

# **PERUVIAN FAMILIES BETWEEN PERU AND SPAIN**

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## **Abstract**

This paper reflects the first stage of a research project on transnational household arrangements and their impact on the care and well being of family members – especially dependants - following lengthy emigration and reunification processes. Firstly some theoretical questions on the gender and generational dimensions of families and households in the context of transnational migration are discussed. Secondly, some available statistical data on Peruvians in Spain is reviewed. This material is further complemented with some notes on families and households composed of Peruvians who were observed in an exploratory study carried out in the largest cities of Spain. Finally, we present the main lines for upcoming fieldwork in a variety of arrangements and settings.

## **Content**

Theoretical considerations:

On the family and the household

Migration and transnational living

The Peruvian case study:

Demography of Peruvian migration to Spain:

Numbers and legal status

Gender and the labor market

Age, civil status, and number of children

Family reunification and family formation

Household composition

A further step: Research on transnational household arrangements and their impact on people's well being

This paper is intended for discussion at the LASA Congress 2003. It comprises some theoretical questions and appraisals based on field observations and provides some ideas for further empirical research to be carried out in the months following the Congress. Any comments or suggestions will therefore be welcome and highly appreciated.

## **Theoretical considerations**

In the following paper, we aim to present the theoretical framework of our research on transnational households. Many of the considerations found herein are based on feminist research on the family and community, while the migratory process is chiefly treated from a transnational perspective. With such a combination, we hope to build a solid framework for understanding and explaining the dynamics occurring within families with one or more members living abroad to secure the care and welfare of all their members, regardless of where they are located. From our understanding, households are the manifold materialization of repeated and intimate basic familial and non-familial interactions necessary for survival and welfare. They are, therefore, not subjected to cohabitation in the *strictus sensus*. In our paper, we are especially interested in the family links and roles that remain and are reinforced or decline after a migratory process and the other forms that come to substitute or complement them. Further to the central point on private space, our research attempts to link domestic strategies with the available public resources, be they local, national or transnational. Finally, it should be stressed that our analysis is made in light of gender and generational differences.

## **On the family and household**

The family is a socially constructed institution which has changed over time. Traditionally, individuals have viewed relatives as their material and emotional support during various stages of their lives and therefore have cared about their welfare and reproduction. Having or not having a family is a matter of great importance, since survival in contexts of high pressure for resources require a great deal of inter-personal relations and exchanges to secure care, material and non-material welfare for oneself and for dependants such as children, the sick, the handicapped, or the elderly<sup>1</sup>.

Households are generally created on the basis of family relations. Theoretically, a household includes people living together under the same roof who share resources and the responsibility of securing survival and welfare. However, households also have an imaginary component, since some members are considered part of them even when they are absent in that the other members believe in their existence and belonging; what could be called “delocalization”. This concept of delocalization applies perfectly to many migrant households in the place of origin as some members may be absent for a great part of the time. At the other end, in the new place of residence, the main blood relations that normally comprise a household may decline in favor of other kinds of arrangements, including other expatriates from the same country and/or other foreigners, as long as the original family unit is not reunified or the migrant does not form a new family.

Blood ties are the primary element creating links between diverse individuals who are of a different sex, age, or other conditions. But depending on their functionality, some blood relations acquire greater importance in concrete times and places than others (Segalen, 1992). Thus, the ideal of the nuclear family composed of a heterosexual couple and their children (a widespread concept in the Western World that has extended to developing societies where it was not previously the norm) is, in reality, much less common than one would imagine. In fact, many other relatives such as grandparents, brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, and so forth, play a crucial role in the maintenance of third world families either in one or various households. Moreover, other non-blood relatives, such as in-laws, godparents (in the Catholic tradition) or nannies may be as important as the real progenitors in daily interaction.

Still today gender and age play a crucial role within families in developed and developing countries. Everyone is implicitly assigned a place in the family, determined by biological conditions such as sex or order at birth. Gender roles are the primary element of distinction between members and are fostered from very early on by encouraging different ways of speaking and dressing or the use of different games and toys for boys and girls, all of which are assigned different value. Adulthood signifies the complete expression of male and female behavioral roles, for example, the different weight assigned to the sexes regarding family responsibilities towards production and reproduction (Moore, 1991). In modern complex societies where legal and biological barriers (upon which these social norms are constructed) have been overcome to some extent, gender differences have lost their meaning, at least in the eyes of those occupying the subordinated position, women. If women in urban contexts are encouraged to take jobs in the formal job market and earn a living, they should also be entitled to the same rights and considerations as men. This should include, among other things, an equal share in the domestic tasks that are necessary for human well being and which have been the responsibility of women since time immemorial. Yet this is still not the case.

In addition to gender inequalities, it is worth noting that divorce rates and male withdrawal from parental responsibilities are high in many parts of the world, and increase at the same pace as economic hardship and emigration, driving women and their dependants to impoverishment. In certain geographical areas, matriarchal household forms are dominant where men circulate between their different homes benefiting both sexually and economically. On the contrary, patriarchal forms prevalent in other places are characterized by a male dominant structure in which absent men are immediately substituted by another male member as the central authority. In this second family model women are also the first victims of subordination and violence. Consequently, female migration is likely to exist in response to gender violence and family control, and also more female than male migrants are at risk of breaking up their marriages if they are the first to leave (Chant, 1992).

In these non-westernized family formations, generation is secondary only to gender, since the older the member (regardless of sex), the more authority and prestige he/she enjoys within the family, together with cumulative responsibilities. In contrast, the modern nuclear family, which originated in the western world and is expanding into many developing

societies as a requirement for societal modernization, have placed elders – especially the fragile - in a marginal position by considering them a burden and devaluing their experiences, skills and wisdom. In spite of everything, elders who are able to manage on their own contribute substantially to their descendants, both economically and physically, by helping them to manage their homes, caring for offspring, etc. In exchange, they receive their children’s recognition and support at a later stage in life (Instraw, 1999).

It is obvious that modern complex societies “thus far” have not witnessed the dissolution of the family - as some social scientists have suggested for decades now - but rather a redefinition in terms of family compositions and functions. Where the state has extensively taken over previous family roles such as the care and instruction of dependants or economic benefits for the unemployed and elderly, relatives have become free to invest their resources and efforts for their own benefit (i.e. in vacations, long weekends, purchases, etc.). The weakening of material links between previously dependent members has resulted in a parallel weakening of emotional ties and the social duties and obligations involved with them. In the postmodern era, though, maternity and paternity have taken on more importance as a personal objective encompassed in the individuation process (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001).

The most sweeping reality - even in many of the so-called developed countries - is that the family’s function of securing care and welfare for its members has not diminished since states are unable or unwilling to assume the costs of societal reproduction<sup>ii</sup>. Indeed, this is considered external to the capitalist economy which makes good use of its labor force and consumer capacity but is uninterested in the effects of production processes and labor regimes on people (Carrasco, 2001). This situation has given rise to a twofold dynamic whereby families tend to reduce their offspring and overburden women with their reproductive roles or replace them with paid labor (usually with minority women who are searching for any kind of employment).

In less economically developed societies, families are also experiencing great pressure derived from economic shortages and modernizing influences which inject rapid changes and aspirations far from people’s reach: rural transformations, the search for paid jobs in the formal non-rural labor market for both males and females, etc. Poor states have not dared to expand their welfare services to include anything other than basic educational and health services, if any at all. Therefore, to secure care and welfare for oneself and one’s dependants, family members must migrate to the growing urban areas within their own countries. More recently, migrants with enough resources have set their horizons on neighboring or remote countries. Thus many households have lost the physical presence of a member who may be important for the care and provision of others, although those who remain behind continue to receive support in the form of remittances. At the same time, another person of the family or community replaces the functions carried out by those who migrate, whereas the emotional loss remains. Single parent households in the South – headed by female or male spouses with children, elders, or other relatives - are on the rise as a consequence of current migratory trends, especially as the immigration laws of the North prevent the reunification of extended families.

## **Migration and transnational living**

Migration theories centered on the decision-making processes and the reasons for emigration have recently stressed the importance of the family based on network analysis. The emergence of this analysis has revealed the centrality of family links to chain migration. Furthermore, the inclusion of a feminist perspective has evidenced the gender dimension of this phenomenon (Boyd 1989, among others). The very popular individualistic theory (focused on the idea of the rational man) and structural theory (centered on the dominant forces of the market and politics) have failed to understand the inner mechanisms that articulate migratory flows. The shortcomings of the first lie in the fact that it isolates the individual from other influential forces which are far removed from a well rationalized logic, and which may compel him/her to migrate. Secondly, the theory assumes that potential migrants possess the necessary power and information to decide where to go, how to go and when to leave, although this is not usually the case. The second theory is also refutable because it assumes an ever-subordinating dimension of flows with regard to the pole of attraction. In other words, demand is always followed by offer, but it overlooks the very dynamic of flows. It has been shown, for example, that flows do not necessarily cease when there is a shortage of labor or immigration is restricted (Amersfort, 1996). Likewise, this perspective ignores the increasing weight of ethnic market and transnational economies. Consequently, by including the network perspective in the analysis of emigration causes and mechanisms we gain insight into the multidirectionality of current migration flows and the many impacts of (individual) migration on the family/ies and community/ies involved.

Family, household, and community members in developing societies are usually much more interdependent on each other than they are in the North, since the degree of personal autonomy and the capacity of the state to provide welfare is limited. This means that decisions regarding work and running the household must be taken jointly and equitably so as not to provoke chaos or misfortune. Nonetheless, these decisions and arrangements will change over time as members decide to emigrate. It is, indeed, within (family) households where economic and social demands are manifested. These demands require solutions that may involve the emigration of all or several family members during parallel, successive or alternative periods of time. In this way generational relays and chain family migration become widespread.

Much research has shown that, though not all migratory decisions are taken in joint consultation with the family (some people may not happen to have a family), joint arrangements or at least some kind of involvement of other household members are commonplace. In many third world societies, the family is a normative sphere in which it is established who can migrate and when according to sex, age, physical condition, domestic responsibilities, and other circumstances. The permission to migrate and the migratory strategy are also conditioned by the family through the availability of (material) resources which facilitate emigration. This may lead to some degree of conflict and negotiation between members (Gamburd, 2000), as for example, when allowing women to go alone or deciding who among several brothers and sisters is to travel first or next. While family

solidarity is important at the first stage of the migratory project, so is it at later stages when information and other (material and emotional) resources are offered by members who are already in the new place of settlement, or money is sent back home to improve living standards and aid others to migrate.

Precisely, projects which are initially conceived of as individual adventures or limited in time have, in many cases, proven to be processes of complete or indefinite transplantation of the household and family from one place or places to another or others. This is especially true in the case of Latin-American migration to Spain, where the advantages to legal and socio-cultural<sup>iii</sup> integration have allowed chain family migration to become widespread, as we will see in the Peruvian case study.

But spatial transplantation of some, rarely all, family members does not exclude symbolic and material interactions between the different social spaces in which they move, including the place(s) of origin, the place(s) of destination, the intermediate places of migration, and the places where other family members live. Many studies, among them my own (Escrivá, 1999), on Peruvian female migration to Spain, show the spatial and temporal multidimensionality of migrations at the material and symbolic level. The repeated and continuing relationship among people (and institutions) who live in different countries, whose relationship involves the transfer of resources and networking, lobbying and power influencing capacity, and so on, is labeled as “transnational agency” (Pessar & Mahler, 2001). Following upon this “transnationalism” means then to stay in one or more places, or to move between spaces which are physically distant yet close and connected in the migrants’ mind. In short, transnationalism refers to migrants who are constantly moving and/or in touch with several realities which influence the decisions, economies, politics and solidarities of the different places and spheres in which they move.

With regard to space, we should not overlook the changing and selective nature of migratory destinations. Migration flows are commonly oriented towards areas where sustainability is assured in economic and social terms and away from places where legal and employment conditions are poor and social acceptance is difficult. Thus new places of accommodation are found, while others which are considered unsafe or unviable are rejected. In the Peruvian case, for example, Latin-American countries such as Venezuela, Argentina or even Chile have been substituted for European countries such as Italy and Spain where it is possible to earn a higher income. Within families or communities a different status is bestowed to those who remain, those who manage to migrate to North America or Europe, and those who are only able to move within the subcontinent. Today these spatially separated and internationalized groups benefit from easier communications and the establishment of support structures in different places, thus contributing to a proliferation of various fluxes in a variety of ways, and allowing specific members to migrate at specific times and return afterwards as they wish.

Although the conditions for transnational engagement are given, not everyone has the chance to participate in it in the same way for several reasons. Multilocal engagement is possible only where certain migratory contexts allow for it, for example, when migrants acquire a certain standard of living in their new country of residence, hold dual nationality, engage in ethnic business, enjoy a favorable climate back home, and so on. Though as some

research shows (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998), adverse conditions may compel some immigrants to participate more actively in transnational agency than others. This is the case, for example, of political exiles, regardless of whether their refugee status is recognized or not. Generally speaking, the legal status acquired in the new place of settlement is a key factor in determining the degree of transnational engagement. Undocumented migrants who live in hiding, confined under their employer's roof, are much less able to move back home from time to time or shuttle between places, have less access to communication services and the exchange of information and goods with relatives and less opportunity for meeting other people from their country than ethnic entrepreneurs, for example. As Anderson (2001) notes, the intensity and form of engaging in transnational space is very much related to power, which is in turn determined by matters of gender, race, and the intersection of all of the above with class. She adds that the state plays a role in these contradictions, and most particularly in accessing the social space of citizenship. We will see an example of this in our case study.

Additionally, household and family members who stay in the place of origin participate differently in transnational living. Firstly, because economic and technological means are much more limited at home and secondly because those who remain have a different power to access various social spaces due to their class, race, gender, age, mental or physical condition within the family and society. Therefore, in the case of fragile dependants, their link to migration is usually as benefactors of remittances (not to mention the grief of not having a family member present), whereas youngsters and adults may be much more involved in family networking. Engaging in some sort of transnational economic activity and benefiting from it is very much dependent upon the factors mentioned above and in fact, not every member of a migrant family has the chance or ability to fulfill all the requirements needed to be a transnational individual.

Having said this, we should add that the aim of family migration is usually to assure survival and seek the betterment of all household members – especially dependants – even if it means physical separation. The scope of the migratory project is further extended with the inclusion of new members into the expatriated portion through family reunification and formation, which we will describe below. At the same time, dependants who are left behind go to live with other relatives, in residences, or hire live-in domestic help or medical assistance. These continuous adjustments and changes result in the substitution of blood relatives for non-blood relatives in a variety of very different households. Fragile dependants are by far the most vulnerable to these changes. Thus our research will attempt to shed some light on how migrant transnational engagement may or may not make a difference to the care and welfare that families and their dependants receive.



## **The Peruvian case study**

The following case study is based on data extracted from statistical sources – mainly the “Anuarios estadísticos de Extranjería” and some field observations. Data collection and analysis is the first step towards later fieldwork with migrant families. The many aspects considered here have allowed us to establish profiles for Peruvian immigrants, families and households in Spain. Our aim is to compare these families in subsequent stages on households of the same families in Peru and, if possible, in intermediate countries.

## **Demography of Peruvian migration to Spain**

### **Numbers and legal status**

Since the eighties, international migration has gradually become one of the most rooted vital options in Peruvian society. From a society of internal and foreign immigrants (Europeans, Asians) the country's main cities have turned into a stopover before moving on to more attractive destinies in Latin and North America, Europe or even East Asia (Altamirano, 1996). According to non-official sources such as the Lima weekly magazine “Caretas”, two million Peruvians went to live abroad in just one decade (1991-2001). However, due to the large number of Peruvians living clandestinely around the world, it is difficult to have an idea of the real numbers.

World destinations for Peruvian emigration are not chosen by pure chance. First of all, proximity with countries which are (or were doing) better off economically, like Chile, Argentina or Venezuela constitutes one of the chief reasons for moving there. North America has been a magnet for Peruvians of different social classes for a long time and much research has been done on migration to the States of all types of Peruvians, from middle-upper class citizens to shepherds (Altamirano, 1998). Increasingly tougher conditions to enter North America seem to have prompted – or at least sped up - the search for new destinations, making Japan and Europe an attractive option in the late eighties and early nineties. Aside from the Japan's economic prosperity, Peru's historical links with the country are a key factor in choosing Japan as a destination; evidenced by the fact that the claim to Japanese ancestry has been the main channel for entering the country. The same can be said of Spain and Italy, though both countries kept their doors relatively open to immigration until the early nineties, allowing Peruvians to enter without the need to seek out real or made-up ancestors. This last strategy has become ever more popular as borders close down and people realize that being related to a naturalized Spanish or Italian Peruvian migrant is an almost surefire way of gaining entrance to Europe.

In the case of Spain, the number of Peruvian residents has increased dramatically since 1991 when specific laws to regularize immigration were passed. From that date on, the numbers rose steadily, until Peruvians became the second largest nationality of non-EC origin in the latter half of the nineties. More recently, other Latin American nationals such as Ecuadorians and Colombians are outnumbering Peruvians, since Peruvian immigration is, on the whole, channeled legally through family reunification and nominal contracts from native employers<sup>iv</sup>. In spite of this, by 2001 there were about 33,000 Peruvian residents in

Spain, of whom some 5,000 held an EC card, meaning that they were either married to or had a son/daughter, father/mother who was a Spanish or European Union national<sup>Y</sup>.

Aside from the residents, another 12,000 Peruvians have acquired Spanish nationality – while retaining their original one - in the last 13 years. Since 1988, Peruvians have naturalized in growing numbers, third only to Moroccans and Argentines and practically on a par with Dominicans. Naturalization is attained after a requisite 2-year period of residence in Spain or only 1-year when married to a Spanish national. Unlike Argentines, Spanish descent is of much less importance to Peruvian immigrants, since there has been little Spanish emigration to Peru in the XX century. The number of marriages between Peruvians and Spaniards (of origin) is significant, though somewhat lower than marriages between Spaniards (especially men) and people of Caribbean origin (Cuban and Dominican women), while the number of Spaniards who marry Peruvians is higher than marriages to people from other countries. Doubtless, this is due to the fact that both countries share the same language and have a common cultural and religious heritage.

Marriages between Peruvians of origin and Peruvians who have already been naturalized as Spaniards are also becoming common as more and more people choose to naturalize. Couples who choose to marry may either be living together in Spain or living separately before the wedding. Whatever the case may be, marriage is either a way to regularize or stabilize legal status, or a means to enter the new country of residence, benefiting not only the bride and/or groom but also the possible descendants and ascendants who may join them in migrating. The naturalization regulations in Spain also concern children of Peruvian descent (from one or both progenitors) whose parents may or may not have acquired Spanish nationality by granting them dual nationality upon birth.

Lastly, numbers of Peruvians in Spain may be inflated by the fact that a portion of residents is undocumented, though we suspect that the numbers are not much different from other nationalities. Undocumented migrants include people who have crossed the borders illegally, who overstay a tourist or student visa, and those who are unable to renew their residence permits. However, the regularization processes of 1991, 1996, and 2000, have enabled undocumented Peruvian migrants to legalize their immigration status. In the process of regularization, family links with other residents from the same origin have been an advantage as evidenced by the data on Peruvians who asked for a permit during the last regularization process of 2000.

### **Gender and the labor market**

Another significant aspect concerning Peruvians in Spain is the slight disproportion between sexes. From the male-commanded moderate flow in the eighties, the numbers of migrating women has grown rapidly until the mid-nineties when they amounted to about 70% of the total. As also noted by Izquierdo (2002), in the late nineties and early this century the proportion of women has slowed down a bit (to about 60%) due to family reunification. Nevertheless, we are clearly witnessing a mainly female-headed migration which could be interpreted as: a) the consequence of a situation where females have had to take the initiative to leave first due to the lack of job opportunities for men in Spain, and of

their desire to enter the job market and help the family; b) the chance for women to empower themselves by achieving resources and status.

Though Peruvian females have made some headway towards achieving empowerment through their incorporation into the job market in Spain, their success is only relative. Previously, well-qualified migrants could be easily matched up with the demands of the Spanish job market. Later in the nineties, however, the scarcity of qualified jobs obliged immigrants – regardless of their educational background – to accept the least desirable work. Hence Peruvian women's incessant careers as domestic servants in Spain, like other women from neighboring countries.

Peruvian women's qualifications and experience in the health field has proven to be advantageous, since most jobs entail caring for babies, the sick and the elderly apart from housekeeping. But in general, the jobs that are currently available to Peruvian women do not match their expectations and are a far cry from their aspirations and training. Often the jobs require tasks for which they themselves used to hire people to do in their original households. In other words, Peruvian migrant women come from certain social strata which can afford to have servants at home. While this may not be the case for all, a large number of female interviewees in Madrid and Barcelona admitted that this was in fact so.

Since the late nineties there has been evidence of a relative upward mobility in the occupational scale towards better posts in domestic service and other third sector activities (catering business, administration, sales, etc.) of longer-term Peruvian residents. The posts left by these residents are now occupied by newcomers from the same country or from other countries such as Ecuador or Colombia. Men, on the other hand, have also been able to find jobs in construction, catering, and as house painters, mechanics, plumbers, electricians, and so on. Working conditions vary greatly depending on their length of stay, experience and skills, and in many cases are not different from the Spanish native population. Yet in other cases, due to their vulnerable position, Peruvian immigrants work for less money, accept temporary employment, and take less prestigious jobs than the natives. Acquiring Spanish nationality does not guarantee any substantial change on this front.

### **Age, civil status, and number of children**

Most Peruvian immigrants in Spain are middle aged. In the beginning, flows are usually characterized by the fact that adults, and especially young adults, are the first to decide to move on and change to a new place of residence. Later, however, reunification processes appear to be the main cause of inflow. Due to the relatively recent arrival of most Peruvians to Spain, the residents are still quite young though the community will no doubt age in coming years. This is supported by the fact that most people do not expect to return to their place of origin in the short or medium term given the current socio-economic and political conditions back home (testimonies collected in Escrivá, 1999). Moreover, and similar to other receiving countries, family reunification and formation in the new environment lessen the chance of returning for those who are able to do so after retirement, especially if other family members are not willing to go.

In the Peruvian case, flows have also been initiated to some extent by people in the last stage of their adulthood, nearing their fifties and sixties. Having lost their jobs back home or retired before the legal age from positions in the state administration, they were able to raise enough money to start their own business and/or migrate. For older women many jobs as companions and caretakers of the elderly are available and soon they will make up a substantial part of the Peruvians seeking retirement in Spain. Likewise, family reunification plans of many Peruvian immigrant adults include bringing dependent elders with them in order to enjoy the social and economic benefits of a more developed society<sup>vi</sup>. Whether or not this will be possible for all of them (it will depend upon the wishes of the elders and reunification laws) is a question that will be open for debate in the years to come.

The underage Peruvian population in Spain is small compared to the composition of the native population pyramid and to the composition of other immigrant groups such as Moroccans or Dominicans<sup>vii</sup>. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, and mainly, this is because family reunification is not yet at an advanced stage and many men and women still have children and younger brothers and sisters back home. Secondly, the birthrate and number of dependent children among Peruvians are lower than the rates for the other nationalities. Data from a study on domestic servants in Spain (Colectivo Ioé, 2001) demonstrate that spinsterhood is more frequent among Peruvian immigrants than among the other four nationalities researched (Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Filipinos, and Moroccans) and that the number of children per married couple is also comparatively lower. Consequently, we needn't expect a sudden expansion at the base of the Spanish population pyramid brought on by newly born Peruvians (coming from Peru or born in Spain). On the contrary, Peruvians today seem to follow the Spanish trend of decreasing birthrates.

### **Family reunification and family formation**

Official statistics provide us with little information on Peruvian family reunification and formation, though some issues concerning the latter have begun to be compiled in the "Statistical Record of Foreigners 2001", albeit in a very general way. Most assumptions expressed in the following paragraphs come from empirical research with different immigrant groups. First of all, it is normal to expect people to reunite with their original families. This is a matter of common sense since migrants tend to remain after spending a couple of years in the country. The Spanish legislation regarding family reunification as stipulated under Spain's immigration law provides a straightforward and legal way to reunification (albeit due to its restrictions, slowness and difficulties this legal via has often been sidestepped). Non-EC foreign workers in Spain may ask for a residence permit for their spouses, children (under 18) and dependent parents, which is subjected to the petitioner's own legal status.

Obviously, such a narrow understanding of family dependency and links overlooks – as we have previously remarked – that people very often migrate as part of a greater family strategy. This strategy includes the material and emotional support of brothers and sisters, handicapped relatives, elders, and other members, with whom survival relations are established. Research on female-headed Peruvian migration (reported in Escriva, 1999) has shown that after children and sometimes spouses - and very often even before children -

reunification plans are mostly directed at helping other female and secondary male members (sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles, etc.) to enter the country in order to earn additional income or to give a hand with family life in the new place of settlement.

We are confronted, therefore, with a legislation which not only does not reflect the reality and needs of individuals with family links and obligations, but also compels immigrants to use other means to become reunited with their loved ones and dependants in order to secure their future well-being – beside and beyond the economic contributions sent back home. In the Peruvian case, the strategy for getting more relatives to join the migratory experience apart from helping them to cross borders illegally, has been to obtain tourist and student visas and work contracts to be presented at the nearest consulate. While these methods are still very much in use, a new method is increasingly being exploited by longer-standing residents: the transmission of naturalization benefits. In this way people obtain Spanish nationality and can be reunited with their ascendants who after the statutory period will in turn reunify their other children, who happen to be the brothers and sisters of the first, and so forth.

Family formation often runs parallel to reunification processes, since they are not mutually exclusive. In fact, “family formation” can mean either marriage (or cohabitation) to a person with whom no previous formal link was established before migration, or giving birth to a child. The latest official statistics on foreigners in Spain (1999) provide some insight into these two cases. Of about 221 marriages celebrated in Spain with Peruvian women, 166 (75%) were to Spanish men (we do not know the percentage of those who were Spaniards of origin or naturalized citizens), 18.5% were to Latin Americans, mainly Peruvians, and the rest were to men from the EEC. Less Peruvian men were married in Spain than Peruvian women. This is a reflection of the higher proportion of females who migrate and the fact that more men than women have entered the country as reunified spouses. Only 109 Peruvian men have married; 64 (58.7%) to Spanish women (again we have no data as to how many were naturalized citizens) and 30% to Peruvian women. The few remaining marriages were divided among the other nationalities. Apart from the question of nationality, these figures do not reflect the true dimension of immigrant family formation, since they do not include marriages celebrated outside Spain which are registered at a later date. These marriages may also involve a reunification process after the wedding if one or both spouses are nationals who are allowed to stay without restriction (EEE) or hold a valid residence permit.

The second element of family formation is the birth of children after immigrating. Here the available information is much more vague. There is no data on the nationality of origin of the mother and no data on the nationality(ies) granted to the born child. We only know that the percentage of children born to foreign women (all nationalities considered) comprises only 4.87% of all births occurring in Spain in 1999. There do exist, however, significant differences in birthrates depending on the region. For example, in the autonomous city of Melilla, situated on the northern coast of Morocco, births to foreign women represented 31% of total births. In Balears, Madrid, and Catalonia percentages were above 7%. In Girona, a province of Catalonia which borders France, the percentage reached 14%. Nevertheless, Peruvian women have little impact on these percentages since, as we have already stated, their birthrates are very similar to those of Spanish women.

## **Household composition**

Developed societies – such as Spain somewhat recently - have a tendency to reduce the size of the nuclear family and the number of members that make up the household (Flaquer, 1998). This is possible when birthrates drop substantially and insofar as people have enough means to pay for their own roof over their head. On the contrary, those who do not have enough money, such as students, widows, or housewives, have to stay under someone else's roof and abide by their rules. However, we should not forget that people live together in search of emotional and physical support as well. The present situation in Spain is the result of a past situation in which households used to be larger and include several generations, even other relatives or servants. But demographic changes rooted in urbanization and economic development and relative advances in the welfare state system, as well as the extension of individualistic feelings, have brought about a decline in these models (Iea, 2001).

In contrast to this, immigrant households are usually composed of more members, at least at the first stage of the arrival (Labrador & Merino, 2002). Not only do these households have more members on the average than native households, but also the relationships between household members are not necessarily based on blood ties. Instead we find a mixture of familial and non-familial links. This occurs, firstly because it is difficult for a non-EC European to rent a flat in Spain due to the distrust of the native population towards immigrants. Secondly, immigrants at this early stage have their minds mainly on earning enough money to repay their travel debt or send remittances home, and not on comfort. This is illustrated by the fact that most women work as live-in domestic help initially and have no other private place to stay or just rent a small room in someone else's apartment for their days off. Thirdly, the lack of or ignorance about any other social support makes it more appealing to live together; with relatives if they are also living abroad, or with other people- usually immigrants like themselves.

These non-familial - or partially familial - households sometimes share in the household economy (see note 6). Often, members share the rent, bills, food expenses and the cooking and cleaning responsibilities, but money is administered individually or in couples. It is not unusual, however, that due to their "precarious" living standards members have to circulate money amongst themselves to cancel someone's debt, help pay someone's portion of the rent in times of unemployment or get money together for someone's family reunification application. The same applies for transnational households and families, located between Peru and Spain and even in alternative countries, which are sustained on the basis of this circulating money: the first migrant sends money back which will be used, among other things, to enable someone else's emigration, and this second migrant will have to send money back for a third person, and so on.

The tendency for immigrant households, especially those that are moving up the social and economic ladder and integrating into the Spanish mainstream (like many Peruvian households we visited recently), is to reduce their size and composition to that of a nuclear family. This is especially true when the family is the product of a reunification or formation process. However, these nuclear arrangements usually play the role of hostage with regard

to new-coming relatives with their own migration projects, since family chain migration is unlikely to cease at this point. Relatives may be temporarily housed but rapidly invited to find other accommodations in order to continue the family reunification process, or they may be especially welcomed and housed longer if they provide help with housekeeping and child-rearing duties, as in the case of single sisters and mothers. Additionally, dependants such as fragile elders and very young brothers and sisters may circulate among different related households for certain periods and go back and forth to Peru if necessary. Therefore, although constituted mainly as nuclear family households, it should be stressed that family composition is continually undergoing change given that the more or less temporal presence of other blood-related members is a common feature.

Single individuals, on the other hand, remain with their original families, or keep on living in early household arrangements, that is, with some relatives and/or non-related people. Single-person households are more rare, except for those who choose to stay in multiple lodgings such as hostels or residences. In our study, however, we have found very few cases of this last type of arrangement and these were mostly due to certain job and life-style requirements.

The roles and functions of the various household members in the various arrangements described here have only been partially explored until now, as has the degree of care and welfare attained by dependants and economically active adults. These issues deserve more attention in the subsequent stages of the fieldwork as outlined below.

### **A further step:**

#### **Research on transnational household arrangements and their effect on people's welfare**

From what we have seen, there is a diversity of family situations<sup>viii</sup> that give rise to a complex framework for research into the various family interrelations between Peru and Spain. While it is true that families and households are not always one and the same, they are not mutually exclusive either. Indeed, in the process of migration household arrangements are usually built upon transnational family needs (after basic personal needs are met) and include members, such as brothers and sisters, who may not be considered apt to migrate by migration authorities but are crucial in sustaining the family. Depending on those needs, some family members will be compelled or may wish to come abroad to another related household either to care for their daughter's newborn or a dying elder, to follow some courses, in addition to/or for political or economic (business and paid labor) reasons. Decisions to remain here or there are less and less permanent. Instead, we find people hoping to maintain multiple affiliations while preserving close family links. However, as we noted above, legal restrictions, such as the limited time one can spend abroad when holding a resident permit in Spain; or the many difficulties for getting a visa to enter a "developed" country; make transnational family living less practicable.

While the physical movement of people across state borders is limited to those who are entitled to do so, ideas, goods, and money are able to move and circulate freely. The economic impact of remittances from immigration has been extensively researched in the literature in reference to the places of origin (Koc & Onan, 2001, among others). However, much information is still lacking on the consequences of transnational engagement on family and household members' productive and reproductive roles and the welfare of those concerned. All these consequences need to be examined from a comparative perspective with regard to pre-migratory situations and non-migrant households and communities. In this paper we propose the hypothesis that social benefits may also have their place in migration, and be in growing demand in the future for transnational implementation as a result of both individual and family entitlement acquired through dual or even multiple citizenship. All of these interrelated domains are well worth studying in greater depth.

We uphold the idea that as a result of transnational engagement, the contact between immigrants and Spanish society is a source of new and regenerated ideas and experiences that may have a positive impact on both parties involved if managed well. For the sending society, gains go beyond economic achievements in household expenditures to include the economic activation of local markets, the possibility for more people to move across borders<sup>ix</sup>, the access of neighboring people to innovations brought about by emigrant households, or the empowerment of women, children, the handicapped and the elderly (among others) who have gained access to paid labor, social security benefits or education and training through their own migration or that of their benefactors. For the receiving society, especially for those who are in close contact with immigrants (as is the case of many native households where Peruvians work as house cleaners and caretakers), lessons can be learned about family solidarity and inter-generational commitment, together with many interesting and enriching cultural features which should be given their fair value. In



this sense, partnership in (ethnic) business, joint collaboration in transnational social and political activities, or at the other end, intermarriages and mixed living arrangements which include people from different origins, should be expected and promoted as part of a plan for an integrating and global society. A final stage of the project will be devoted to exploring these challenges.

In light of the questions and issues posed above, the next stages in our research project are of a practical nature, that is the gathering of reliable data based on fieldwork. Our research is clearly aimed at examining the domestic arrangements used to ensure the care and welfare of family dependants under various circumstances: a) while adult members migrate and dependants (and some adults) remain in the place of origin, b) while (some) dependants reunify or originate in the new location, c) while (some) dependants and/or adult migrants move more or less constantly between different places. Beyond a description of those arrangements, the study will attempt to provide more insight into the impact these arrangements are having on the various household members in terms of: a) work and responsibility load in and out of the household, b) economic improvement, c) (psycho-physical) health and emotional state. Moreover, we intend to observe the way in which these domestic arrangements profit from public and private resources for the care and welfare of family members in the various links of the migration chain; how these arrangements impact on people; and what the expected needs and developments are for the future. In order to carry out the research from a transnational perspective, families will be approached directly in their places of residence and information on those far away will be requested and later contrasted.

As a concluding remark regarding the methodology of the study, the variety of households will be examined in terms of: a) gender and age composition, b) relationship between relatives and non-relatives, and c) formation of new households and families with people of the same or different nationality of origin. This comparative perspective will allow us to understand how each of these arrangements functions in particular, and their effects on family members compared to non-migrant native households. To this end, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will be used.

The questions we raise are as follows: Are Peruvian migrant family households living separately but thinking jointly? How is this conceived by those concerned? Does the creation of new households after emigration (family reunification, formation, living with or/and without relatives) positively or negatively affect the condition of those reunited or remaining in the place of origin? How do household composition and members' roles and functions change over time? Are many of the interrelations in Peruvian family emigration between different households located in different countries? For whom is migration a good business in material and non-material terms? Do any interrelations between household arrangements and the societies in which they are located occur in both places? Do these interrelations enjoy a favorable climate or are they under pressure? What prospects are there in the area of social protection and transnational entitlement?

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## Notes

<sup>i</sup> Anderson (1988) gives a concise summary of the most fruitful approaches to the history of the European family.

<sup>ii</sup> This statement is not meant to say that the State must assume the full range of family functions to alleviate individual incapacity to cope with every kind of demand, since many needs are of an emotional kind and their fulfillment helps to create the sense of grouping and belonging. But it is true that state intervention in assuring a fair reconciliation of productive and reproductive work among all adults would be of much benefit to the cause of personal and collective well-being

<sup>iii</sup> Table of legal and socio-cultural conditions which favor the social integration of Latin Americans in comparison to immigrants of other nationalities (except for EC nationals) in Spain

Latin Americans	Others
✓ Same language*	- Other languages
✓ Same religion *	- Other religions****
✓ No entry visa required**	- Entry visa is always required
✓ Easier to obtain work and residence permit, as well as successive renewals***	- Usual procedure in application for work and residence permit plus successive renewals
✓ Access to dual nationality after only two-year residence	- Access to Spanish nationality after 10-year residence and losing the original one*****

\* In general

\*\* In the 90's, Spain began to require entry visas for those countries with more immigration, such as Peru and the Dominican Republic.

\*\*\* Peru and Chile have a signed treaty which guarantees equal access to the Spanish territory and job market.

\*\*\*\* In general, because we know the presence of other Roman Catholics in Spain, such as the Filipinos.

\*\*\*\*\* Likewise, there is a dual nationality agreement between Spain and the Philippines, and Equatorial Guinea, and these nationals are also granted quicker access to naturalization.

<sup>iv</sup> Due to the pressure of Ecuadorians and Colombians to migrate, Peruvian flows to Spain may have been restrained by Spain's preferential treatment of applications from these countries. The reason may also lie in the fact that Peruvians can gain access to a work and residence permit through the general regime due to a signed treaty. In spite of their lower numbers, Peruvian inflows are steady and do not seem to decrease or stop.

<sup>v</sup> Table of seven largest groups of non-EU residents in Spain by nationality of origin and year.

Year	Country of origin						
	Morocco	Ecuador	Colombia	<b>Peru</b>	Dominican R	China	Philippines
Residents 1993	61,301	*	*	9,988	9,228	7,750	8,373
Total 2001	234,937	84,699	48,710	33,758	29,314	36,143	14,716
CE card	15,206	1,934	9,172	5,274	10,151	1,097	1,984

\* Numbers unknown but lower than the other 5 nationalities

<sup>vi</sup> The information was collected during an exploratory study with Peruvian households in Spain at the end of 2002 and the beginning of 2003.

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vii The seven largest groups of non-EU residents in Spain by nationality and age.

Year of the account	Country of origin						
	Morocco	Ecuador	Colombia	<b>Peru</b>	Dominican R	China	Philippines
Total	234,937	84,699	48,710	33,758	29,314	36,143	14,716
2001							
% 0-15	19.2	4.6	8.5	7.8	14.4	13.2	10.2
% +64	0.9	0.2	1.2	3.6	1.4	1.9	2.2

viii Data refers only to Spain and is of a very statistical nature. The official numbers do not reflect further population movements or changing household compositions. Therefore, more empirical research needs to be done

ix Let us not forget that international tourism has become the privilege of those belonging to the so-called wealthy nations