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# Ageing, Migration and Care: (Im)mobility in utilitarian migration regimes

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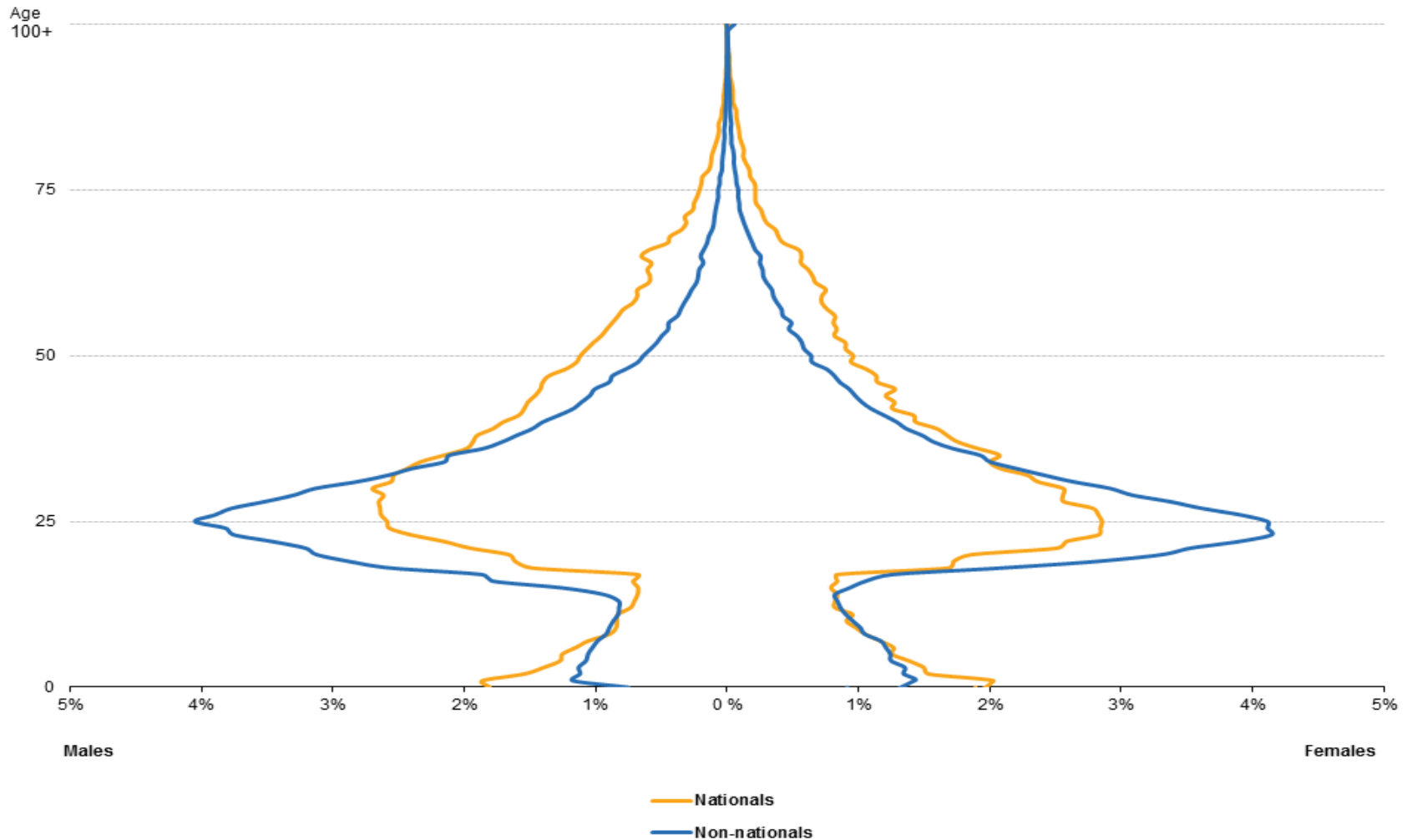
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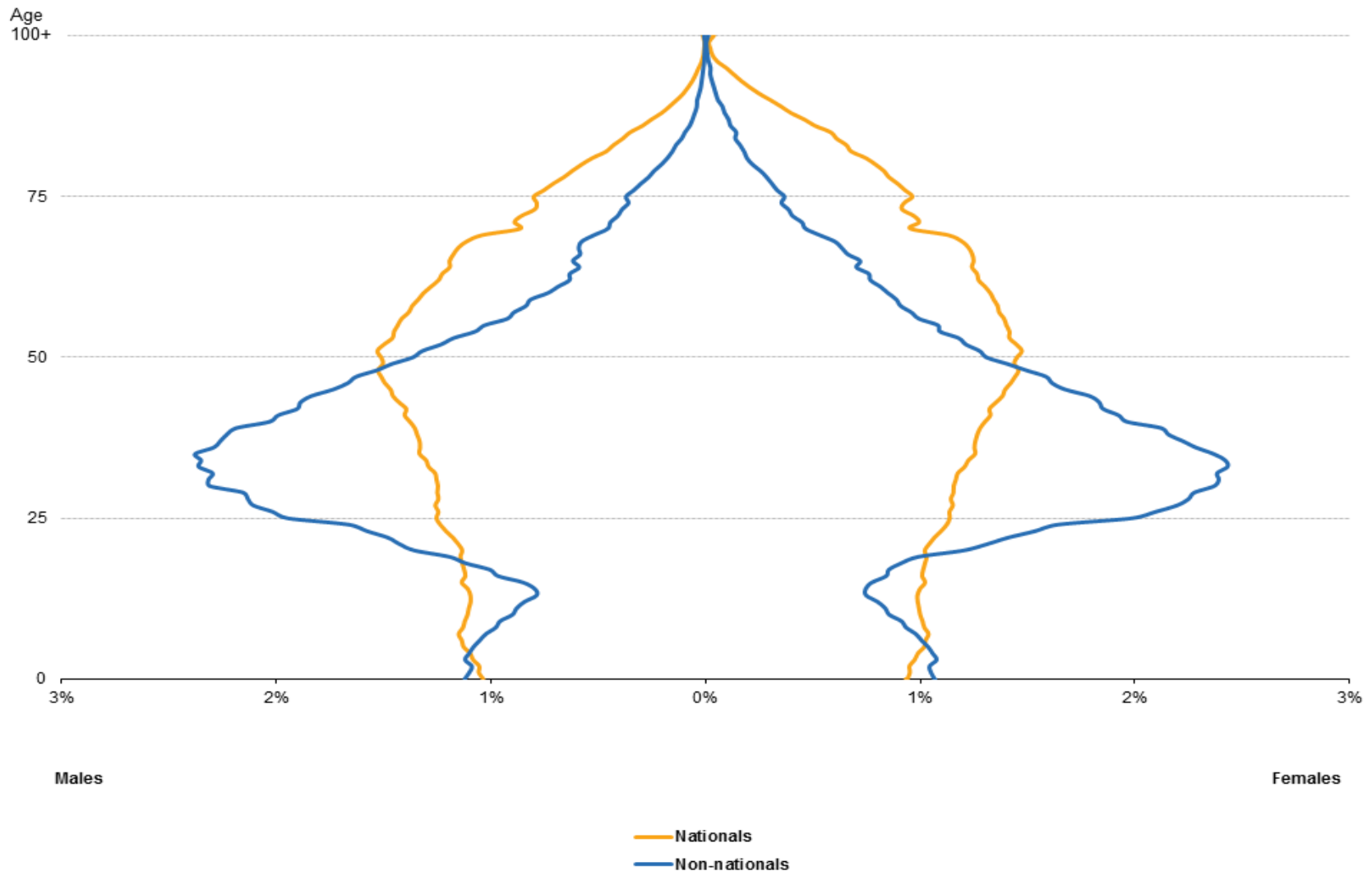
A WORLD  
**TOP 100**  
UNIVERSITY

# The EU and Immigration: flows by age, 2015



Note: data generally refer to age reached at the end of the year, except Ireland, Greece, Austria, Romania, Slovenia and the United Kingdom where the data refer to age on last birthday. **2**  
Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr\_imm2ctz)

# Age structure of national & non-national populations in EU28, 2016



# An ageing foreign-born population in Europe

## Increase in foreign-born population aged 55+, 2010-2015

50%+ increase

Finland, Luxembourg, Portugal

25-49% increase

Denmark, Greece, Italy, Malta, Norway, Spain

[UK = 24%]

## Increase in foreign-born population aged 45-54, 2010-2015

50%+ increase

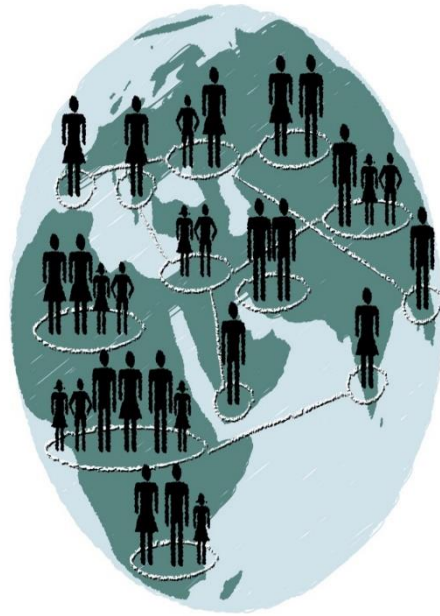
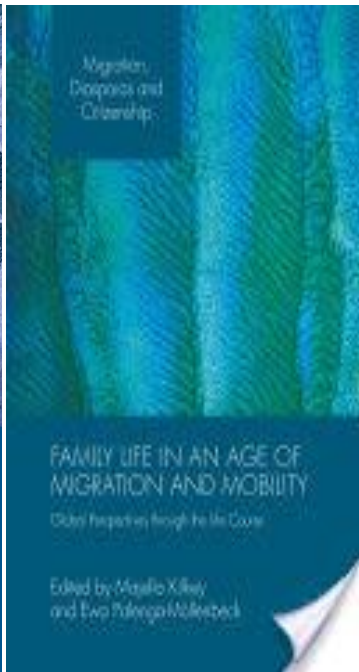
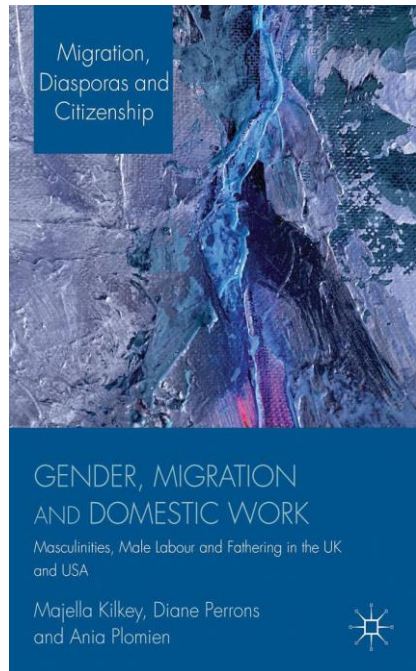
Luxembourg, Malta

25-49% increase

Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain

[UK = 21%]

# Background & Focus



ESRC Large Grant  
*Sustainable Care:  
Connecting People and  
Systems* (PI Yeandle)  
Kilkey & Ryan WP:  
Care 'in' and 'out of'  
place: towards  
sustainable well-being in  
mobile and diverse  
contexts

- Locating aged parent migration within a typology of aged mobility
- Unpacking the key elements of the life course approach from a migration and ageing perspective
- Considering the debate between distance and proximity in transnational family relations
- Emphasising importance of mobility rights for proximate / hands-on care
- Examining developments on rights of aged parent migration in the context of a drift towards utilitarian regimes, taking examples of UK and Australia

# A typology of older migrants (King et al 2016)

- Older people left behind by migration
- International retirement migrants
- Older (new) economic migrants
- Older labour migrants returning to country of origin
- Ageing-in-place migrants
- Follow-the-children older migrants ('zero generation')

# Problems of categorisation

- Missing categories
- Heterogeneity within categories
- Commonalities between categories
- Simultaneity of categories
- Shifts from one category to another over time

# Life-course perspective

- Increased attention to life course linked to ‘ageing turn’ *and* ‘temporal turn’ in migration studies
- Drawing on Elder et al (2003), life course orientation places emphasis on:
  - Temporal nature of lives, conveying movement through *biographical* and *historical* time
  - Linked lives and how lives are lived interdependently
  - How age as socially, culturally and historically situated and constructed also differentiates the life course, specifying ‘appropriate ages’ for transitions



# Ageing, migration and biographical time

- Migration as disruptive in ageing process
  - Loss of opportunity to care / be cared for
  - Extended care-giving lives
  - Extended working lives
- Transitions in later life as migration-triggers
  - Retirement
  - Becoming a grandparent
  - Onset of care needs

# Ageing, migration and historical time

- Significant societal events / shocks / rapid transformations reconfigure the ageing and migration relationship
  - EU Accession
  - Transformation in C&E Europe
  - Global Financial Crisis
  - War in Syria
  - Brexit
- Incremental societal changes mediate the ageing and migration relationship too
  - Technological developments, including ICTs
  - Increasing utilitarianism in migration regimes

# Ageing, migration and linked lives

- (Older) People's lifetimes are 'knitted with those of multiple others' (Coe 2015)
- Migration disperses older people's families and networks across borders
- Requires that the intergenerationality, which is 'often the touchstone of the relational structures of age' (King 2014), is negotiated transnationally
  - Transnational families (Bryceson & Vuorela 2002)
  - Circulation of care transnationally (Baldassar & Merla 2014)
  - What helps and what hinders care circulation across borders, including institutional dimensions (Kilkey & Merla 2014)

# Ageing, migration and social norms

- Migration regimes embedded in a society's 'institutional time' (Giddens 1984) based on norms and expectations on how transitions through the life course are timed and patterned
- Migration regimes contain an array of 'chronopolitical devices' (Fabian 1983), which govern older people's mobility
  - Treatment of age in points-based systems (e.g. skilled migration streams in Australia restricted to applicants under the age of 45)
  - Visa waiting times (e.g. 30 year queue for Australia's non-contributory 'parent visa')

# 'Technological turn' in migration studies

**A Lady Reading a Letter**  
Gerrit ter Borch, 1660s



**Distant Monitoring, 2010s**



**Skype, 2010s**



**Telenoid, 2010s**  
**Telecommunication**  
**Avatar**



high sensitivity GPS

# (Im)Mobility and institutional arrangements

- Migration regimes
  - Exit/entry/residency rights
  - Incorporation in labour market & welfare systems
  - Migration cultures
- Welfare regimes
  - Quality of social entitlements
  - Portability rules
- Gendered care regimes
  - Rights to time to care
  - Rights to receive care
  - Gendered care cultures
- Working-time regimes
  - Regulations of working-time
- Transport policies
- Conditions of category, circumstance and conduct at intersection between migration and welfare regimes, *organise, condition and set limits on proximate care opportunities in transnational families:*
  - Determining the ‘family of choice’
    - who ‘counts’ as family and for which migrant categories
  - Distribution of economic risk between states and families for living a ‘family of choice’

Kilkey 2017

Kilkey & Merla 2014

# Utilitarian migration regimes

- A 'regimes of mobility approach' (Glick Schiller & Salazar 2013: 196)
  - 'interrogates the situations in which certain kinds of mobility, or certain types of mobile individuals, become the subjects of praise or condemnation, desire, suppression or fear'
- Mobility regimes are increasingly economically utilitarian and focused on selecting the most skilled, wealthy and self-sufficient (Kilkey 2017)
- Much research on implications for labour migration, identifying exclusionary effects by gender, class, ethnicity and other intersecting socio-economic characteristics (Boucher 2016; Kofman 2014)
- Less attention to other migration streams, especially family route, and within that aged migration in particular

# Shifts in mobility rights of 'zero generation' - UK

- Problematisation of family migration in context of agendas of 'tens of thousands' of the 'brightest and the best' and 'breaking the link between entry and settlement'
- Reforms to the family migration route in 2012
  - New minimum income threshold for sponsorship of spouses & children
  - Minimum settlement probationary period extended from 2 to 5 years for spouses
  - English language requirement & Life in the UK test for spousal settlement
  - **Restrictions on settlement of adult / elderly dependants**



# Adult Dependent Relatives Rule - Previously

- Parents / Grandparents 65+
  - Wholly / mainly financially dependent on the UK-based family member
  - No close relatives in their country who could support them
  - Can be maintained in UK without recourse to public funds and housed in accommodation of UK-based sponsor
- Other adult relatives (parents / grandparents under 65, children, siblings and uncles / aunts):
  - In ‘exceptional compassionate circumstances’
- In-UK application allowed (e.g. switch from visitor visa)

# Adult Dependent Relatives Rule - Currently

- Relatives must demonstrate that they ‘as a result of age, illness or disability, require long-term personal care to perform everyday tasks e.g. washing, dressing and cooking [and are] unable even with the practical and financial help of a sponsor, to obtain a required level of care in the country where they are living, because either it is not available and there is no person in that country who can reasonably provide it, or it is not affordable’
- UK sponsor must evidence means to maintain, accommodate and care without recourse to public funds for at least 5 years
- Aunts / uncles no longer eligible
- Applications only from outside the UK (no switching from visitor visa)

# Impact of Changes

- Limited research on lived experiences of changes
- APPGM (2013) & JCWI (2014)
  - The route ‘appears to have all but closed’ (APPGM, 2013) / 65% of applications successful in 2010; 19% in 2013/14
  - Concerns for children’s well-being and development
  - Stress and anxiety among adult children in UK
  - Family finances
    - Child care deficit and costs
    - Increased visits back home to care
  - Relocation back home
    - Impact on careers
    - Impact on children
    - ‘Loss of human resources’ (BMA)
- Impacts likely to be unevenly experienced
  - Income
  - Gender
  - Country of origin / racialised

# Shifts in mobility rights of 'zero generation' - Australia

- Long history of settlement migration – 'Populate or perish' (preferred settlers encouraged to become citizens)
- Radical revision of migration programme in the late 1990s
  - Introduction of temporary migration visa categories
  - In permanent stream, shift towards skilled migration rather than family reunion
- Numbers of temporary long term arrivals outnumbered permanent settler arrivals for the first time in 1999-2000
- Competitive 'points' system targeted at 'picking winners' (Hawthorne 2005) and filling skills shortages (under 45 year olds)
- Parent visas for applicants over 65 years
  - Contributory visa (\$50k)
  - Non-contributory visa (capped, 30 year wait)
  - Main source countries – China, UK, India and Vietnam

# Policy developments

- Non-contributory visa contested by government since 2014
- 2016 Productivity Commission Inquiry argued
  - *The economic outcomes of immigrant parents are typically poor... have low integration into the labour market due to their older ages... This means lower income (and tax) than other immigrants.*
  - *Immigrant parents are at stages of their lives when they make considerable claims on the aged care, health and social security systems...*
  - *Immigrant parents can make valuable social contributions to their families, but these mainly benefit the family members themselves.*
  - *The decision by some skilled migrants to come to Australia is underpinned by the possibility of subsequently obtaining residency for parents. Any moves to restrict parent visas would have some effects on the decisions of their children to migrate.*
  - *Given the balance of the costs and benefits, the case for retaining parent visas in their current form is weak.*
- May 2017 Government proposed a temporary 5 year visa for aged parents

# Conclusions

- Contestation of family rights in migration streams is a generalised trend
  - In Europe, for third country nationals
  - In some EU Member States, for EU citizen migrants (Cameron's pre-Brexit deal)
  - Internationally ( 'Crossroads data base' – Boucher & Gest)
- Highly utilitarian migration regimes
  - Commodification of migrants & market-model of migration in national economic interest
- Proximate care opportunities for migrant families are a seemingly inevitable casualty of this trend

# Conclusions

- Changes in rules for aged parent migration an important component of the historical time through which ageing is experienced for some older people and their families
  - Deny older people's relationality and 'linked lives'
  - Based on norm of 'ageing in place'
  - Methodological nationalist norms of people and places
  - Based on norms of ageing as concomitant with dependency
  - Lived experiences of rule changes likely to be differentiated and mediated by a range of social divisions

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