls are more likely to be responsible for such work and are expected to perform more complex tasks (Valenzuela, 1999; Becker, 2007). Amongst the participants in this study, however, it emerged that both young men and women were engaged in the 'feminine' tasks of cooking, cleaning, and maintaining a household. Rather than gender organising this labour, the work was allocated to the young people according to availability and a lack of alternative options. The majority of these young people's parents and carers were employed in tiring jobs with unsociable hours, such as cleaning, where they had to *madrugar* to go to work – meaning to get up in the early hours of the morning. Being out of the house at irregular hours, the responsibility to ensure that the day-to-day needs of the household were met fell to all children and young people, regardless of gender. Over the course of this research, it also became clear that these responsibilities had increased as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, offering an insight into the impact that this pandemic has had on migrant young people. With the closure of schools, few public spaces open, and parents out at work from very early in the morning, participants told me of the additional responsibilities they felt they had to ensure household work was completed, given the extra amount of time they concurrently were spending at home. For the young people in this study that had recently arrived in the U.K., and who were unable to find a school place for many months because of pandemic related closures, this sense of responsibility was compounded.

Nicolas, 16, had been living in Morden, south London for a month when we spoke in November 2020. He initially moved in with his *segunda madre*, a woman he talked of as having raised him like he was her child, and who had been living in London for several years at this point. However, a few days after arriving, realising that his *segunda madre* didn't live in the same area as a family member he also had in London, he left to live with his aunt, a woman he had not met before and who had only recently migrated to London herself. In our interview he told me how he felt like an additional expense to both his *segunda madre*, who lived with four other

people, and his aunt, who he described as "working to feed me". Nicolas' feeling of being a burden was made more acute by the fact that he was neither in school learning English (and so able to utilise his language skills for the benefit of the family), nor able to get a job and contribute to his own and the household's expenses. Aware of the lack of time and energy his aunt had to do household tasks, and the time he himself had because he was not in school or work, Nicolas actively took responsibility for cleaning the house, buying food, and making meals. As noted in the previous chapter, Nicolas states:

> Here [in London], I make, I make, I don't know, uh…lo que haya. De hecho, uh, debería, después de esta entrevista, voy a ir a comprar lentejas porque me dijeron de hacer lentejas hoy. My cousin llega – how do you say, arriving home? – at 4pm. And I make the food in, in, 1pm, 2pm and well...le dejo la comida lista (Nicolas, 16).

> Here [in London], I make, uhh, whatever we have. So, actually after this interview I'm going to go buy lentils because they told me to make lentil soup today. My cousin will – how do you say – get home at 4pm. So, I'll make the food at 1pm, 2pm and well...I'll have the food ready (Nicolas, 16).

As Nicolas' story makes clear, the organisation of the social reproductive work in his home was predominantly about who was physically available to do the work. His aunt, who was out of the house working most of the day, and his cousin, who was at school, did not have the same time that Nicolas did to go shopping and make a meal. The work therefore became organised according to a generational order, more than a gendered one, and such an order was fundamentally pragmatic. However, like Esteban's story above, Nicolas also didn't view this work as inherently 'feminine' or work he shouldn't be doing. On the contrary, he chose to do it, suggesting that although the circumstances of his family's work-life arrangements led him to perform domestic activities, a transformation in young people's ideologies of who specifically should be engaging in domestic labour was also taking place. This transformation can be understood, in part, in relation to the forms of work that participants parents were employed in, particularly their fathers. Most of the fathers of the young people I spoke with worked in paid social reproductive work, in sectors such as cleaning, cooking, and catering. The concentration of Latin American men in these forms of work represented a shift away from the work most men were employed in before they migrated; large scale research on the Latin American community has found that 67% of Latin American men work in the cleaning sector

in London, compared to only 3% of men when they were living in their previous country (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016: 48). It could be argued then that Latin American men's employment in cleaning, cooking, and catering jobs had the effect of making certain gendered household work more acceptable for them to do, and as such, allocated and organised in a different way. Existing research on the Latin American community in London has also found that the organisation of domestic labour often transforms and at times is challenged as a result of migration, largely because Latin American adults are segregated into forms of work that require long and irregular hours, and so the work of the household has little option but to be shared more equally (McIlwaine, 2010; McIlwaine et al., 2011: 80; McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). Yet working low status 'feminised' jobs such as cleaning and catering created tensions within the home, as men resisted the transformations in gender practices that they found themselves embedded in. Interviews with participants in this study however found that young men seemed not to resist this disruption to the gendered order. This suggests that in contrast to research amongst migrant men which finds that while a more equal distribution of labour within homes is reluctantly accepted, new gender inequalities emerge (McIlwaine, 2010), amongst young migrant men, gendered roles and responsibilities appear to transform.

This was the case for Lucas, 17, Colombian, who lives in a flat in south London with his dad, his stepmother, her daughter, and her daughter's husband. Lucas' father works as a cleaner and in our interview, Lucas explained that their household organises the domestic tasks in a practical way, through a rota which incorporates all members of the household. Lucas, his father, and stepmother will do the cleaning one week, the following week his stepmother's daughter and her husband will do it, and so on.

> [C]on mi papá y la esposa nos turnamos cada 15 días hacemos, o sea, una semana hacemos aseo, la otra semana les toca a ellos, a los otros que vivían con los otros chicos que ven con otros y así. Entonces, sí, cada uno tenemos sus tareas, no dice, vos limpiamos el baño, otros limpiamos las, las habitaciones, la otra la cocina y el otro es la sala (Lucas, 17).
>
> So, with my dad and his wife, we take turns, so every 15 days or a week we will clean, then the other week it's up to the other people that live there. So, yeah, we each have our tasks, no one says, you clean the bathroom, you clean the bedrooms, you do the kitchen, the other person does the living room (Lucas, 17).

Lucas understands this cleaning rota as an implicit agreement between the members of the household as his description that "cada uno tenemos sus tareas, no dice, vos limpiamos el baño… [we each have our tasks, no one says you clean the bathroom…]", suggests no one needs to be reminded to do these tasks. Certainly, while Lucas himself perceives the cleaning rota in his house as an implicit agreement, embedded within the collaborative and collective ideology that shapes Latin American households, it could also be understood in the context of economic insecurity which pushes two familial groups – Lucas, his father and stepmother, and his stepsister and her husband – to live together. That these two groups define themselves separately with two separate cleaning rotas, for instance, suggests that this living situation could be one of necessity rather than choice. Given what is known about the precarious nature of housing and employment for Latin Americans in London, this seems possible. Yet from Lucas' story, the work is shared equally between both male and female members of the household, and there appears little tension. It could be argued that Lucas' father employment as a cleaner contributes to this disruption to the gendered order, and so the work of cleaning in the home has become more acceptable and so can be conceptualised in terms of practicality and need. This stands in contrast to Esteban house for instance, whose father, as described earlier, actively does not engage in cooking or cleaning. That Esteban's father works in construction, considered a traditionally 'masculine' job, could explain the difference in these attitudes. This appears in line with existing research on older migrant men (and women) within the Latin American community in the U.K., which has found that labour force participation of men in 'women's work' forces a destabilisation of hegemonic gender norms, although not without resistance from men and the creation of new gender inequalities, and with women continuing to bear responsibility for the majority of reproductive labour (McIlwaine, 2010).

The participation of young men and their fathers in social reproductive work also offers an important contribution to the literature on domestic labour, migration, and global care chains. Rhacel Parreñas' work (2000; 2001; 2005) on transnational mothering amongst Filipino transnational families found, for instance, that although gendered ideologies of mothering are challenged to a certain degree when women migrate without their children, ideological constructions of femininity and the cult of domesticity continue to structure expectations of who should carry out this work. This work found that although fathers remained at home with their children, nonetheless gendered responsibilities are such that other women in the origin

country will step in to do the work of social reproduction for these fathers (Parreñas, 2001). For Latin Americans living in London however, the pool of extended family and female family members to fall back on to do this reproductive labour is limited – unlike in Parreñas' work, grandparents and aunts might not be living in London, and if they are, may also be employed in equally precarious forms of work. Given that some young Latin American men and their fathers are participating in the social reproductive work of cleaning, cooking, and caring for their children suggests therefore a need to examine expectations about gendered divisions of labour in ways that consider the geo-spatially specific context of young people's lives. The forms of stratified labour that Latin American parents are engaged in means that the organisation of social reproduction work within their households could no longer follow an explicitly gender order but instead had to become flexible, simply for the work to get done. And as stated earlier, the willingness of the young men to embrace these roles, to not resist the disruption to the gendered order in ways that their fathers and older men may do, could be indicative of how gendered roles and responsibilities arguably shift over time and between generations.

Young people's language brokering

The forms of social reproductive work that Latin American young people are engaged in also includes the work of 'language brokering' (Tse, 1996) for their families. Interviews and fieldwork revealed that Latin American young people often take on the responsibility of translating and interpreting between Spanish and English for their families, constructing and drawing upon their social networks of English speakers to improve their language skills in order to be able to better speak for and on behalf of the needs of the family. 'Language brokering' is therefore more than simply relaying information between two different language speakers but involves mediating and making decisions for family members, the community, and peers (Tse, 1996; Hall and Sham, 2007; Crafter et al., 2009). Language brokering takes place in various spaces, whether the home, in healthcare settings, in school, at appointments, or in service offices such as welfare or housing. It includes various forms of communication, such as making a phone call, translating a document, filling out an application, arranging appointments or face-to-face meetings (Tse, 1996; Hall and Sham, 2007; Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). For the young

people in this study, language brokering is an everyday activity, part of a set of obligations they have, and which are made salient within the social, cultural, and political context of their day-to-day lives. Despite its everyday-ness, langue brokering is an activity that is often essential for navigating various relationships between the private and the public spheres – such as between teacher and parent, for example.

The work of 'language brokering' is expected of Latin American young people within their families; again, it is considered part of the contribution they can make to the collective needs of the household (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). Esteban for example, was responsible for all the translation and interpretation needs of his family. When his family moved to London from Madrid when Esteban was 11 years old, he was quickly expected to perform both basic and complex translating tasks, such as interpreting legal documents, filling out rental applications or completing MOT renewal forms. Esteban discussed the expectations placed upon him by his parents, and the responsibilities that he took upon himself to help his family and ensure they were able to get the support they needed. He found himself having to research things in order to better explain it to his parents, taking on the role then not just of translator for his parents, but also teacher.

> [E]ven though my dad had been here for a while […] he hadn't quite grasped English. So, I had to learn it, [to] apply for school and also apply in terms of more grown-up stuff. So as long as I've been here […] I've been the one who's been in charge of translating legal documents, in terms of rent, in terms of taxes, in terms of banking, all of that, that's been me. And if I didn't know what it meant, then it was like, OK, well, nobody knows what it means. So, I have to – whether I don't or I do – I have to know, so I will have to research myself (Esteban, 17).

As Esteban's story suggests, the level of responsibility that young Latin Americans have as language brokers for their families is comprehensive and complex, requiring them to take on a role that is likely not experienced by their (only) English-speaker peers. This was true also for Martina, was also responsible for translating for her mother despite only being in London for a year when we spoke. Martina became the go-between for her mother who spoke little English, arranging medical appointments, going with her to the shops, making phone calls. In contrast to Esteban, who was somewhat reluctantly his parents' translator, Martina actively chose to do this work, seeking out opportunities where she could improve her English and be

better able to support her mum. The conscious decision that Martina made to do this work demonstrates children's role as agents of social reproduction in their own right.

> Yo aprendí ingles con…yendo con mi mama a muchos lugares y hablando con gente porque mi mama no sabía nada de inglés y yo sabía cómo un pocito pero intentaba íbamos con el traductor. Y mi mama tiene que hacer muchos papeles aquí en Londres. Entonces yo iba con ella traducir, también iba a GP, hablaba con la gente. Yo quiero ir a GP porque mi mama sufre mucho dolor de las rodillas, entonces, yo siempre estoy llamando por ella…. Tengo que traducir a todo (Martina, 16).
>
> I learned English by…going to lots of different places with my mum and talking to people, because my mum didn't know any English and I knew a bit, so I tried to go with her to be the translator. And my mum has had to fill out a lot of papers in London. So, I go with her to translate, I also go to the GP, I just talk to people. I wanted to go to the GP with my mum because she has a lot of pain in her knees, so I'm always calling [the GP] for her…I have to translate everything (Martina, 16).

As Esteban and Martina's experiences make clear, Latin American young people's language brokering enables their families to access resources and everyday necessities that the family might otherwise not be able to secure or may find more difficult to secure without their child's support. They become responsible for not only translating between Spanish and English, but researching and explaining information, advising on next steps and being part of decision-making processes, in a broad range of situations and spaces. In doing this work, these young people often bridge the gap between the private and the public spheres, between the state and the family, ensuring that the family meets its social reproduction needs across a range of areas, for example in healthcare, by calling the GP, accessing food by accompanying them to the supermarket, filling out documents related to immigration status, navigating public transport, or helping to apply for benefits. A Latin American EAL teacher I spoke with for this research, who works at a school in south London with a large number of Latin American students, described the challenges that translating for parents creates for students when it comes to understanding the educational system and accessing quality educational resources.

> Parents, a lot of them don't have much English, so it's a case of parents not knowing about the school system or the processes. And students having to translate a lot for them (Claudia, English as a Second Language Educator).

Language brokering also evidently requires young people to develop and acquire the additional skills and knowledge of cultural conventions, customs, and practices in order to be able to effectively 'broker'. Such skills enable these young people to interact with different services and institutions, to understand how these systems function and how best to navigate resources on behalf of themselves, their families, and communities. As Esteban stated, "[Y]ou're understanding stuff that kids your age don't even know exist." As the ones responsible for developing these skills, young people, rather than their parents or carers, end up acting as mediators for their families. They became responsible for speaking 'for others' (Orellana et al., 2003), communicating with individuals and institutions in a variety of spaces (e.g., schools, GP surgeries, HM Revenue & Custom, local authorities, utility companies, the Home Office, etc.) in order to access and secure resources, as well as advocate for support or search for alternative help when needed. Their translation work therefore serves a role not just in accessing essential needs, but facilitating their family's settlement into the U.K., enabling them to understand how services function, the cultural customs and traditions that are embedded within such services, and the rhythms of day-to-day life in London.

Despite the necessity of children's language brokering to their families, it is unvalued and often invisible work. When it takes place in the private setting of the home, it is assumed that it is an adult, rather than a child, doing the work of translating documents, filling out forms or making phone calls. And in the public sphere, when children go with their parents to appointments or meet with teachers for example, their language brokering means that institutions can abdicate their responsibility to provide adequate translation and interpretation services themselves. Interviews I conducted with officers in local authorities highlighted although there is a degree of translation support at the frontline of services, this provision is not constant and has been significantly impacted by austerity related budged cuts. Even where frontline language support is made available, it is clear from the stories of the young people that beyond that, little support is offered as they are required and at times asked by institutions to attend appointments or help out with translating. This makes clear both how superficially accommodating language

support is for non-English speakers and the impact of cuts to public services such as interpreting services.

The work of language brokering by Latin American young people can be understood within a particular cultural and social framework which recognises children and young people capacity to contribute to the needs of the household. Language brokering becomes a form of social reproductive labour, a caring responsibility that children and young people carry out in order to contribute to the social, economic, and emotional needs of the household. The young people I spoke with for this research framed this language brokering as an everyday part of their lives; for some of the participants, they actively chose to be the translator for the family, as the example of Martina and Kimberly, who went to great efforts to learn English, demonstrate. They were also embedded in wider social networks where they were expected to use their language skills for the benefit of other Latin Americans and not just members of the family – as Alejandro's quote from the previous chapter suggests, language brokering, not only for immediate family but 'social' family, was part of their everyday life.

> [W]ell, I call her my auntie, she's technically not an auntie, but she's a friend of my mum and she's Latina as well, she's from Venezuela. And loads of times she'll come down to Croydon, she'll call me, 'Ale, I need your help', so I go with her, because she doesn't speak English (Alejandro, 19).

Children's work as language brokers for this families' and the importance of this work for accessing resources took place in what Orellana et al., (2003: 13) have defined as both "specialized" encounters (unusual events that may be emotionally heightened or marked in families' experiences) and a wide variety of quotidian activities". Participants also expressed some ambivalence about the responsibilities they had as translators for their families, and the expectations placed upon them. Several participants for instance spoke of the complexity of the roles they were asked to perform and the skills they had to develop to do so, whether this was translating potentially sensitive information on behalf of their parents, interpreting during parent-teacher meetings, or finding the right information in order to correctly fill out a document. Moreover, for some, the experience of negotiating with public institutions on behalf of their family and being placed in situations with stark power imbalances as a result, made them uneasy.

> Sí, yo ayudo en lo que puedo, pero ya cuando son documentos eh…pues muy extensos y que tengan algo de contenido un poco más…como más, no sé cómo más…fuerte en el sentido de que son, pues un poquito más delicados que entonces yo nosotros buscamos ayudas, alguien que sepa inglés y qué nos puede ayudar (Lucas, 17).
>
> Yeah, I help as much as I can, but when there are documents that are…really long and detailed or a little bit more…I don't know… sensitive, then for those ones, we look for help, someone who knows English and who can help us (Lucas, 17).

> I wasn't really comfortable with it, like, OK, now I have to talk about something [and] I don't even know what it is in Spanish. So, I had to learn all these things, cos like I said, it was since I was quite young, I had to be like, OK, MOT, I never knew you had to do MOT for a car. I had to learn about in English and Spanish 'cause I had to explain it to my parents as well. Cause it was like, now you're understanding stuff that kids your age don't even know exist. Which is good for me apparently. Well, I guess it was (Esteban, 17).

Latin American children and young people's participation in various household activities such as cooking, cleaning, and translating, was seen as a way of contributing to the household, as well as important for their development into adulthood. It was a role that some young people encouraged and developed within themselves as part of the work of 'reproducing' themselves, and which many recognised as worthwhile because of the language skills they gained. However, as some of the young peoples' accounts above suggest, this type of contribution was not always welcome, for instance, if it involved translating information that they might not want to hear or if it placed them in situations with people in positions of authority. The ambivalence felt by Esteban, for example, points to the limitations of power that young people experience by virtue of their multiple social positions – as young people and as Latin Americans living in London. In situations where they were expected to translate and interpret, various imbalances of power are at play; between the child talking on behalf of their parent, and the adult they're seeking information from (the teacher, welfare adviser, lawyer etc.); between the migrant and a figure of authority. Thus, while young people felt a sense of empowerment

within their own family to do the work of translating, relationships outside of this space and with institutional actors such as the school or welfare office, remained highly imbalanced and left children and young people at times feeling responsible for decisions being made by adults, through them. This ambivalence brings into question the impact that this type of work, and the increased responsibility it brings for young people, has on the parent-child relationship and on children's wellbeing more broadly.

It is also essential to recognise how children's work as language brokers needed to take place because of the specific hostile social and political climate in which Latin American families live in the U.K. The retrenchment of public programmes and a reduction and withdrawal in funding of service provision has restricted the availability of translation and interpretation support for migrant groups (Katz, 2001; Bakker, 2007; Montañez, 2020). The exclusion that Latin Americans experience from accessing services and participating politically, socially, and economically in life in London as a result of language barriers is the result of a particular migration policy that places responsibility on the individual to know English, as a marker of successful integration into the U.K. (Burke et al., 2018), yet limits its access. The result of this gap in provision is that parents often have to bring their children with them simply to be able to communicate needs and access services, despite, as some of the stories suggest, the ambivalence felt by the young people.

Young people's cultural and emotional social reproduction

I have discussed thus far the manual work of social reproduction that Latin American young people are engaged in within their households, including cooking, cleaning, translating, and caring for siblings. Yet social reproduction requires not just the daily maintenance of people through the physical work of feeding, housing, or cleaning, but also the mental and emotional work involved in ensuring the welfare of individuals and their creation and recreation as social and cultural beings (Laslett and Brenner, 1989; Bonizzoni, 2018). It also includes the work of "socializing the young, building communities, producing and reproducing the shared meanings, affective dispositions and horizons of value that underpin social cooperation" (Fraser, 2016:

101). This mental and emotional labour occurs within paid forms of labour, such as particular service occupations, and within unpaid forms of labour, such as that which takes place in the private setting of the home, and it can include both nurturing and non-nurturing tasks. The organisation of emotional labour, or care labour, as it is often conceptualised within social reproduction discourse (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Benería, 2008) is particularly impacted by migration and international mobility, as well as by neoliberal efforts to re-privatise social reproduction. (Katz, 2001; Bakker and Gill, 2003; Bakker and Silvey, 2008). This literature often focuses its attention on the care deficit and emotional wellbeing of the children 'left behind' by their migrant parents, or on the paid social reproductive labour of migrants, particularly migrant women, in industrialised countries, in sectors such as cleaning or childcare (Anderson, 2001; Parreñas, 2001; Yeates, 2012). This research has offered important insights into the challenges to social reproduction faced by migrant families within the context of their countries of origin. However, there is little work (although growing, see: Baldassar and Merla, 2014; Kofman and Raghuram, 2015; Bonizzoni, 2018), on the social reproductive experiences of migrants themselves once in the settlement country, with even less attention paid to the social reproduction experiences of children and young people who migrate with their parents, and how they manage their physical, social, and emotional needs.

The segregation of Latin American parents and carers into particular forms of employment, and the unsociable and irregular hours it requires, means that the actual time they have available to offer emotional support to their children is limited. The young people in this study, who at the time of the research were living through strict Covid-19 controls, described how their parents' workload meant that they spent much of their days either alone or with their siblings, either studying online or waiting to get into schools. This sense of isolation and emotional strain was particularly acute for those participants that had recently arrived in the U.K. as delays caused by the pandemic saw them out of school for longer periods, and with fewer opportunities therefore to make new friends. Several of the young people I spoke with for this research had also migrated to London by themselves, either staying with extended family until their parents joined them a few months later or reuniting with a parent that had already migrated.

Lucas (17) and Mateo (18) for example, were friends that had met through their 16+ college at the beginning of 2020 when they first moved to the U.K. They both migrated from Colombia

alone, leaving behind their mothers and the rest of their family so as to join their fathers who had migrated to London several years earlier. Although they met in college, both of the young men had spent limited amounts of time in an education setting in the almost year that they had been in London as a result of school closures and a shift to online learning. Lucas and Matteo both detailed the particular emotional difficulties they faced when they first arrived in London and were forced to navigate a new life without their parents' support or social networks to draw upon.

> "[Y]o me sentía, pues, muy mal. Yo sin hacer nada estará, pues cuando estaba lo del Lockdown que todo estaba cerrado, no tenía, pues posibilidades de entrar a estudiar, ni de trabajar. Yo…yo la verdad yo, pues yo ya estaba mirando con mi papá, ya mi papá, yo le dije pues yo llorando le decía que yo me quería devolver. Lo que te digo, o sea, sin hacer nada de brazos cruzados y si sigo así pues, resultar pues muy mal (Lucas, 17).
>
> "I felt really low [when I first came]. I wasn't doing anything, because in that first lockdown when everything was closed, I couldn't study or go to work…Honestly, I was asking my dad, I was crying and telling him that I wanted to go back. I said if I carry on like this, just doing nothing, then it's not going to end well (Lucas, 17).

> A mí me afectó los primeros meses, mucho, yo creo que me no me deprimí, pero si me sentía muy bajoneado por el hecho de te prácticamente estar solo de no, de no conocer a nadie, de que mi día a día fuera, pues demasiado repetitivo, porque era, me levantaba, me acostaba, me levantaba – me ha costado (Mateo, 18).
>
> The first few months affected me a lot, I don't think I was depressed but I felt very low because of the fact that I was basically alone, I didn't know anyone, my day-to-day was too repetitive, I got up, went to bed, got up – it was hard (Mateo, 18).

The literature on social reproduction as it relates to migration and children tends to focus on the absence of care and emotional distress that children experience when a parent (mainly a mother) migrates without their children who are 'left behind'. Yet as the vignettes above illustrate, the reverse can also be true; although Mateo and Lucas had joined their fathers in London, they had left the rest of the family, including their mums, in Colombia. Once they

arrived in London, they found that their fathers, because of their work as cleaners and the types of hours they had to work, had limited time to engage in the work of caregiving. The deficit in care that Latin American young people experience in London because of their parent's job market stratification confirms the saliency of Colen's concept of stratified social reproduction (1995) and makes clear how inequalities of class, migration status and gender structures how the physical, social, and of course, emotional tasks of social reproduction are accomplished.

The stories of Lucas and Mateo also made clear how a gendered order continues to shape the emotional work required of social reproduction. With their fathers employed in forms of work that significantly limited their time and energy to emotionally support their children, both Lucas and Mateo told me that they looked to their female family members elsewhere for support. In our interviews they described the relationships they have with their mothers and grandmothers in Colombia and how they turned to them for advice and guidance and to express their anxieties and feelings about their new life in London.

> Yo todos los días hablo con ellos…siempre hablo por llamadas o por WhatsApp, o bueno, casi siempre, siempre, lo llevo más o menos 4 veces al día. Porque ellos también se sienten, pues tristes, por ejemplo para estas fechas por qué yo soy el cómo el primero nieto que salió del país y se siente el vacío y como ellos fueron los que me vieron crecer, por eso yo prácticamente todos los días los llamo (Lucas, 17).
>
> I talk to them every day…I always call them or WhatsApp them, well almost always, usually four times a day. Because they're also sad, because I'm like the first grandson to leave the country and they feel empty and they were the ones who saw me grow up, so that's why I call them basically every day (Lucas, 17).

I discussed earlier how the gendered order of the physical work of social reproduction, such as cleaning and cooking, was challenged in Latin American families by virtue of adults working hours and cultural attitudes towards children. Yet the stories of the young people suggested there was less realignment in the ways in which the emotional aspects of social reproduction were met and maintained, with mothers and other female family members remaining responsible, across geographical distances, for nurturing and meeting the emotional needs of their children. The global care chains literature has shown how gendered ideologies continue

and are intensified when parents, particularly mothers, migrate without their children (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2001; Fog-Olwig, 2012). However, the stories of the young people in this research also show that such socialised gendered norms structure expectations of emotional support, even when it is the mothers that are 'left behind' and the fathers that remain physically with their children. This perhaps alludes to what Crivello and Espinoza Revollo describe as the "crushing effects of poverty on adults' capacities to care for the young" (2018: 140-141); with fathers engaged in time consuming work, often at unsociable hours, their energy and capacity to provide this care may have been depleted (Rai et al., 2014), particularly in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic and the additional challenges this created for family's social reproduction capacities. However, it also points to the ways in which the role of women as the 'care'-takers of their families endures.

In the absence of emotional support made available at home, with families unable to turn to the market to outsource this labour, and with decreasing support provided by the state, children took it upon themselves to seek out other avenues of emotional support, their mothers, and female figures in their countries of origin, but also their siblings, who became immediate and local sources of emotional care. Much of the research tends to ignore the role of siblings, and the ways in which they contribute significant care work for their families, particularly in families of the global south, where expectations for children to take on care responsibilities appear more prevalent (Nieuwenhuys, 2020). However, several of the young people I spoke with migrated to London without their parents but alongside their siblings. In these contexts, it was clear how invaluable these sibling relationships were as forms of emotional support. Kimberly and her sister, for instance, were without their parents when they first arrived in London, and so relied on each other and their aunt to help manage their settlement into the new country.

> [E]l primer día, bueno, como te dije, no, no quería irme, mi hermana tampoco. Y por qué nos íbamos las dos solas y creo que era un poco más, más triste aún. Y pero bueno, mi tía nos ayudó en todo lo que pudo, pero igual era…los primeros meses fue muy difícil…Pero si, fue al principio fue bastante duro, porque también estamos lejos de, de mis padres, pero bueno, al menos tenía a mi hermana que era un apoyo y a mi tía, obviamente que nos ayuda mucho. Pero si, al principio fue duro (Kimberly, 24).

> [T]he first day, as I said, I didn't want to stay, neither did my sister. And because we came here by ourselves, I think we were a little sadder. And of course, my aunt helped us as much as she could, but it was still… the first months were very difficult… So yeah, at the beginning it was quite hard, because we were also far away from…from my parents, but at least I had my sister to support me and my aunt, obviously, who helps us a lot. But yeah, at first it was hard (Kimberly, 24).

The stories of the young people make clear "the need for intergenerational mutuality as a strategy for personal and collective survival" (Crivello and Espinosa Revollo, 2018: 141). However, despite the support and companionship offered through peer relationships with siblings, many of the young people I spoke with still talked of their loneliness and emotional difficulties, especially during the first waves of the pandemic when they were not able to spend time with their friends. In this context, faced with limits on the provision of emotional support in a proximate sense, they drew upon relationships and social networks through the transnational social spaces and networks they were embedded in. They used virtual technology communications like WhatsApp and Facebook to maintain regular contact with their family members and friends back home, which allowed them to share in moments of everyday life and participate in various decision-making processes. Mateo for instance sends voice notes on WhatsApp to his grandmother every few days to ask them how they are or to let them know how he is doing, while Nicolas told me how he uses WhatsApp to make sure he was always in touch with his family back home – "nunca hemos perdido el contacto [we have never lost contact]." The use of ICTs and social technologies is a critical aspect in the production and reproduction of transnational family networks and in the maintenance of sources of capital (Wilding, 2006; Benítez, 2012). Mediums such as WhatsApp, which are free and commonly used, act as forms of capital through which the young people in this study sought out support to aid them through their settlement in London. It allowed the young people to sustain links with their families back home, creating opportunities to nurture and sustain relationships and "creating a stronger sense of a shared social field" (Wilding 2006: 138).

Latin American young people were also engaged in practices that sustained them as social and cultural beings, understanding that social reproduction is both a material and cultural process that involves the recreation of people as specific socio-cultural groups. These practices included sending remittances and gifts to family members 'back home'. Remittances act as a

form of physical and emotional care within transnational families and a means of maintaining a sense of familyhood when spread across borders (Parreñas, 2001; Castañeda and Buck, 2011; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011; Bryceson, 2019).

> Even now, my mum is still sending gifts to my grandma and granddad in Colombia. She'll send them like clothes or like food they like here, or books. And yeah, I have like my grandma on my other side who tends to go to Colombia a lot. She always brings stuff and then we'll send stuff to send to family there. So, that's kind of another way that we keep in contact (Lorena, 17).

> So, like obviously after I hopefully finish uni and I get a decent job, I'd like to send money back home or, buy stuff and send that. Cos that's what my mum does as well. She buys stuff, we put it in a box and send it back to Dominican. Whether it's like clothes or food or like phones or random things like that, that's what we do (Alejandro, 19).

> [N]ormally when someone, like, visits who is from our village or town from the UK went to Colombia, they'd always bring stuff, or we'd send stuff with them. Um, like gifts and they'd bring gifts back normally. So, like every time someone went to Colombia, you'd always...everyone would know about it because they'd take like an extra suitcase, or you could pay them to take an extra suitcase, to just like take gifts for family and stuff like that (Rodrigo, 24).

Though I have described the ways in which Latin American young people utilise the transnational social space to manage their social reproduction needs, it is important not to overstate its significance. My research was conducted during the first two waves of the Covid-19 pandemic in the U.K., an event which significantly disrupted not just the day-to-day practices of the participants in this study, but also those transnational practices that would have been used to meet their social reproduction needs, such as the circulation of care. Not only was movement restricted internally, but international borders were suddenly closed or restricted. Participants told me that they didn't know when they would next go 'back home', or be reunited with family members, or whether to even risk returning to Spain or Latin America in case there were sudden closures of the border. This sudden immobility was particularly acute for those that held European citizenship, and who had either been used to

travelling easily between Spain and the U.K. or had anticipated before they migrated that such travel would be simple. For instance, the back-and-forth flow of family members to help out with childcare for instance was abruptly halted. The pandemic not only limited the physical movement of people across borders, but it also had an effect on the networks that run between countries, as delays in shipping and transport caused significant delays in how goods were transported, for example. In the context of the pandemic then, the local and the national took on far greater significance in Latin American families managed and organised their practical, social, and indeed emotional needs. Of course, as the stories of the young people highlight, social media and online communication became more important, allowing connections across borders, but it was through the state, in this time of exceptional emergency, that the material needs of individuals and families were most clearly met. For instance, it was through local authorities and the national government that support was made available such as the introduction of the furlough scheme, the temporary eviction ban, the provision of laptops to children, or self-isolation payments. This is in the context moreover of a broader state withdrawal from social reproduction provision and reduced access to the services required for social reproduction, particularly for migrant communities. The role of local, national, and regional spaces within which the migrant family is produced and reproduced (Kilkey and Merla, 2013: 211) was therefore more significant. It is thus crucial to incorporate an analysis of the institutional context within which Latin American families are materially and culturally situated, for instance the impact of structural barriers to service access that Latin Americans often face, and how this enables or disenables families from organising their social reproductive needs.

Conclusion

Children and young people are often portrayed as passive recipients of social reproductive labour, as passengers, sometimes 'burdens', in the decisions of adults around them. However, looking at their social reproductive worlds, it is clear that they are playing vital roles within their families, actively contributing to their household's needs and decision-making processes. The stories of the young Latin Americans in this chapter demonstrate the need to centre young people's experiences and has offered important insights into the intergenerational organisation of social reproduction within Latin American households. Such an insight extends

the existing literature on household work, and the emphasis it places on its gendered divisions. As the stories showed, the lack of time and resources that parents and carers had to perform daily household tasks themselves required children to supplement or replace this labour. This labour was both out of necessity, particularly as neoliberal policies have 're-familiarised' social reproduction, but also a considered and active choice by the young people. They chose to participate in the work of cooking or cleaning, for instance, because these were social responsibilities expected of them and situated within the cultural expectations of the household, which emphasised collaboration and mutual endeavour. In carrying out this work the young people also contested gendered ideologies surrounding the division of household labour. The specific nature of Latin American family life in London, and the need for the work of the household to be completed, by anyone, meant that a gendered order to social reproduction, and the practices that sustain it, were somewhat undermined.

A social reproduction perspective then, which begins from an expansive definition of labour, makes visible the work that children and young people do in their families, the ways in which this work structures their daily lives and the expectations placed upon them that are shaped within a particular cultural context. Yet the experiences of the young people in this study also brings into question how the need for an intergenerational distribution of labour amongst migrant households has the potential to solidify class positions and inequalities. The literature on working children, where such work is performed under conditions of exploitation, is clear that these activities have a negative impact on their schooling and extracurricular achievements, as well as personal wellbeing (Camilletti et al., 2018). The social reproductive work that Latin American young people perform has not been forced upon them, nor does it take place in an expropriative manner. Indeed, all social reproductive work is carried out and sustained on the basis of emotional and psychological motivations and values, as well as to serve the needs of capital (Mitchell, Marston, and Katz, 2004; Ansell, 2008). As such, for the Latin American young people in this research, performing this labour was also part of the way they sustained the emotional and social wellbeing of themselves and their families, and positioned themselves as allies of their parents (Cairns, 2018b; Rosen, 2019). And, as this chapter has highlighted, these young people drew both positives and negatives from their contribution, whether it was taking pride in their English language skills or reproducing transnational practices that sustained them as social and cultural beings. Moreover, in line with

the Childhood Studies framework, this thesis is clear that conceptualisations of childhood that confine children to the sphere of play and carefree arenas, or suggest that it is only in non-normative childhoods that children are engaged in work, cannot capture the diversity of childhoods and the ways in which they shape, and are shaped by, structural processes (Thorne, 1987; Qvortrup, 2005; Wells, 2021),

However, it is also not unreasonable to assume that engaging in the work of the household, whether caring for siblings, cleaning, or cooking, particularly in contexts of precarity, increases the demands on Latin American children's time and energy in a way that could deplete their ability to replenish themselves (Rai et al., 2014). That Latin American young people within migrant families participate in the work of social reproduction highlights the ways in which such work, because of the capitalist organisation of the economy and the ways that the responsibility for reproductive labour must be organised and shared, is pushed onto particular groups of children and young people and brings into question the extent to which this produces and reproduces inequalities between them and more privileged children. Looking at the social reproductive worlds of children therefore also makes clear that how individuals and families meet their daily and generational needs is a site of political struggle, a reflection of how social reproduction needs are accomplished through a shifting configuration of actors but also in ways which are increasingly marked by inequalities of access to the resources necessary for life's work.

Chapter 8 – Children and young people's labour in family work

Children, particularly in the global north, are often imagined as confined to private and controlled, but carefree, arenas – the home, the school, the neighbourhood (Thorne, 1987: 100). Children are expected to play, encouraged to go to school (Qvortrup, 2005), and to seek comfort and security in the 'restful' privacy of the home and the family (Wells, 2021: 71). Such childhoods, it follows, should not include work, which is seen as in direct opposition to school and the supposedly typical activities of childhood (Crafter et al., 2009). Indeed, where children are engaged in work, particular in western societies, only certain forms are deemed appropriate, (for example, a Saturday job), and these are carried out within particular boundaries and often under adult supervision (Crafter et al., 2009). This idealised form of childhood reflects a socially constructed understanding of childhood, particularly within western societies, as to what is expected of children in society and is a relatively new imagining within the historical context of childhood (James et al., 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Christensen and Prout, 2002; Wells, 2021). One outcome however of such a conceptualisation of childhood is that it fails to account for the ways in which the everyday lives of children are constructed within particular social, cultural, and political contexts, many of which include work in various forms. As the previous chapter detailed, although these activities are rendered invisible within dominant understandings of work, children and young people are often working in the home and within family networks, caring for siblings, cleaning, cooking, supporting their family. Moreover, the conceptual separation of children into certain spheres of life, particularly within industrialised countries of the global North, has meant that where analyses of children's work and their productive labour have been carried out, that these are often focused on countries of the global south (Katz, 2004; Robson, 2004; Abebe, 2007; Blum, 2011; Nieuwenhuys, 2020). These studies have examined children's contribution to family livelihoods through income-generating activities such as working on farms, selling items within markets and or as domestic workers. Although these studies have been vital to broadening the focus beyond the lives of Western children, the key economic roles that children play within their families and the productive contribution of children to the 'pooling' of family labour (Song, 1997) has been less explored.

In this chapter I examine Latin American young people's productive work outside the home, which included working alongside their parents at their paid jobs as well as finding their own employment which at times was contributed to the family's income. This chapter will thus explore how Latin American families organise their household economies, the significance of children's labour as an economic resource for the family, and the role of this labour as a strategy through which Latin American families in London attempt to accomplish their social reproduction needs. I situate children's productive labour in the context of Latin Americans' political, social, and economic marginalisation in the U.K., and so examine this labour not just through an account of their everyday lives but within a broader critique of the global political, economic, and social processes that shape their material lives and which structure inequalities of access to the resources for social reproduction. While traditional and indeed feminist knowledge tend towards an adult-centric approach, this research centres the child. It does so to challenge children and young people's relegation to the private realm of the home and indeed, the conceptual separation of the home and the workplace, and so makes clear the relationship between social reproduction and production. For social reproduction is not only concerned with the biological reproduction of the population and the ways in which life is daily and generationally renewed – through preparing and cooking food, bearing, and raising children, providing clothing, shelter, and healthcare etc. It is also concerned with how this renewal of life – the work that goes on within and outside households, through individuals and institutions, and the social relations that structure this activity – is intimately connected to the production and reproduction of capitalist relations and capitalist inequality (Katz, 2001; Bakker and Gill, 2003). This chapter thus seeks to make clear the diversity of children's lives, agency, and autonomy, in order to emphasise their role in processes of social change.

Working with their parents

In order to meet their social, physical, and emotional needs, Latin American families living in London utilise the social capital embodied within its members, which includes children and young people, As the previous chapter discussed, this strategy sees Latin American children and young people engaged in various forms of social reproductive work for their families, such as cleaning, cooking, and translating, but also, as shall be detailed, in forms of productive work,

predominantly, going with their parents to their cleaning jobs and 'helping out' with the workload. The work of cleaning alongside their parents offers several crucial insights into the day-to-day social reproductive experiences of Latin American young people. First, it allows for an examination of the role placed on Latin American children as useful sources of productive labour within their household economy, the meanings that are attached to this labour by both the young people and their parents and the potential differences in these understandings. It also extends the analysis detailed throughout this thesis as to the cultural and social values that shape expectations of Latin American children and their contribution with their families more broadly. Finally, analysing the cleaning work that Latin American children do alongside their parents also offers an important insight into the social and economic conditions within which Latin American parents are often forced to take their children to work with them.

Helping out and managing childcare needs

Rodrigo, 25, and his older sister, migrated with his parents to London from a rural village in Colombia when he was in primary school. The family settled in Camden, north London, near to family and friends from Colombia, where both his parents' found jobs as cleaners, work that they were able to arrange quickly through their various social networks. During their childhood, on weekends or during school holidays, Rodrigo and his sister would often be taken to work with their parents, waking up around 4 or 5am in order to travel all over London and help their parents clean a pub or an office, before returning home late at night.

> [W]hen I was a kid…if I didn't have school or something I would be going along and doing the cleaning with them. So... I very much hated it because you'd have to wake up at like 5 in the morning to get to like...I remember, it was Blackheath! The other day I was in a pub in Blackheath, and I was like, no! This is where I used to come as a kid. Because it was so far! Like imagine going from Camden to Blackheath, especially when you're like ten or eight or whatever. And my dad would have to get there before the pub would open so like dead early and like, clean parts of it. And I would just go along normally and help. And my mum would, she'd clean houses in St Katherines Dock in Wapping. Still does. And I would go with her - me and my sister would go along with her. And like if I was unwell from school, I would go along with her. And with my mum

> I could just chill out but with my dad, he was very much like, you can help. And then in the evenings as well, we'd just have to go and help (Rodrigo, 24).

As Rodrigo discusses, going to work with his parents was an activity that happened whenever his sister and himself weren't in school, if they were ill or if they were unable to be looked after by someone else. For Rodrigo's parents, bringing their children to work with them was therefore a strategy that served several purposes. First, it provided a solution to their childcare needs and saved them time, energy, and crucially income in trying to find and potentially pay for someone else to look after their children. One effect of this childcare solution, perhaps intended but which as time progressed became more relied upon, was that by having their children work alongside them, parents were able to maximise their income by reducing labour costs. As Rodrigo stated at one point: "[I]t took so long for one person to do it, but they didn't wanna pay two people or like split it with someone, so they'd take me along." As such, the practice of parents bringing children to work can also be understood as a way to maximise the income of the household particularly as children grew older and more capable, as well as a response to challenges of precarity and insecurity that meant children had to go to work with their parents to begin with. Such a practice was also reliant, to varying degrees, on children's dependence on their parents, particularly when they were younger, the limited power they had to challenge their parent's authority, as well as an expectation that they were capable of 'helping out'.

The need, and to some extent expectation, to contribute to the family in such a manner structured young people's daily lives in particular ways. For Valentina, 20, it meant negotiating the demands of her school and social life with the need and requirement to work alongside her parents. From the age of 11, Valentina would go with her mother and stepfather to their cleaning jobs before and after school, while on weekends she would spend most of the day with them, helping out with their workload. Valentina was in her second year of university when we spoke, and an active member of a Latin American young activist organisation which campaigns for greater representation of the Latin American community in London. She migrated to the U.K. from Bogotá, Colombia at three years old with her mother and grandmother, where they lived together in south London. As a young child, Valentina's grandmother would look after her whilst her mother was at work but when Valentina was five

years old, her grandmother had to go back to Bogotá, leaving the family without any childcare. This meant that in order for her mother and stepfather to be able to go to work, Valentina would either have to be looked after by family friends and parents of her classmates, or she would have to go along with them to their various jobs.

> So, when my grandma left, my mum stayed here. She was a cleaner. When I was about 11, I started cleaning too, so I would clean in the morning. I would go to school and then clean at night…[S]o I was contributing to both my mother and my stepdad's workload. I would go with them. I would help out. And when I was about 17,18, I started doing the job by myself. And so, I would go to clean in the morning, then I would like study. And then on the weekends I would work. And in the holidays, I would always spend cleaning just because… (Valentina, 20).

Whether in the form of domestic tasks such as cooking or cleaning, or through the productive work done outside the home, such as cleaning alongside their parents, the work that children and young people contributed within their households were shaped by various needs. For parents, bringing children to work was one solution to childcare issues as well as an extra set of hands to complete what could be long and tiring work. It can also be understood to some extent through an indigenous, integrationist approach to childrearing (Coppens et al., 2016), in which helping out was part of children and young people's ongoing vocational education and socialisation, providing them with the skills and knowledge that they could use in their own lives (Abebe, 2007; 82). Within this context, it is also possible that parents may not have even considered the cleaning that their children did as work, as particularly helpful or even as a meaningful contribution to their workload, particularly when their children were younger and perhaps less able to carry out more demanding tasks. Moreover, as the stories of the young people highlight, how parents conceptualised the role their children should play also varied, even within the same family, as suggested by the differing attitudes between Rodrigo's mother and father. Rodrigo stated, for instance, that, "[w]ith my mum I could just chill out, but with my dad, he was very much like, you can help." The divergent attitudes of Rodrigo's parents' points to the ways in which social and cultural obligations of reciprocity and loyalty to the family diverge or take on less importance when put into practice. Rodrigo's mum, for instance, needed to bring her children to work with her because of a lack of childcare options, but either

felt less inclined to have them take part in any of the work or responded to Rodrigo and his sisters' assumed pleas to not take part in the cleaning. This instance also points to the various ways in which patriarchal authority intersects with familial values, as Rodrigo's father seemingly demanded more involvement from his children in the cleaning jobs in comparison to his mother. The role of the child in Latin American families can, as such, be understood as shaped by multiple intersecting ideas and attitudes; a sense of familism that generates reciprocal obligations of support between members of the family, patriarchal authority that demands children's adherence to positions of authority, as well as a shifting and constantly negotiated set of social and cultural attitudes that incorporates children into household production and reproduction strategies.

Young people's conceptualisation of their labour

The young people themselves conceptualised the cleaning they performed alongside their parents in various ways. They were clear that it was a form of productive labour which made an economic contribution to their households. Rodrigo, for example, in detailing his parent's work life and his experiences going to their cleaning jobs as a child and young person stated explicitly, "I used to work with them loads." Valentina meanwhile was clear that the cleaning she carried out with her parents was "contributing to both my mother and my stepdad's workload". Working alongside their parents was therefore an activity they took ownership of and which they ascribed meaning to. It was also an activity that the young people discussed and framed in terms of an implicit family agreement between themselves and their parents – an 'intergenerational contract' (Abebe, 2007: 89). It was work that they situated within a recognition of the broader needs of the family. For instance, in our interviews the young people, although describing the cleaning they did as work, simultaneously described it as 'helping out'. The use of this phrase suggested that these young people recognised that their contribution was important because it would alleviate the workload of their parents. Their labour was therefore a meaningful and valuable contribution they could, and should, make to the family, reducing the time, energy and effort required of their parents to complete each cleaning job, as well as maximising their parents' income. Although they recognised that 'helping out' their parents made an important contribution, it did not mean these young

people were enthusiastic about having to do this cleaning work – objectively, they had to wake up early, travel all over London and take part in arduous labour. However, they shared their parents' conceptualisation as to their role within the family, seeing themselves as capable members of the household and therefore if they were with their parents at their places of work, they could be expected to contribute in whatever way they could. In this way the young people lived up to the social and cultural expectations placed upon them as to the contributions they could make to the family, expectations that were understood within the parameters of this 'family work contract' (Song, 1997).

For some of the young people in this study, working alongside their parents also represented a reconfigured version of practices brought over from their countries of origin in Latin America, but which became necessary and took on different meanings in the context of their settlement in London. In our interviews, participants referenced a specific 'Latin' attitude within their families towards 'work' itself and the role that they should play in the family. They told me that when they lived in Latin America, or visited them on trips and holidays, they were expected to take part in various forms of productive work, such as working on the family farm. Geovanny, for example, who moved back and forth between Spain, Ecuador, and Colombia throughout his childhood, before moving to London during secondary school, told me that in his years living in Ecuador, his father expected him to go to work with him and earn a wage, and was told that this was for the benefit of the family. He specifically identified a difference in attitudes between European households and his own Latin American household as to what children should or should not be doing, and what this different social context meant in terms of familial expectations of him.

> And another like cultural thing that like I realise, is the fact that like when you live in Europe, when you're young, you're not expected to do anything but study. But when you are - I don't know if this is like, uh, something like that's specific for my area of Ecuador but I was like, I was expected to, like, work with my dad, like, really young. And to kind of like earn my money and my dad's money…[H]e would always like reward me [for] what I did well and for like the family and stuff (Geovanny, 19).

The significance of 'work' in the Latin American migrant family

Research on children's income generating activities have largely focused on households of the global south, and has explored contributions made to the household economy, such as working on farms, selling items within markets and or as domestic workers (Katz, 2004; Robson, 2004; Abebe, 2007; Blum, 2011). However, there remains a limited amount of research on the ways that children and young people within countries of the global north are invested in contributing to their family resources. For instance, research on intergenerational transfers of wealth or monetary exchanges between parent and child tend to focus on the economic support that parents provide to their adult children (Schoeni and Ross, 2005), a phenomenon that is becoming more prevalent as transitions to adulthood grow longer, while another body of research has explored the intergenerational wealth transfer between adult children and their elderly parents (Lanuza, 2020). Where research has been conducted on the child-to-parent transfer of wealth, it has identified a divide between which groups of young people make financial contributions to their parents, finding that young people within racial/ethnic and migrant families are more likely than their White counterparts to provide monetary support to their parents, particularly as they begin their transition to adulthood (Lanuza, 2020). There are various ways that this financial support is transferred, but it often includes giving their parents part of their salary or paying for various everyday needs and purchases (Lanuza, 2020). Though these exchanges may seem minimal but nonetheless offer important economic contributions to the household.

For the Latin American young people in this study, their sense of responsibility to find their own job and make a direct financial contribution to their household weighed heavily on their mind. For those young people that were newly arrived in the U.K. this sense of obligation was even more pronounced. Several of the young people I spoke with, who had migrated to the U.K. within the last year, were living with extended family or family friends. In our interviews these young people described feeling like a burden on their host household's resources, because they were not able to offer any financial contribution, such as buying groceries or helping with the bills. This feeling was also made more acute by their unexpected extended periods out of education as a result of school closures that occurred throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. For all of these young people, the family's decision to migrate to the U.K. had been in large part motivated by the educational opportunities that were available for the children of the family. However, when they found that they were unable to access any sustained teaching

(and did not know when they would be able to), many of the young people described feeling like a burden, adrift and unsure whether to stay in London. Nicolas, 16, migrated from Bolivia and had been in London for a month when we spoke at the end of 2020, living in south London with his aunt and cousin. Like several of the young people I spoke with, he arrived in the U.K. in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic; delays processing applications and a backlog of applications meant that Nicolas was unsure when a place would become available at his local 16+ college. Nicolas had never met these family members before moving to London, the arrangements had been made by his mother in Bolivia, and he described feeling like a financial burden and seemed painfully aware of the additional costs he was imposing on his aunt, such as housing and feeding him. This made him feel very uneasy and he was desperately trying to find some kind of work. In our interview he pointed his camera phone towards the street below him to show me a restaurant opposite his flat where he was going to have an interview for a part time job. He was nervous about the interview because he didn't feel his English language skills were strong enough but was committed to finding some work to help out his aunt, "even if it is a little".

> Y también, claro, yo al estar aquí, soy un gasto, soy un gasto en comida, sí, tengo que…tengo gastos. Y entonces he pensado en ponerme a trabajar para ayudar a no sólo a mi tía, también ayudar a mi segunda madre. Ayuda…ayudarles con todo. Me gustaría trabajar un poquito así ayudar un poco, apoyará a mi tía, también que está muy cansada…. Uh ya sí es posible para ganar dinero, lo que va. Ya que ya que no voy a estar un tiempo sin hacer mucho, pues oye, un trabajo para ganar dinero y ayudar, está perfecto. Aunque sea poco, esa es una ayuda (Nicolas, 16).

> And also, obviously, me being here, I'm an expense, I'm an extra cost on food, and I have…I have expenses. And so, I thought about going to work to help not only my aunt, but also my second mother. To help…to help them with everything. I'd like to work a little so I can help out a little, to support my aunt as well because she's very tired…So, yeah, if it is possible to earn some money, then yeah. Since I'm going to be here a while not doing anything, well then, yeah, getting a job to earn money and help out, that would be perfect. Even if it's a little, it still helps (Nicolas, 16).

Although Nicolas had been sent to the U.K. for his education, the delays and uncertainty over when he could start in college, combined with his feeling of being an "expense", meant that this goal became less of a priority for him. This was true for Mateo, too, whose interest in education and his desire to pursue a college programme had waned considerably since his arrival in London. Mateo, 18, migrated to London from Colombia at the end of 2020, leaving behind his mother and the rest of his family to join his father who had been living in Spain and London for over a decade. As his father had acquired Spanish citizenship, Mateo was able to move to the U.K. under the policy of family reunification and he had planned to take advantage of the educational opportunities and the chance to learn English. However, delays caused by the pandemic meant that he was unable to start an ESOL course at a local college until September 2021, nine months after his arrival in London. In the absence of any sustained teaching, Matteo wanted to find a part time job so that he could earn his own money and contribute to the home he was living in, although this could potentially cause conflict with his family.

> A ver si, pero no porque yo desde que llegué acá a mí siempre me dejaron claro que yo vine a estudiar y no a trabajar, pero. Pero igual yo pienso que trabajar unas poquitas horitas de pronto no vendrían mal tampoco (Mateo, 18).

> We'll see, because it's always been made clear to me since I got here that I came here to study and not to work. But even so, I think working a few hours wouldn't hurt either (Mateo, 18).

The responsibility that Latin American young people felt to work for a wage, and to offer this wage to the family, points again to a particular cultural attitude within Latin American families as to the role of the child and the importance of working 'for the family'. Alejandro, 19, was born in the Dominican Republic to an Italian father and Dominican mother. He moved to the U.K. at the age of two and has spent the majority of his life in London, although there were periods where he moved back to the Dominican Republic for several months at a time. He lives with his mother, stepfather and two siblings in south London and when we spoke, he was just starting his second year of university. In our interview, he discussed what he felt was a trait within Latin culture for children to 'help out' their parents and contribute to the household

income. These ideas and attitudes shaped his expectations of the job he hoped to get in the future and the extent to which he hoped to help out his family with various expenses. He told me of the different part-time jobs he had when he was younger, work that included cleaning and working in restaurants, and which he sought out so that he could pay for some of his own needs but also so that he could give some of the money to his mum.

> So, I need to make some money to buy myself a car, pay for lessons and all that kind of stuff. And yeah, definitely getting a job to help my mom as well, which is a big thing, I think, in the Latin cultures to help your parents. Especially those, especially like if you have your mom back home and you're in a different country, it's always kind of expected to work, for you to work and send money back. It's kind of like…it's just a thing (Alejandro, 19).

Alejandro's decision to get a job and give some of his salary to his mother was framed as a choice he made and part of his motivation in finding work, rather than something that his mother actively asked him to do. However, providing material support in this way – in the case of Alejandro, to help his mum with "paying bills and stuff" – was positioned as an act of care on the part of many of the young people. It was also an attitude shaped through the 'immigrant bargain frame' (Lanuza, 2020), the idea that you should work hard, get a job, and contribute to the family as an act of gratitude and a recognition of the sacrifices that parents and family had made to migrate to a new country.

> So I don't know, I think my parents installed like a very strong work ethic in my life and like to always work, to always have something regardless of where you are, to always be humble of everything…My dad said to me, he's like, you're not illegal - my stepdad - you're not illegal but I want you to understand what it's like, what it was like for your mum, what it was like for everyone. And like my brothers, they're quite young, they're like about 8 or 9 years old. And my dad is already to them, OK come with me, I want you to see what I do, I want you to see what other people do. So, like teaching them, even though they are economically well, it's the fact that you have to learn to like, be thankful for everything that you have and understand like, the struggles that our parents went through. So, I had that instilled in me a lot and my brothers will too. Even though my parents have lived here for more than 20 years (Valentina, 20).

For the participants in this research, the sense of responsibility to contribute economically to the family also extended beyond the nation state, to those family members living in other countries. As Alejandro says, "it's always kind of expected of you, for you to work and send money back." These remittances are understood as forms of physical and emotional care and a means of maintaining a sense of familyhood when spread across borders (Parreñas, 2001; Castañeda and Buck, 2011; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011; Bryceson, 2019). In our conversation the young people embodied this sense of responsibility by their desire to continue the social and cultural practices of their parents, such as sending gifts and money to family members 'back home'.

> So, like obviously after I hopefully finish uni and I get a decent job, I'd like to send money back home or uh, buy stuff and send that. Cos that's what my mum does as well. She buys stuff, we put it in a box and send it back to Dominican. Whether it's like clothes or food or like phones or random things like that, that's what we do (Alejandro, 19).

The sense of obligation that young people felt to be financial contributors to the family was mirrored in their replication of other monetary practices of their parents, such as joining informal saving schemes with other Latin American families. These rotating saving schemes are known by different names across the world and by different terms across regions of Latin America, such as a *tanda* or *la cadena* (the chain). Based on trust, they involve different networks of people putting a set amount of money into a 'pot' each week or each month. Each week or month, one of the members of the group gets to withdraw the total amount of contributions. Rodrigo, for instance, told me that his mother has been involved in this practice since she first arrived in the U.K. and had asked him to be her partner in the latest round in order to share the financial cost between the two of them. *La cadena* became a way for Rodrigo's mother to save money without having to go through a traditional banking practice, which Rodrigo told me she found difficult to navigate because of language barriers and a lack of familiarity in the system. Rodrigo's involvement in *la cadena* alongside his mother reveals again how Latin American young people are considered important members of the family, capable of being involved in such a useful practice, as well as how they themselves are invested in these practices.

In analysing young people's contributions to family work, it is important to recognise the various ways in which such work is shaped and understood by cultural expectations towards the role of the child, and to situate and centre children and young people's agency in doing so. However, as the examples of several of the young people show, cultural and social attitudes are not simply transferred from one generation to the next. In performing this work, in 'helping out' with the needs of the family, the young people in this study both challenged and reformulated gendered ideologies that structure the organisation of social reproduction as well as what it means to be a 'good' man or a 'good child in a Latin American household.

Situating children and young people's labour in the context of precarity

Childre and young people's productive contributions to their households were also actively produced within and in response to the social, political, and economic marginalisation experienced by Latin Americans in London. The obligation that young people felt to 'help out', whether by working alongside their parents, or getting their own jobs and giving some of the salary to their parents, was also shaped in recognition of the marginalisation they faced in London and of the specific social and material conditions of their lives that required their parents to take them to work in the first place. They thus understood working alongside their parents as part of a collective strategy situated within the broader survival of the family. Latin American young people's recognition of the precarity of their lives also had the effect of blurring the line between 'work', which you would be paid for, and 'helping out', where being paid or rewarded in some way was not expected. As Rodrigo described, there were times when he 'helped out' and did not get paid, and times where he did, making it clear that the 'family work contract' that expected him to work in some way, hadn't been explicitly discussed or negotiated beforehand.

> "[S]ometimes it'd be like contracts where it would be a big deep clean of an office building and so you'd have lots of mates come together including the children and just like clean the building for like a day or so. And that, you'd get money from, but the others were very much like, just chip in with a bit of work (Rodrigo, 24).

Latin American young people were aware of the multiple and interrelated insecurities they faced because of their class, ethnicity, and migration status, and how this shaped the expectations of them as members of the family. They also understood how these social dimensions and factors shaped their parents' job market segregation into particular forms of work, although they often challenged the dominant meanings commonly ascribed to this labour. For instance, Valentina told me that while her mum did not like working as a cleaner,

> [I]t was quick money, and it was an easy job. And they don't ask, if you clean flats, like they don't ask for documentation or anything. So, she would do about like ten flats in a day, and like gain a lot of money from that, every five days of the week. So she was, she had money to support us, pay for everything, before she got married (Valentina, 20).

Latin American young people therefore invested various meanings onto their parents' work and to their own productive labour alongside them. They understood that while cultural attitudes towards the family and the role of children rendered the labour they performed alongside their parents, to a certain degree, a normal part of their everyday lives, it was also a response to the social, economic, and political marginalisation faced by their families and which created the conditions for such labour participation. Although this work provided, as Valentina's quote above states, "the money to support us, pay for everything" it was also understood as an outcome of structural inequalities that polarised Latin Americans into particular forms of low paid work, such as cleaning. This work and the requirement to *madrugar* left parents with few options when it came to their childcare needs. Many, as detailed, brought their children to work with them. Others were at times left home alone while their parents worked. Celine, 20, for instance, told me that during the school week, her mother would have to leave the house at 4am to go to work, leaving her and her younger sibling at home by themselves for a few hours until she returned to take them to school. On the weekend however, with no other childcare available, her mother had to bring Celine and her sibling with her, where like Rodrigo and Valentina, they would end up doing some of the cleaning work.

> [E]very Sunday we would go to work with my mom because, like, she didn't have anyone to leave us with and it was just like a bit…she felt safer, I guess. So, we would go from like Streatham, every Sunday, and we would come back kind of late. Actually, like midnight, and we would just kind of wait for my mom to clean and sometimes help

> her, like pick up the rubbish and things like that and then we would sometimes get Burger King afterwards like, everyone would have been paid and then we'd come home, so that's what I kind of remember (Celine, 20).

Celine's story again emphasises the various forms of precarity that Latin American parents navigate; whether taking their children to work with them or leaving them home alone for a few hours, their capacity to fulfil their social reproduction needs remains stratified. Looking therefore at Latin American young people's contribution to the productive work of their parents makes clear the ways in which processes of globalisation and neoliberalism are keenly felt in the everyday lives of Latin American children and young people. And although these young people conceptualised the work they did alongside their parents as 'helping out' the family, an activity expected of them and which they were, to an extent, willing to perform, their parents' segregation in low wage insecure cleaning jobs, which meant they had to go to work with parents or were left alone or in the care of others, also led to feelings of anxiety, marginalisation, and social exclusion. Both Celine and Valentina for instance, told me how it felt to be left home alone or to have their parents work late into the night and the impact it had on their lives and their sense of security as children, particularly when it seemed to stand in contrast to the lives of their friends.

> Sometimes I'd wake up and be like where are you going and she would be like, oh, I'm going to work, like it's fine, just like go to sleep, I'll be back for breakfast or something. So, I think that was like something that impacted me quite a lot because it's like, um, in the moment, like it's a bit scary, but you don't understand…Why does my mom have to go to work at 3:00 AM and everyone gets to go in the morning? But then as I grew up, I was just like that actually impacted me a lot because to live with that kind of anxiety and fear of my mom having to go early. Like is she actually gonna come back for breakfast, things like that. And yeah, it's scary (Celine, 20).

> [I]n some of those places most of my friends were like middle class white kids who lived in Streatham. Um, and they had like, a different kind of life and habits. So, I was just like, why don't I have this? Why am I being picked up by like a mate of my mum, being

> put at home, and just like, staying there until 11 till my mum arrived? So, it was just, it was a constant wondering of why my life isn't the same as theirs (Valentina, 20).

The feeling of being outside "dominant representations of normality" (Crafter et al., 2009: 177), particularly in relation to a British middle-class ideal, marked Latin American young people's lives and lifestyles as distinctly different to their peers, as Valentina's quote suggests. It seemed to them that while they spent their weekends at work with their parents, or were left home alone while their parents worked, their friends were engaged in 'normal' activities. In this manner, working alongside their parents as children also had the effect of both structuring and limiting the social relationships and social participation possibilities of Latin American young people. This appeared particularly so for the young Latin Americans who had either been born in the U.K., or migrated at a young age, and so considered themselves 'British-Latin American'. As young adults, this group looked back on the work they did alongside their parents as young people and expressed a greater appreciated of the structural inequalities that had meant they had to get up early and clean alongside their parents, and of the broader Latin American migrant community experience. Rodrigo for instance, described the shock of going to a pub as an adult and realising that it was one that he had once cleaned as a child. Valentina, too, told me of a time that she went back to a place she regularly cleaned as a child, and the overwhelming emotions the experience brought up in her.

> I used to clean a place called [name of place] in [name of area in London]. And I went when I was nineteen with my partner, he was like, 'I'm gonna take you somewhere'. I went there and I just kind of cried for like a good five minutes, just because being a person who has cleaned that place and like cleaned literal shit off walls, and then just kind of sitting there and having something to drink, it was like this difference of, like, progression. And like even though it's something so minute, it felt like a huge thing. And like I spoke to my mom about it, she also kind of teared up a bit (Valentina, 20).

Looking to the everyday lives of Latin American children and young people in London has therefore revealed the spaces where children are not expected to be, and activities that they are not expected to be engaged in. I have attempted to bring Latin American children into the public and productive sphere, to highlight the contribution their labour makes to their families,

and to demonstrate the ways in which this labour is both culturally determined but also embedded within the social, political, and economic conditions of their everyday lives. The current era of neoliberal capitalism has ushered in a transformation in how families meet their daily and generational needs (Katz, 2001; Bezanson, 2006), requiring them to develop alternative survival strategies that they might not have considered, such as, bringing their children to work with them or leaving them home alone. These options are made possible in the first instance by their working conditions – flexible, deregulated, with little oversight in the workplace – and which is rewarded by being completed as quickly as possible. This means that parents can bring their children to labour alongside them, despite the various protections and regulations that should prohibit them from doing so. Yet this labour is unaccounted for both in analyses of migrant labour as well as in the relationship of this labour to global cities such as London. This work is rendered invisible because it is children and young people performing it, because it takes place in the cleaning sector, a hidden and 'racialized work niche' (Song, 1997:695), and because it is carried out within networks made up of family and friends. The invisibility of Latin American children's productive labour thus makes invisible the impact it has on their day-to-day experiences, such as in their school life, as well as the broader impact of processes of global capitalism on children's lives. Important questions therefore remain as to the extent to which structural social and economic changes as a result of globalisation transfer precarity and inequality from one generation to the next, a question which shall be discussed in the next section.

Diversifying risk, reproducing inequalities

Working alongside their parents, to a certain degree, can be understood as part of ongoing process of socialisation and education for Latin American young people, a process which gave them the experience and skills to find their own waged work in cleaning. For Rodrigo and Valentina, for instance, working with their parents over several years saw them take part in more complex and intensive cleaning tasks without supervision as their capacity to labour grew with age. They gradually learnt the necessary skills to be able to do the work independently, to know how to do it efficiently and to maximise their family's potential income by doing so. Working alongside their parents also meant that these young people became embedded within crucial networks for finding cleaning work for themselves. As I discussed in previous chapters,

social networks and the social capital acquired through such networks, are key resources through which the Latin American community finds and organises its everyday needs in London, particularly when it comes to finding employment. As Valentina stated in our interview, "it's just word of mouth, that's how you find a job". Bringing their children to work with them can therefore also be understood as a way in which Latin American parents attempted to diversify risk for their children, widening their social networks and generating trust for them within these networks, and possibly creating future opportunities for work for them as a result. It can be understood as a strategy embedded within the wider social reproduction strategies that Latin American parents adopt for their children, to ensure both their daily and future reproduction.

However, that young Latin Americans take up part time cleaning work themselves highlights the extent to which the capitalist organisation of the economy places responsibility for reproductive labour in ways that sustain and reproduce class inequalities. This insight suggests how, in contexts where the state has withdrawn from the provision of social reproduction, or in countries where the state has not assumed responsibility for its provision, "everything is dumped onto the shoulders of workers and their kin, family and community ties" (Mezzadri, 2019: 38). As discussed throughout this thesis, a lot of the 'dirty work' of social reproduction (Glenn, 1992) that is performed for a wage, such as cleaning, is organised and allocated according to "hierarchies of class, race, ethnicity, gender, place in a global economy, and migration status" (Colen, 1995: 78). For the young people in this study, while there appeared little gender divide in that both young men and women participated in cleaning work, ethnicity, language, and migration status remained significant in how this work became allocated to young Latin Americans. The young people themselves were particularly attuned to the ways in which these hierarchies allocated this work to Latin Americans and migrants more broadly.

> It's the low paying jobs that no one is really interested in, whether it's cleaning or maintenance or stuff like that. Stuff that immigrants come over and that's the work they do 'cause no one wants - no one else wants to do it. Um, and, and obviously I've done that kind of stuff as well, like cleaning and all that stuff. And although it might be looked upon like, oh, that's rubbish, you're a cleaner, oh wow. Well, I mean, there is, there is a need for it. If there was no one cleaning anything, you wouldn't be able to do anything, you know? (Alejandro, 19).

Differences did emerge in terms of which groups of young Latin Americans were engaged in cleaning work and the choices they had around it. These distinctions were largely related to the length of time that a young Latin American had been in the U.K. and the barriers to service access they had experienced since their arrival. For instance, interviews with those young people in this study who had moved to the U.K. at a young age or completed the majority of their education here found that although they found their own paid work as cleaners, it was often an activity which they fit around other commitments, such as their school and university requirements. Although the work was easily found through the skills and networks they had acquired in childhood, an indication of the success of their parents' strategies, it remained secondary to their aims of fulfilling their educational goals. This aligns with existing research on the experiences of second-generation Latin Americans in London that found that the majority of this group of young people are in education and moving away from elementary jobs in sectors such as cleaning (McIlwaine et al., 2011). However, for young Latin Americans who moved relatively recently to the U.K., often during their secondary education, their paid work in cleaning more closely resembled the occupational segregation experienced by their parents. This was the case for Maylin, 21, who lives with her mother, partner, and two young children having migrated from Ecuador, via Spain. Maylin told me that when she moved to London at the age of 15, she had wanted to be a veterinarian and had hoped to complete the necessary schooling to do so. However, she experienced many barriers to accessing any education, spending five months out of education when she first arrived in London and then receiving little to no English language support once she was finally placed in a secondary school in Year 11. However, the result of these barriers and the minimal language support was that her English level was not considered strong enough to both complete her GCSEs and progress into the next academic year. Maylin then spent the next few years moving between different colleges but struggled to complete the qualifications she needed to continue with her higher education. Maylin now works in cleaning, alongside her mother and partner, and it's work that her household organises around their various childcare needs. The challenges Maylin had faced trying to improve her English and access education, combined with the competing demands of childcare, point to the ways in which inequalities of ethnicity, class, gender, migration status and language barriers segregate not just Latin American adults into low wage insecure work, but can work to produce the same segregation for the generation below. The structural inequalities that younger Latin Americans continue to face also intersect with 'Latin' values

that shape how young Latin Americans conceptualise work. Valentina for instance, in her work as a community activist, suggested that the prevalence of young Latin Americans going into cleaning work related to cultural attitudes that placed greater emphasis on work and being financially secure rather than education, ideas which were brought over from their countries of origin, but which also emerged particularly in relation to Latin Americans' experience as economically marginalised migrants in the U.K.

> One saddening thing is that there have been a lot of Latin American youth going into cleaning. Because they've given up on, like, education, and the fact that they should take advantage of what they have, which is really saddening, because they're like, moulding into the archetype that we already have…I think obviously, money, language, all of those things are a huge factor. But I think the fact that a lot of our parents sometimes come here and have this mentality of, you're here to like work and get money, and then you can do whatever you want with it… [A] lot of parents have this notion of, my God, student debt. Student debt is a very big thing within our community. Why are you coming to another place to get into more debt? (Valentina, 20).

The focus from Latin American parents on work rather than education, and the fear that Valentina identifies amongst families of getting into debt over education reveals the ways in which migration motivations become complicated when confronted with the reality of life in a new country. If Latin American families migrate for better work and educational opportunities but instead find themselves in precarious work and their children facing multiple barriers to education access, the focus may shift to work in order to simply survive.

Conclusion

The productive labour that Latin American children and young people perform alongside their parents is work which in the context of the global north is often under-theorised. However, centring and analysing this work allows for an examination of the relationship between children's everyday activities and the wider political economy, and the role of children within broader processes of capitalism and capitalist relations. For Latin American families, pooling together the productive labour of their children was a logical step; it provided a useful

contribution to their own workload by reducing their labour costs and the need to share out any income, while ensuring a stable and reliable form of labour over many years as children's capacity to labour increased as they grew older. Pooling together the labour of the various members of the household was also a practice understood within broader social values surrounding the role of the child within the Latin American family and the sense of obligation, loyalty and support that is cultivated between family members. Latin American children's labour in this context thus challenges conceptualisations of childhood as 'labour free' or shaped largely by the concept of 'play'. As Childhood Studies theorists have made clear, the defining of children's worlds as one of innocence, free from responsibility, is a "normative position with rather dubious effects, rather than a natural necessity" (Rosen and Newberry, 2018: 126). Such a perspective offers little insight into the diversity of childhoods and the values and practices that shape the responsibilities and indeed lives of children. It also fails to account for the ways that children are competent active social actors, shaped certainly by the structural conditions of their day-to-day lives, but also actively shaping the conditions of life around them (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Wells, 2021).

However, important questions remain as to how children's labour within, and contributions to, their household economies impact well-being and the resources that they have available for themselves as they transition into adulthood. For instance, how does providing financial contributions to their parents on a regular basis, as well as to other family members, potentially disadvantage Latin American young people in the future, limiting the resources they have for themselves and for their transition into adulthood. This may be important given the research that suggests young people from racial/ethnic and migrant families are more likely to financially support their families in comparison to their White counterparts who are not invested in the same practices. It is also important to consider in what ways the expectation and need for children's labour could produce antagonism within families, with children potentially carrying "the often-overwhelming sense of long-term obligation" (Newberry and Rosen, 2020: 116). Thus, the ways in which the capitalist organisation of the economy shifts the expectation and responsibility for socially necessary labour onto particular workers, including children and young people, brings to light the potential for class inequalities to be reproduced.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

The substantial body of research theorising the concept of social reproduction has provided crucial insights into the significant transformations that have occurred in the organisation of reproductive labour (Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Ferguson, 2019), the feminisation of international migration and the global movement of domestic workers (Truong, 1996; Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2000; Anderson, 2001; Lan, 2008) as well as the public and private institutions of social reproduction that have both emerged and been transformed under neoliberalism (Fraser, 2016; Bhattacharya, 2017a; Ferguson, 2019). Most of this work however has focused on the adult, female, worker (Glenn, 1992: 4; Colen, 1995; Truong, 1996; Parreñas, 2000; Lan, 2008) or on childhoods in the global south (Nieuwenhuys, 2000; Katz, 2004; Robson, 2004; Abebe, 2007; Blum, 2011). Less attention has been paid to the experiences of migrants within the settlement country itself and the configuration of actors – the family, the state, the market, the community – and the variety of networks – local, national, and transnational – that intersect in the management of social reproduction for such families. And significantly, there has been a limited analysis of the significance of age as a social dimension to the organisation of reproductive labour as well as to the spatiality of childhood and the diversity of childhood experiences within the global north.

This thesis thus sought to answer several research questions. First, what are the social reproductive strategies and practices of Latin American families in London, and to what extent do hierarchies of class, race, gender, and migration status, constrain and shape their social reproduction opportunities? Migrants social, political, and economic positioning in their countries of settlement also has implications for how such families and households manage their social reproductive needs. Latin American adults – mainly parents and carers – employ a range of strategies to access services and meet their day-to-day needs, strategies which are put into action both before and after migration. These include mobilising additional members of the household into the productive and reproductive strategies, including children and young people. The second research question was therefore: in what ways and to what extent do children and young people contribute to the work of social reproduction, both paid and unpaid, within migrant families? Finally, by looking to how migrant families navigate their social reproduction needs in their countries of settlement and the various local, national, and

transnational spaces through which their social reproduction needs are organised and accomplished, attention is focused on the relationship between the state and the migrant household. The third research question was therefore concerned with understanding the ways in which migrant communities experience constraints and barriers in their access to state provided social reproduction resources, such as the welfare state, by virtue of their social, economic, and political positioning. In this respect, the notion of everyday bordering, and its practices of inclusion and exclusion inherent to such practices provided a means for examining how migrant rights are experienced and governed both as a legal entitlement and in practical effect.

Contributions

This thesis makes several contributions. First, drawing on long-term observations and interviews with Latin American children, young people, and adults, carried out over two years, this research provides important insights into the strategies that migrant households develop to organise their social reproduction needs in the context of, and in response to, global forces felt at the local and national scale. As discussed in Chapter 4, the migration motivations, and strategies of Latin American families in the U.K. are complex and varied, embedded within the day-to-day and generational social reproduction needs of the family. In keeping with the transnational perspective, this thesis advocates for, and recognises, the nature of mobilities amongst migrants and the various ways that individuals with different citizenship rights and migration statuses conceptualise their migration and their futures. Focusing on the motivations behind Latin Americans moving to the U.K. made clear that migration was both about securing the material, practical resources necessary for social reproduction, as well as accessing resources to sustain the family and its members as social and cultural beings. Looking at these different strategies of social reproduction provided important insights into the relationship between the multiple spheres within which social reproduction is managed - the home, the workplace, the market, and community, at a local, national, and international level, while making clear the capacity and agency of households to adapt and respond to macro conditions of inequality. At the same time, this thesis situated these motivations and strategies within the context of the very real inequalities created by

Latin Americans' social, economic, and political positioning in the U.K. Although Latin Americans do not share many of the structural features of precarity commonly experienced by other migrant groups, as a group with high levels of European citizenship and high levels of employment and education, various social dimensions of difference - of class, gender, race, ethnicity, migration status, as well as job market stratification – mean that they continue to experience practical exclusion from the resources of social reproduction. Moreover, as industrialised countries have sought to re-privatise and fragment the welfare state, while further entrenching the precariousness and flexible nature of work, individuals and families develop a variety of strategies to secure the resources needed for social reproduction. As Chapter 5 made clear, the barriers to social reproduction that Latin American migrant families experience are the result of processes of everyday bordering, social and immigration policies designed to deliberately exclude or limit different categories of people from accessing social services, and the retrenchment of the welfare state within the context of over ten years of public sector austerity measures. These barriers play out in ways that exclude Latin Americans from accessing state services and social provision essential to social reproduction (in welfare, housing, education, healthcare, for instance), segregate individuals in insecure and precarious employment and subject people to acts of discrimination and state violence in their everyday lives. The effect of these barriers to social reproduction is to make the everyday lives of Latin American families precarious in multiple and intersecting ways. Recognising children's social reproductive labour is therefore an important interjection into the theoretical discussion on social reproduction, allowing for an understanding of the various social dimensions beyond gender which structure this labour. Taking this perspective, and highlighting the role of children in social reproduction, thus challenges the generational order to social reproduction and the hierarchical construction of child and adult which is assumed and rarely questioned in much feminist literature on social reproduction.

The second contribution this thesis makes is to make visible the ways in which children and young people are actively involved in the everyday and intergenerational activities and practices that enable households to respond to the social, cultural, and economic conditions of life under capitalism. In examining the social worlds of children and young people, this thesis also points to the transnational social space as a site through which young Latin Americans

create, sustain, and maintain strategies for social reproduction. As Chapter 6 examined, as social actors in their own right, Latin American children and young people used their social networks to fulfil their own and their family's social reproduction needs in important ways, both at a local and global level. Utilising both bonding and bridging capital, they positioned themselves within a range of social networks, recognising the role that each of these could play in securing social, cultural, and material resources for themselves, such as finding a school and English language support, as well as the needs of their families more broadly. Chapter 7 identified and analysed the forms of reproductive and productive work that Latin American children and young people perform, whether cleaning, cooking, translating, caring for siblings. Taking a social reproduction perspective, which begins from an expansive definition of labour, this chapter emphasises the active choices children made to perform this labour and the valuable contribution it made to their household economy, providing a crucial insight into the intergenerational distribution of social reproduction labour within migrant households. Chapter 8 drew attention to the productive labour that Latin American children and young people perform, both alongside their parents by joining them on cleaning jobs, or by getting their own paid work and contributing to the household income. Analysing this labour provided important insights into the relationship between children's everyday activities and the wider political economy, and the role of children within broader processes of capitalism and capitalist relations. Children's social reproductive labour in the form of cooking, cleaning, translating, utilising their social networks, or helping out their parents at work, is an active choice, carried out as part of their contribution to their family's needs. It is also the consequence of their family's social, political, and economic positioning in the U.K. and the various deliberate and exclusionary barriers to access that they experience as a result which requires the incorporation of the reproductive labour of children and young people. Moreover, the stories of the young Latin Americans in these chapters also extended the existing literature on household work, and the emphasis it places on its gendered divisions, pointing to the transformation that become possible within the context of migration. The specific nature of Latin American family life in London, and the need for the work of the household to be completed, by anyone, meant that a gendered order to social reproduction, and the practices that sustain it, were undermined, with both young men and women taking part in this labour. Looking at the social reproductive worlds of children therefore also makes clear that how individuals and families meet their daily and generational needs is a site of political struggle, a

reflection of how social reproduction needs are accomplished through a shifting configuration of actors in ways which are increasingly marked by inequalities of access. Additionally, while this thesis has reflected on how children, young people and their families accomplish the work of social reproduction and demonstrated many of the positive aspects of this work, not least in the forms of intergenerational solidarity it creates, this is not to elide the harms of structural inequality that make children's participation in social reproduction not just a choice but also a necessity. That Latin American young people are engaged in such work thus asks important questions as to the extent to which the capitalist organisation of the economy pushes such work onto particular groups of children and young people and the ways in which this produces and reproduces class inequalities between them and more privileged children.

By examining the terrain and day-to-day lives of children and childhoods, the seemingly invisible yet crucial ways in which their everyday tasks offer useful contributions to their households, and which are embedded within the wider political economy, are uncovered. Although the Childhood Studies literature has brought about insightful ethnographic analyses of children's everyday lives and experiences, its focus on children's everyday lives has often been at the expense of a more macro analysis of childhoods (Ansell, 2009). The final contribution this thesis makes is to respond to this gap and to extend this literature. Analysing the impact of political, economic, and social transformations on children's everyday lives, this thesis has situated children's everyday lives and experiences in the context of the global political economy. To do so it situated its analysis within the literature on social reproduction, everyday bordering, and childhood studies. (Yuval et al., 2018) and literature related to the rights of migrants (Morris, 2006; Ataç and Rosenberger, 2019). First, this made clear how access to the resources of social reproduction through services administered by the state, and the social, economic, and political policies that inform these processes, is bound up in discourses of identity, belonging and citizenship. Drawing on the social reproduction literature, the ways in which these barriers to social reproduction plays out materially, socially, and culturally for Latin Americans in London was examined. Second, taking an expansive definition of labour, the thesis also illuminated the seemingly invisible yet significant ways in which children's everyday lives are embedded within, and transformed by, the broader processes involved in the reproduction of capitalist relations. This thesis was concerned with the reality of children's lives now, in how people socially reproduce

themselves to survive and not solely to become future workers for capital, despite the reality that they will become living capital. However, given that "capitalism requires different kinds of persons/workers in different places and times" (Magazine and Sánchez, 2007: 55), a focus on children's everyday lives and practices provided an in-depth insight into how children are increasingly incorporated into productive and reproductive work. The invisibility of children in analyses of productive labour could be the result of a rigid definition of 'work' that focuses on traditional wage-earning forms of labour carried out by adults (Morrow, 1995). However, the contradiction that exists between the continued production and expansion of capital, and the material goods and conditions necessary for social reproduction, is such that capitalism cannot exist without the social reproduction labour of various actors, including, children and young people. Neglecting children's role in processes of social reproduction, whether for themselves or for others, thus fails to fully appreciate that although "neoliberalism's key subject may be considered 'an adult worker" (Bezanson, 2006: 31), in the absence of the necessary infrastructure of social reproduction and in situations of precarity, social reproduction is increasingly incorporating the work of children and young people.

Limitations and future research

There are several limitations to this research. First, children and young people that participated in this research were of varying ages, from 13 years to young adults up to 24 years. Older participants reflecting on their past experiences may be less critical of the different activities and social reproductive work they engaged in when they were younger, such as language brokering or helping out with their parents cleaning jobs. For instance, although these participants expressed frustration at having to wake up early and go to work with their parents, they also took ownership of these activities and were clear that they should be understood as work which contributed to the needs of the family. Older respondents looking back on this work may also be able to reflect on the skills learned or networks formed in terms of the opportunities these activities afforded them later in life. As such, a limitation exists in considering the differences between older respondents reflecting back on their childhoods, compared to younger people speaking about childhoods as they were happening. Second, despite efforts to speak to members of the same family, this was

not always possible. Consequently, interviews did not capture parents' reflections or understandings of their children joining them on cleaning jobs and participating in productive work. Incorporating this perspective could potentially better situate such work, and provide greater insight into the different expectations, culturally and socially, that parents have of their children and the contributions they are making.

Future research could address these limitations, while also expanding upon its theoretical contributions to new areas. This could examine new migration flows arriving from Latin America, such as from El Salvador, and what such direct routes in the context of political instability and the need to claim asylum mean for questions of precarity, everyday bordering and stratified social reproduction. This research was also altered in various ways by two extraordinary events, that of Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic. As such, the consequences of the U.K.'s withdrawal from the European Union, anticipated to be significant in the lives of Latin Americans in London for the potential challenges it may cause, were replaced by the more immediate challenges to social and economic stability posed by the pandemic. Future research could therefore examine political questions around citizenship and insecurity in the context of Brexit, the increasing restrictions and barriers to access imposed on European citizens, and the implications of this for young people, particularly those who age out of state responsibility once they turn 18, and the precarity this engenders. Lastly, in the context of the pandemic, families and individuals' attitudes to welfare were, it seemed, transformed in response to the state taking on (albeit temporarily) more responsibility for social reproduction. As such, further research could explore more closely attitudes towards welfare and receiving state support, and the potential shifts that may have occurred as an outcome of migration.

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