

LUENA MARINHO¹

University of Lisbon

PARENT–CHILD SEPARATION IN ANGOLAN TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

INTRODUCTION

The way of life created by transnationalism leads to changes in family relations, creating specific dynamics and implying care at a distance. This paper looks into transnational families between Angola and Portugal², and aims to address how the parental relationship is perceived within such families. By focusing both on parents and children, it aims to analyse the discrepancies in speech regarding the organisation of care, communication, and perception of proximity. It also seeks to explore how the participants experience the feelings of distance, as well as to analyse the perception of closeness/intimacy between parents and children.

Employing a qualitative multi-sited methodology, which involved interviews with children and parents in the contexts in which they live: Angola and Portugal, allowed for observation within the contexts. The fieldwork was conducted while observing all participants involved, while at the same time obtaining a more in-depth knowledge of the TCRA phenomenon (transnational child raising arrangements), and allowing for comparison between the narratives of parent and child.

¹ PhD student in Sociology at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, with a FCT grant (SFRH/BD/80499/2011).

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Focusing especially on the perceptions of parent and child, and taking as a starting point interviews with members of six triads (18 interviews), the data presented seeks to establish a basis for further examination of family dynamics when the family is separated by from each other by distance.

The majority of our interviewees are in a 'Father Away TCRA condition', that is, the father is the migrant member of the family. The child is usually living with the other biological parent — the mother — or is living with a family member. The parents are 38 years old on average, and the majority have been living in Portugal for 15 years on average. These Angolan parents migrated in search of a better life and work conditions, even though for most of them the current employment situation in Portugal is unfavourable, as four of the six parents were unemployed at the time of the interview.

The children — four boys and three girls — have an average age of 18 years old, and the majority of them attend school. As for the caregivers, five are woman, and the majority are family members.

This paper starts by giving a brief overview of the migratory context between Angola and Portugal, and also by looking at the historical relationship between the two countries. The next section describes the methodology that was adopted. After highlighting the advantages of using a multi-sited approach, a description of the instruments used to collect the data is presented, and also a characterisation of the interviewees. Then, the predominant forms of family in Angola will be described, as well as the daily life of the Angolan children interviewed. Based on the participant narratives — children and parents — we will analyse the organisation of care, the perception of closeness, and the communication, while exploring the divergences and trying to identify factors behind those discrepancies.

Overall, the interviews reveal that parents often do not have exact knowledge of the care that is provided to their children, and some discrepancies emerge regarding issues like the frequency of parent–child communication, the subject of the conversation, or the practical responsibilities regarding the care. The incongruent perception of discourse between parent and child suggests that some facets of the relationship might be perceived differently by the parties involved. The analysis presented here aims to facilitate the understanding of the impact of migration on children and parents, and also the impact that mobility brings to the organisation of families whose members live geographically apart. Moreover, this is a preliminary analysis providing clues for a future deepening of categories to examine how parents and children reconfigure transnational social relations and how the concept of family and parenting is redefined.

ANGOLA AND PORTUGAL — LINKS AND MIGRATION

The independence of several African countries in the 1960s spurred the migration of Africans to Europe (Olic, 2002, Birmingham, 1995). PALOP³ countries started their process of independence in the mid-seventies, later than other former colonised countries. This was partially due to the Portuguese dictatorial regime that lasted longer than the regimes existing in other European countries.

Migration between Angola and Portugal is of a specific nature, characterized by a long-standing relationship between the two countries. By the fifteenth century Angola comprised several kingdoms with distinct ethnolinguistic characteristics (Silva, 1997; Wheeler & Pelissier, 2009). With the arrival of the Portuguese, led by Diogo Cão, in the year 1482 there was a progressive assimilation that led Angola to become a member of the overseas colony of the Portuguese Empire. It was only on 11 November, 1975, that Angola became a sovereign country, after the implementation of policies and actions as a result of a war waged from 1961 by Angolan nationalist groups against the Portuguese colonial regime. After sovereignty was achieved, a civil war began that ended in 2002.

The migration of Angolans to Portugal began in the sixteenth century, with periods of greater intensification (Grassi, 2010), particularly during the post-independence period (1974/75) with the return of the white settlers who were displaced after independence. They were popularly referred to as ‘retornados’, and would be joined by many Angolans during the 1990s.

The connection to Portugal, through a common language and some cultural proximity, contributed to Portugal being chosen as the destination for many Angolans who sought to escape the armed conflict in the country, or who were seeking a better life and the opportunity to acquire a better education and training. The relationship between the two countries is translated into a migratory tradition rooted in historical and political factors (Castelo, 2007) which has implications on migratory logic and the way in which migratory networks are constituted. There are several studies that focus on the integration processes of immigrants from PALOP in Portugal, as well as their descendants (Machado, 2007, 1997; Pires, 2003; Grassi, 2009).

The migration of Angolans to Portugal, motivated by labour demand, is described by Machado (1997) as having been particularly intense between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s; this flow was accentuated in the late 1990s and the early years of the present century, due to an increase in the armed conflict.

³ PALOP – Portuguese-speaking African countries, which includes Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Presently, due to the development growth of the Angolan economy and the economic crisis affecting Portugal, the flow of Angolans to Portugal is not very extensive. In fact, there is a return of many Angolans to their home country. Nonetheless, according to SEF (Portuguese Immigration and Borders Service) Angolans maintain fifth position in the ranking of the foreign population residing in Portugal (4.9%), with a significant decrease of 8.22%, over the previous year of 2010. In addition, because the number of Portuguese who migrate to Angola is growing, there is, in fact, an inversion in the direction of the migration flow.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The data presented in this paper was gathered following a qualitative multi-sited approach. Data collection was carried out in two contexts: the migrant's country of origin (i.e. Angola) and their host country (i.e. Portugal), seeking to thereby gain a better understanding of the impacts of migration on family members who are in different geographical contexts. Using this methodology it was possible to observe the context and interviewing the members of the triad allowed greater insight into the reality of child fostering in Angola.

Several authors have expressed great interest in multi-sited ethnography⁴. According to Glick Schiller (2003), multi-sited ethnographic research is a good option for studying transnational migration, in particular transnational family life. Because migration involves moving from one place to another, the research should consider both sending and receiving contexts. The multi-sited approach is suitable for working with a migrant population as it allows access to places and participants who have references to migrants, permitting the researcher to access different social, affective, and territorial spaces of the migrants.

Sample characterization and data collection

The parents who were interviewed had been living in the host country for between ten and 23 years. The migration was mainly motivated by economic factors and the search for a better life. The children of the interviewed parents are aged between eleven and 25 years old. Two of the parents have never met their children because they were born after the parent had already gone to Portugal.

These migrant parents do not maintain a conjugal or emotional relationship with the other parent of the child, as most of them have blended families, that is,

⁴ See the work of Marcus, 1995, 2009; Gille & ÓRiain, 2002; Hage, 2005; Nadai and Maeder, 2005, 2009; Mazzucato, 2008; Falzon, 2009; Lapegna, 2009; Amelina, 2010; Boccagni, 2010, 2012; Coleman & Hellermann, 2011, Pasura, 2011.

families that are constituted by one parent, children from a previous marriage, and a new spouse.

Four of the respondents have a blended family as they have children in Portugal that were born from a relationship with a new partner. According to Lobo (2005) these families are the result of the ‘outputs of successive unions and integrate parents, children, stepparents, stepchildren, grandparents, siblings, half-siblings’.

Most of the interviewees live in a suburban area of Lisbon, and none live in the city centre. These migrant parents have relatively low educational qualifications and have low skilled jobs. Only one of the respondents has completed high school. Due to the economic crisis that is currently affecting Portugal most of the interviewees were unemployed. The two parents that were employed worked in the construction and the catering sectors.

The majority of the caregivers are women, a fact that can be related to the role of females within Angolan families. Women are organisers, carers, and providers of basic livelihood. Costa and Rodrigues (2007:145), in a study with families and looking to the survival strategies and the social reproduction in Luanda and Maputo, state that, in Luanda, there is a ‘predominance of matrilineal families’.

All the children that were interviewed had a kinship relationship with the caregivers: sons/daughters, nephews/nieces, grandsons/granddaughters. This shows the role of the enlarged family in the Angolan society. For Angolans, providing care to children within the extended family is seen as natural and is very common (Øien, 2006). A child moving to the care of another family member with greater economic possibilities is common, especially for those who come from provinces where the structural resources, especially schools, are limited, or who have poorer living conditions. Also in the cases where there is a migration of one of the parents, the extended family often assumes a crucial role in providing childcare. Although the most typical situation involves the child staying under the care of the other parent, in many cases the child is under the care of family members of the migrant parent. It should be noted that the latter situations occur especially in cases where there is no longer a marital relationship between the parents and there has been a remarriage of the parent at home, or there is lack of economic capacity to provide care for the child. Concerning the children, seven interviews were made with children who belong to triads. Interviewed children were mainly male (4M/3F) and aged between 11 and 25⁵ years old.

⁵ Despite the use of the concept of child under the TCRAf-Eu Project, include only individuals aged between 0 and 21 years, the information provided by the migrant parent was that his child is 21 years old. We decided to include this interview in the study because it’s symptomatic of the parent–children relation at a distance.

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews, based on pre-designed scripts for each different participant. All the scripts covered the following topics: the decisions regarding care and caregivers; the organisation of care; education, apprenticeship, and child work; satisfaction and impact of the care arrangement; conflicts, negotiation, and solutions concerning the care arrangement; the impact of TCRA arrangements and reciprocity, rights, and responsibilities; the migration history of the parent (specific for parents); and household and everyday life, relationship with the parent(s), relationship with the caregiver and with others who are also likely to give care and take on child responsibilities (addressed specifically to children). Direct observation of the contexts was also conducted and TCRA maps were developed, so as to systematise information and to obtain access to other important people involved in the care. Next we will address issues related to the family and to the everyday life in which the childcare takes place.

FAMILY IN ANGOLA

Families are not all alike, and the so called ‘European family’ and ‘African family’ have distinct characteristics related to cultural traits and the social structure, therefore there is a complexity of family structural forms.

According to Queirós (2010), Angolan society includes two types of family structure: the ‘traditional family’ type and the ‘European family’ type. The author argues that the traditional family is usually extensive and may be polygamous, this being particularly prevalent in rural areas, even though it is also possible to find this type of family structure in the urban population. In Queirós’s opinion, ‘In families structured according to the traditional system, in general the processes of marriage, parenthood and obeying the principle of heredity uterine lineage (...) the children belong to the mother and family are linked to this’. Regarding the European type family, the author states that it constitutes the legal reference in Angola, saying that ‘the family organisation of European type can be in the form of nuclear family in the strict sense — consisting of father, mother and children, or according to some variants of the extended consanguine family, or a combination of the two predominant types of families: traditional and European’.

The Family Code of the Republic of Angola lacks an explicit definition of family, but in Article 1 concerning the protection of the family, built on the fundamental principles of the code it is considered that ‘the family as the fundamental nucleus of society organisation, is the subject protection of the State, whether in marriage or in de facto union’.

In Angola it seems that the extended family is prevalent. In addition to the couple and their children, this type of family integrates other members such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, all living nearby or in the same household. Costa and Rodrigues (2007:145) reported that the population growth in the city of Luanda is related to the search for better living and working conditions of migrants, but also because of the war, which resulted in the adaptation of rural forms of living to new forms of urban life. This change led to a readjustment of the family model, from extensive to extended.

In our case study, none of the children were residing with, or under the care of, individuals not belonging to their close family. Specifically, most of the interviewed children were living with their mother, and the remainder living with their grandparents. Based on children's descriptions, the houses where they live are too small to accommodate all the people who live there, even though children do not seem to have the perception that there is a lack of space. The number of people living in the households of respondents in Angola tends to be higher compared to households in Portugal.

Regarding the parents living in Portugal, in all the cases examined there was no conjugal relationship with the other parent of the child. These parents were in new relationships or had constituted new families. They encompass single-parent families or blended families.

Children's daily routines

The interviews with children revealed that their everyday life takes place between school and home. Most of the children are attending school, except for three cases where the child has 'temporarily' stopped studying. These children have stopped studying due to financial difficulties which have prevented them from paying the school tuition fees. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that during the interviews they have shown willingness to go back to school. The house is a space of conviviality, of the realisation of homework from school and household chores. All the children interviewed said they do domestic tasks; these tasks can be varied and include taking out the rubbish, washing the dishes, tidying the room, cooking, and in some cases taking care of siblings or cousins. The interviews also reveal that household chores are performed by both boys and girls, which hints that during the period of childhood/youth gender roles are more equal.

'My tasks were dishwashing and cleaning the floor.' 19 year old boy-triad 6

'Yes, we do different tasks on turns. If I washed the dishes today, tomorrow my cousin washes the dishes, tidies the house.' 16 year old girl-triad 3

The performance of domestic chores is considered, by parents and caregivers, as an important activity that is part of a child's educational process, through which they learn to have a sense of responsibility and discipline. It is seen as preparation for the future.

'I think they do this to prepare them for future life. To learn how, one day, when they don't have to live with their parents, they already know what they have to do, or what is the right for a woman to do inside a house.' Parent 1

'Oh, yes she helps! And that is her duty, she has to learn... it's part of the African education. Are the duties of a house... Everyone has to do the housework, in the country side you have to work in the fields and search for cassava in the field. Not here... housework, cleaning house... we don't have servants. Then she has to do the housework... when she goes to her husband, she will already be prepared.' Caregiver 3

This last statement also shows that the fulfillment of domestic chores by children, besides its pedagogical function, also has an economic usefulness, since it reduces the need for outsourcing a service, that is, to hire other people. The interviews with parents and caregivers revealed that they also performed domestic chores when they were children.

The number of interviews that were conducted does not allow for the generalisation of these findings about the daily life of children in transnational families. However, the daily life of children encompasses several areas in which routines are influenced by how their care is organised. Next, we will look more closely into how the care of these children is arranged.

THE ORGANISATION OF CARE AT A DISTANCE

As in other African countries (Goody, 1978; Alber, 2003) the fostering of children constitutes an ancient practice in Angola. It is a tradition that is strongly embedded in the population; it is seen as a common way to raise children and for dealing with day-to-day difficulties. This practice is closely related to a family's financial inability to raise their children or to send them to school, and gives them hope that their children will have better opportunities and thus be able to reciprocate with help for the family later on. Fostering practices in Angola are mainly informal and TCRA fostering is not usual based on our direct observation in the course of the fieldwork, and according to the information provided by the key participants' testimonies.

When parents decide to migrate, the decision to choose a caregiver that will take care of their children constitutes the first step in the organisation of care. Because of the central role that the extended family has in the lives of Angolans, the decision of choosing one caregiver is usually made with great security and ease. Parents said that it was quite simple to find a caregiver for their children. None of them mentioned the necessity for specific arrangements or difficulties in finding a caregiver. Also the caregivers with whom we spoke accepted taking care of the children because they are regarded as ‘family’.

‘The mother contacted me, explained me why...and the girl...I received, as granddaughter, I received her and she is here.’ Caregiver 4

‘Yes, he’s my grandson, he has to be in my care.’ Caregiver 6

The caregivers interviewed did not mention the existence of a formal care agreement. The commitment to take care of children is justified based on family solidarity. Although they seem to expect some kind of help or support, they did not express it as being something negotiated when they took on this role. Although all the parents said they were satisfied with the care arrangements that their children had, during the interviews some parents revealed they did not have a profound knowledge of how their children’s care was organised. This lack of knowledge indicates a certain level of ignorance as to who is responsible for specific tasks and in most cases, assumes that all responsibilities are supported by the caregiver. It should also be noted that two of the parents interviewed, when asked about the child’s primary caregiver, provided information about the previous (not the current) caregiver, who was a member of their families. This was confirmed during the interviews with children and caregivers, which might raise some questions regarding the completeness of information that the migrant parents have regarding changes in who is the caregiver, or more generally concerning the child circulation between family members.

Children are aware of how their care is arranged, but in some cases they may not have a sense of who is responsible for paying for the goods and services from which they benefit. The analysis of the TCRA maps showed that not all parents have included themselves in the group of ‘important people’ that take care of the children, mirroring the testimonies of some children who also did not mention their migrant parent as an important person in the care that is provided to them. We also noted that when the primary caregiver of the child is the mother, the tendency was for her to be responsible for all matters related to the provision of care.

When the child lives in a household that includes grandparents and aunts and uncles there is a tendency for grandparents to be responsible for basic care tasks, like feeding or medical care, while the monitoring of school related tasks (e.g. helping with homework, or going to school meetings) falls under the responsibility of the uncles or aunts who live in the house.

'I've always been in charge of her health ... school and church is my daughter.'
Caregiver 4

The involvement and participation in care that is given at a distance by parents — both contribute to the recognition that the enactment of parental duties generates identification and closeness between parent and child.

PROXIMITY — THE PERCEPTIONS OF PARENT AND CHILD

The parents who were interviewed described the distance as 'painful', stressing that the passage of time only contributes to exacerbating this feeling. Children, on the other hand, react differently — while some claim to feel the impact of being apart, others seem to have become accustomed to it. The maintenance and encouragement of emotional closeness between parents and children are important factors necessary to minimise the negative effects of the distance in the relationship.

Although all parents referred to having a good relationship with their children overseas, even those who they have never physically met, some children do not seem to feel such proximity. The fact that some parents have never gone back to visit Angola since they migrated, or when they went they did not have the opportunity to get together with their children, might, somehow, contribute to different feelings being experienced by parents and children regarding what 'being close to' means. We also noticed that some children, when asked about the people who are important in their lives, did not mention the name of their parent, which may indicate the lack of proximity.

The lack of proximity between parents and children is visible in 'small things' such as not knowing the correct age of the children, the year/class they are enrolled in school, or avoiding certain subjects, like those that involve a higher degree of intimacy (e.g. sexuality). Some children mentioned it was difficult to speak to their parents because of the lack of proximity/intimacy between them. Next we present some answers that children gave when asked 'what kind of things do you talk to your dad about?'

‘He only talks that he’s going to come... he’s going to come in December. He’s going to come and pick us up, me and my sister. That’s all he says... he just speaks that I... we both have to go there. With no one wanting to go, no, we got to go anyway... I’m not used to him.’
19 year old girl – triad 1

Occasionally some children said they felt inhibited when speaking to the parent about certain issues, because they did not want to make them worried. They say that sometimes there are issues that they do not want to share with their migrant parents.

‘No, sometimes I don’t talk to her about it. I don’t want to worry her about it’
16 year old girl – triad 3

In summary, the interviews indicate that the emotional proximity between parents and children is affected by factors such as duration of separation, the number of visits that took place during the migration period, the frequency of communication, and the variety of topics covered during their communications. Communication constitutes a key factor for effective maintenance of social and emotional ties, and contributes to assuaging the absence of the migrant parent. For this reason, we will now proceed to examine how communication is established within these families.

THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD

Communication plays a key role in how people relate to others. The development and improvements achieved in transportation and communication technologies — faster, with greater coverage, and more affordable — have contributed to migrants being able to maintain closer contact with their families and with their culture of origin. Appadurai (1996) argues that, due to the new globalising flows of media and mass migration, migration of people is taking place more than ever, and people are becoming deterritorialised from their native or local homes, and are thus transcending national boundaries and travelling transnationally. The author builds ‘a theory of the rupture that takes media and migration as its two major and interconnected diacritics and explores their joint effect on the work of the imagination as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity’ (1996:3).

Communication within transnational families plays a major role with regard to the maintenance of family ties and feelings of belonging. In the interviewed triads the communication between children and the migrant parent was generally

performed using mobile phones. Children who claimed to use communication tools other than the mobile phone (Facebook and Messenger) were few.

It was also notable that parents and children have a different notion about the number of times they speak with each other. Parents tend to claim to speak more often with their children compared to how often children believe they speak to their parents. The excerpts below illustrate the differences in how members of the triad perceived the frequency with which parents and children talk. Interviewees were asked ‘how often you speak to your child/parent?’.

‘Now, I haven’t talk to him for about 6 months. I spoke with him, he asked for something, and I sent it, but now 6 months have passed since the last time I’ve spoken with him. But I speak with his mother’s sister, of whom I have the number. But when we maintained more frequent contact, I used mobile... twice a week’
Parent triad 5

‘I spoke with him three times.’ 11 year old boy – triad 5

‘About Ana I talk more with my sister, in relation to Olivia I speak with her mother... I’m addicted to talk with my daughters, and I think it’s even because of distance and longing, in a month I call over 10 times. In a month, I use two phone numbers 91 and 92, and both phones have always credit and I call almost all Sundays or Saturdays of the month, I always call.’ Parent 1

‘I just talked to him this Sunday, when I was there in Sambizanga... hum. But he doesn’t usually call to my phone number, he calls to my aunt.’
19 year old girl – triad 1

Usually parents take the initiative to establish telephone contact.

‘It always has been me calling, especially because calling from there to here is very expensive! For us here it is cheaper.’ Parent 1

According to children, school is one of the main topics of conversation with their migrant parents.

‘Knowing about her health, sometimes she asks how school is going ... these minimum conversations.’ 16 year old girl – triad 3

Other topics, such as health, behavior, or projection of the family’s reunification, are also usual in the parent–child conversation.

'He only talks that he's going to come... he's going to come in December. He's going to come and take us, me and my sister. That's all he talks.'
19 year old girl – triad 1

Caregivers tend to find that the maintenance of communication between migrant parents and children is important in order for a healthy and close relationship to be maintained. They consider this as one of the migrant parent's duties. Alongside the communication and monitoring from a distance, other responsibilities include the provision of care. The interviews reveal that parental responsibilities are mostly related to communication with the child, and assisting the caregiver by sending remittances. Nonetheless, the interviews also show that the financial support provided by migrant parents is sporadic, being more effective in times of greatest need, such as illness. Furthermore, some parents seem to contribute to their children's school expenses (tuition fees and materials, such as books, notebooks, smocks — used as a school uniform), also there is greater regularity of remittances when the caregiver belongs to the family of the migrant parent.

CONCLUSION

This short analysis sought to portray family relationships at a distance and how they impact children and parents, taking into account the organisation of care, the perception of closeness and the communication.

The organisation of care shows an informal character, and family networks are extremely important concerning the care of the children — the children are mostly under the care of relatives. Overall, the parents interviewed did not have a deep knowledge of how care is structured, even though this seems to be rooted in the relationship of trust they have with the family.

Most of the children interviewed seem to be satisfied with their care arrangement. They say they miss their parent who is living abroad, but they are not particularly affected by his or her absence, maybe because in many cases these correspond to a separation that has taken place a long time ago. In the TCRA maps of some children, the migrant parent is not mentioned in the list of people who are important to them; it was also noted that in some cases children do not feel enough emotional closeness to their migrant parents. Concerning the impact on children, the distance from their migrant parent is felt mainly as moments of 'sadness'. They report feeling sad because their parents are far away, and they worry about them. The children did not refer to any negative impacts of their parents' absence regarding school performance or health. In turn, the migrant

parents said they were satisfied with the care that they provided to the children, considering that children were under the care of the best caregiver they could have. However, it became evident that there is some unawareness as to how the care for children is organised. Parents were revealed to miss their children, and to experience periods of sadness and concern, especially when children are sick. Still, despite the negative emotional impact of being distant from their children, parents said that it did not compromise their professional performance.

The interviews also reveal an apparent gender balance regarding the household chores that children performed. Bray (2009) states that in sub-Saharan Africa women and girls are those responsible for performing the majority of care in the home, also mentioning that according to earlier literature boys were given a caring role only when there were no girls available. Taking into account the testimonies of children and parents (mostly men), this trend in Angola, does not seem so evident, as both boys and girls seem to be responsible for carrying out household chores and taking care of other children.

As noticed, sometimes the participants have different views of the events. The narratives of immigrant parents express participation in children's lives; on the other hand, in the discourse of children, such participation does not seem to be so intense. Apparently, migrant parents feel closer to their children than children feel closer to their migrant parents. The communication and visits, through which parents monitor and participate in the lives of children seem to moderate the degree of divergence in parents and children's perceptions of how close their relationship is. As Parreñas (2008:1059) states, 'growing up in transnational families presents a wide range of challenges for children. For one, the distance of time and space between migrant parents and their children threatens to weaken intergenerational relations (...) both temporal and geographical separation breeds unfamiliarity, which in turn may lead to variegated feelings of insecurity and loss of intimacy for children'. It seems important that the communication between parents and children is maintained, so that social ties, intimacy, and familiarity, are preserved. According to Scott (2010), the links between different generations of internationalised families contribute to overcoming the impediments to mobility, with a high symbolic value for the unification of the group. Despite the distance, these migrant parents seem to have the same cultural expectations, namely to maintain traditional family values. The results of this study cannot be generalised because the sample is small; however, this contributes to the analysis and discussion of the issue of parenting from a distance.

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