Chapter 1 (Introduction) by Brigitte Aulenbacher, Helma Lutz, Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck and Karin Schwiter

Senior home care provision in Europe has changed profoundly: the rise of brokering agencies has fostered a transnational marketization of live-in care services. The agencies promise affordable care at home that is tailored to the individual needs of seniors. At the same time, care workers contest the often-exploitative labour conditions prevalent in the field. The first part of this introduction discusses common trends in live-in care across Europe: the emergence of new care markets, the transnationalisation of labour, work and politics, the household as a workplace and care workers’ agency in labour disputes and care struggles. The second part of the introduction gives an overview of the chapters in the book. It maps the European landscape of agency-brokered senior home care and outlines significant trends in sending and receiving countries. The comparative, cross-national and country-studies provide in-depth insights into a new contested mode of care provision. They illustrate how live-in home care arrangements function and how they are being challenged and contested.

**Keywords**: agency-brokered senior home care provision, live-in care work, marketization, transnationality, labour disputes and care struggles

PART I

Chapter 2 by Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck
This chapter takes a closer look at the functional role and perspective of the recruitment agencies in Poland specializing in the brokerage of migrant carers to German households. Its objectives are twofold: first, these agencies are conceptualized theoretically as a new transnational value chain, within a care-labour market – the under-theorized, yet key organizational element of care-worker mobility in this part of Europe. Second, it offers an empirical insight into how this previously informal transnational care chain developed into a more formal and complex value chain over the last 15 years. This is a chain made up of these agencies’ concepts of ‘(decent) work’, their transnational business practices, the division of labour between the agencies and their German partners, and the consequences for all those involved in this new value chain – from agencies and other companies involved in care infrastructures to care workers, and care-recipient households.

**Keywords**: transnational value chains, brokering agencies, decent work, East-West care migration, formalization of work

Chapter 3 by Julien Mercille
This chapter describes the diversity of live-in care arrangements in Ireland, including the role of transnational brokering agencies. The chapter focuses on the private companies that provide live-in care services. What are their key interests regarding home care policies? How are the latter related to their commercial interests? Readers learn about the ways in which companies navigate regulations on working time and the hiring of workers from outside
Ireland. The findings discussed here are based on interviews with private home care providers and an analysis of their promotional materials and websites. The chapter provides a preliminary empirical description of the live-in care sector in Ireland, which has received little attention in the academic and grey literatures.

**Keywords**: live-in care, business, private providers, marketization, Ireland

**Chapter 4 by Martina Cvajner**
Transnational care chains are the engine currently driving female migration to Southern Europe, in particular to Italy. Using two data sets comprising in-depth interviews and ethnographic data, the article discusses how access to care work has changed over two decades (between 2000 and 2020) and how the stabilization of flows of female migrant workers has impacted the brokering of senior care in Italy. The chapter offers a hypothetical explanation as to why the brokering of senior care in Italy has remained informal without transitioning to a more formalized, ad hoc agency model.

**Keywords**: Italy, post-Soviet migration, Ukraine, migration pioneers, informal networks

**Chapter 5 by Dóra Gábriel and Noémi Katona**
The chapter analyses the different intermediary actors active in the senior home care market in Hungary and demonstrates how their operation affects the security and rights of care workers and care recipients. The paper suggests a pyramid-like hierarchy of intermediaries, ranging from completely informal networks with no legal guarantee or support for carers to highly professionalized agencies providing formal employment contracts. The chapter also shows how inequalities within Hungarian society are manifested in access to care provision. The empirical basis of the chapter consists of semi-structured interviews with managers of local brokering agencies, matchmaking companies and platforms, family members of care recipients and care workers from Hungary and Romania. A website analysis of Hungarian home care providers was also conducted. The results confirm that senior care in Hungary is becoming increasingly marketized, and the more formalized operations of intermediaries equate to greater job security and rights for both carers and client family members.

**Keywords**: senior care, marketization, matchmaking, agencies, informality

**Chapter 6 by Brigitte Aulenbacher and Veronika Prieler**
The Austrian self-employment model of live-in care work is considered to be a forerunner of legal and affordable senior home care. Established as a widely accepted pillar of the care regime, it is nevertheless contested. From a Polanyian, Foucauldian and neo-institutionalist perspective, the article investigates the role of the so called ‘good agencies’ and how they lobby for the model by formalizing care provision without being in charge of the informally negotiated poor working conditions. Analysing the Austrian national quality seal, the care services, and the management of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the chapter shows how brokering agencies’ activities render the gap between the increasingly formalized commodification of care and ongoing informality of care work visible. This leads to
countermovements, not least those demanding the establishment of an employment model so as to restrict the neoliberal self-employment-based governance.

**Keywords**: agency-brokered live-in care, Austrian self-employment model, quality seal, working conditions, COVID-19 pandemic

**PART II**

**Chapter 7 by Majda Hrženjak and Maja Breznik**

The chapter focuses on care movements in Slovenian senior care against the backdrop of the country’s historical ties with the Western Balkans and its geopolitical location in the Eastern European semi-periphery, understood as a hybrid position between the European core and periphery. The authors argue that semi-peripheral countries act as complex nodes of care migration where emigration, transit and immigration interact. Poor working conditions in the semi-peripheral welfare state contribute to the care drain of local care workers to neighbouring core countries, where they find a job in irregular or quasi-regular care markets supported by public funding. Simultaneously, it maintains cost containment by filling the care deficit with migrant care workers from peripheral former Yugoslav countries, where the pool of available care jobs is scarce and the working conditions even worse. Semi-peripheral countries compete with core countries for care workers from the periphery, which creates new dimensions of transnational care mobility.

**Keywords**: care migration, senior care, residential care, semi-periphery, Western Balkans

**Chapter 8 by Zuzana Uhde**

The paper analyses the political economy of social reproduction through a study of cross-border care mobility and the marketization of care in the geographical space of Central and Eastern Europe where the gendered division of labour meets a persisting West–East geopolitical and geo-economic divide. It explores links between a European care border regime and the extractivist logic of global capitalism and the role of bordering practices in the marketization of care. The author argues that the interplay between the gendered structures of the division of labour, marketization of care and geopolitical structural inequalities leads to distorted emancipation of women, which is not only unequal, but also antithetical to feminist emancipatory claims. The chapter analyses how distorted emancipation plays out in the context of West–East hierarchies and how these serve as a way of legitimizing the highly exploitative settings of the care market, particularly in live-in home care for seniors.

**Keywords**: European care border regime, cross-border care workers, extractivism, structural inequalities, Central and Eastern Europe

**Chapter 9 by Petra Ezzeddine**

In Central Europe, the rapid unfolding of state-based measures to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic created many tensions and disparities in the cross-border care market that became visible politically. This chapter focuses on the lived experiences of Czech care workers who worked in live-in settings in Germany during the COVID-19 pandemic, based on ethnographic research. Following Didier Fassin’s concept of ‘moral economies’, the chapter analyses the
moral status of decisions made concerning the pandemic measures and the related circulation of values, sentiments, and emotions. It also explores ‘everyday economies’ manifested through social practices and the shared experiences of Czech care workers with regard to new virus prevention norms. It also discusses the role of social media platforms, which played a crucial role in the virtual support and dissemination of pandemic-related information, knowledge and individual and collective resistance concerning the specifics of the cross-border senior care in times of risk.

**Keywords**: moral economy, cross-border care, essential work, biopolitics, COVID-19

Chapter 10 by Paloma Moré and Raquel Martínez Buján
This chapter explores the recent proliferation of intermediary companies that provide home care to seniors and dependent persons in Spain. Through qualitative fieldwork based on semi-structured interviews, we present the contradictions between the depiction of these agencies, which define themselves as organizations able to guarantee the ‘professionalization’ and ‘formalization’ of home care work, and the harsh reality of the dire working conditions encountered by workers, mostly migrant women from Latin America. In this sense, the paper argues that these agencies have based their technical discourse on the premises of long-term care services by using ‘quality’ and ‘professionalism’ as signs of identity, while moving away from concepts such as servitude and the informal economy. They do this in order to distance themselves from the traditional intermediaries involved in domestic employment (religious and third sector organizations) and to obtain greater social legitimacy. However, this conceptual change has not been accompanied by any improvement in the working conditions of female workers in a sector marked by the perpetuation of ‘transnational social inequalities’.

**Keywords**: transnational migration; brokering agencies; home care sector; domestic work; Spain

PART III

Chapter 11 by Chiara Giordano
This chapter discusses the question of the definition and specification of working conditions and wages of live-in migrant care workers recruited by Belgian brokering agencies. The author explores the functioning of Belgian brokering agencies that operate transnationally and recruit older care workers in their home countries. The objective is to understand how brokering agencies capitalize i) on global social and economic inequalities between the countries of origin and Belgium; and ii) on the blurred distinction between ‘real work’ and ‘mere presence’. Specific attention is paid to the different value associated with working time in the context of the caring relationship.

**Keywords**: Home care, migrant workers, brokering agencies, caring time, global inequalities.

Chapter 12 by Lucia Amorosi
The familialistic welfare regime in Italy interacts with the gendered care regime in defining care as a private family — and thus female — issue. But the increasing rates of female
employment and population ageing have increased demand for home-based care, which is usually addressed through the so-called ‘migrant-in-the-family’ care model. Today, the increasing presence of brokering agencies recruiting migrant workers has combined with employers’ determination to outsource the management of the employment relationship involved in (live-in) home care work. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with workers and agencies, the author focusses on the role of agencies in managing emerging disputes between care workers and their employers, analysing how new forms of outsourcing impact on workers’ life. The chapter emphasizes how Italian familialism appears at odds with current households’ needs: defining care as a public responsibility seems essential to ensuring decent working conditions for domestic workers and countering economic inequalities among Italian households.

**Keywords**: Domestic work, brokering agencies, care, welfare

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**Chapter 13 by María Bruquetas Callejo:**
One of the biggest challenges in senior home care concerns the regulation of working hours of live-in care workers. Existing legal provisions lead to live-in migrant care (LIMC) arrangements becoming unaffordable for most families since several care workers would be required to provide round-the-clock supervision. This chapter addresses this issue in the Dutch context, where brokering agencies play a central role in the recruitment and employment of live-in care workers. Building on case studies involving Dutch families, this chapter explores how live-in migrant care workers, agencies and family care managers negotiate working hours. It draws on the socio-legal theory of the ‘shadow of the law’ to explore the role that labour rights play in the bargaining process. The conclusions emphasize that definitions of working hours are constructed in the interaction between the different parties. Private negotiations with each client family produce ad hoc arrangements based on folk interpretations of various legal and normative systems.

**Keywords**: live-in care workers, labour rights, brokering agencies, shadow of law, senior home care

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**Chapter 14 by Shereen Hussein, Agnes Turnpenny and Caroline Emberson:**
Live-in care is growing as a form of long-term care provision. This is happening across many European countries, including the UK, despite the latter not having traditionally relied on this form of care. The COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated the utility and preference of this type of care, partly as a result of increased infection risks in care homes. Live-in care usually attracts migrant workers due to the promise of accommodation, which, however, creates further unintended vulnerabilities and reliance among migrant workers. Employment and introductory agencies play an essential role in coordinating and matching migrant workers with those in need of care and their families, with the potential to protect the well-being of workers and clients. However, recent evidence suggests that the practices of some agencies can be exploitative and thereby have an adverse impact on migrant carers. The chapter investigates the role of labour market intermediaries in brokering the position of migrant workers and how this may directly affect their well-being outcomes.

**Keywords**: Agency work, precarious work, long-term care, migration, employment agencies
Chapter 15 by Helma Lutz and Aranka Vanessa Benazha
This chapter deals with the contradictory meaning of the private household as the centre of the care recipient’s life and, simultaneously, as the workplace and residence of live-in caregivers. Homemaking, the maintenance or the creation of the client’s home as a social place, is a crucial concept in brokering agencies’ website advertisement for live-in care services. Highlighting the functionality of this arrangement is their primary strategy. As they focus on the merits of this arrangement for care recipients and their families, the migrant caregivers’ view is often ignored. The authors analyse how the place of care is presented on agencies' websites and contrast these representations with the view of migrant caregivers. They theorize the major contradictions of the home as a space of security, protection and well-being, but also of seclusion, control, subordination, exploitation and discrimination for those who work there.

Keywords: sociology of home, privacy, control, exploitation, discrimination.

Part IV

Chapter 16 by Bernhard Emunds
This chapter takes an ethical perspective on the problem of overextended working hours in live-in care in Western Europe. It highlights that the contracts for live-in care sealed with workers from Central and Eastern Europe typically come about under highly asymmetrical conditions, and that this often leads to poor working conditions. In addition, the chapter develops standards of just and decent working conditions and asks whether the characteristics of the working time regime in live-in care work live up to these standards. The article concludes with a brief outlook on the necessary change from careless to caring societies.

Keywords: live-in care, ethics, justice, decent work, working hours

Chapter 17 by Karin Schwiter and Anahi Villalba Kaddour
Brokering agencies are key agents in shaping the working conditions in live-in care. Many of them have increased their lobbying activities to counter the persistent allegation of prevalent exploitative practices in live-in home care. In contrast, this chapter analyses the strategies of a care agency that tries to create ‘fairer’ conditions for live-in care workers. The authors draw on the ‘Geographies of Justice’ framework, a theoretical perspective that builds on feminist, anti-capitalist and anti-colonial critiques to address spatial inequalities. It places particular emphasis on the fact that concepts of justice are embedded in historical and geographical contexts. Based on this framework, the chapter explores how ‘fairness’ is implemented in live-in care. The chapter discusses strategies that allow workers to claim time off, to mitigate the prisoner-of-love dilemma, to alleviate the burden of being away from home and to counter the problem of ‘brain drain’. In conclusion, it reflects the potential of and the limitations to ‘fairness’ in live-in care.

Keywords: live-in care work, labour geography, fairness, justice, Switzerland
Chapter 18 by Theodoros Fouskas
This chapter explores one of the predominant problems that concerns sociology of migration and sociology of work scholars: looking at the example of migrant Filipina live-in domestic workers and caregivers in Greece, the author analyses how work and employment in precarious, low-status/low-wage personal and care services impacts workers’ employment rights and organization in a receiving society. Firstly, the chapter discusses working conditions, the impact of emotional labour on domestic workers and caregivers’ rights, their dependency on employers, the emergence of pseudo-roles and caregivers’ perceptions concerning health and access to healthcare services. Secondly, it offers insights into the relation between these workers’ struggles to claim their labour rights and their participation in migrant community associations. In-depth interviews show that migrant Filipinas in Greece are trapped in servitude, isolation and exploitative working conditions.

**Keywords:** migrants, Philippines, domestic work, caregiving, Greece

Chapter 19 by Sarah Schilliger
Despite challenging conditions such as spatial atomization, social isolation and limited citizenship, migrant live-in care workers in different European countries have succeeded in organizing and making their voices heard. In this chapter, the author takes the situation of live-in care workers in Switzerland as a starting point to explore the conditions under which collective forms of claiming rights and self-organization become possible. Based on long-time participatory research with the grassroot union network Respekt@vpod (in Basel, Switzerland), the chapters identifies various im-/material aspects that are central to the production of relations of solidarity in the context of transnational live-in care work. These are a) spatial configurations and the creation of counter-spaces, b) political practices of solidarity work and alliance building, c) the formation of (often invisible) relations of solidarity and care practices in everyday life, and d) mental infrastructures, meaning, the sharing of knowledge and the production of collective awareness.

**Keywords:** live-in care, community unionism, agency, infrastructure of solidarity, Switzerland

PART V

Chapter 20 by Ito Peng
This chapter summarizes the key learnings from this edited volume and reflects on potential future research agendas for those interested in investigating the global and transnational migration of care workers. The three key learnings from this volume are: 1) the importance of bringing the global care chain literature into dialogue with that on the global commodity and labour supply chain to understand the role of brokering agencies in navigating and shaping care markets; 2) the state’s capacity – and limits – to facilitate and regulate transnational care migration; and 3) the uniqueness of the European case, and the ubiquity of transnational care work and the expanding role of brokers and intermediaries in shaping transnational care across the globe. The case of Europe offers a good starting point for rethinking transnational care-related labour migration; future research will need to extend inquiries to other global regions and enhance the nuanced theorization.
Keywords: global labour supply chain, transnational migration, care, gender, brokers, Europe, Asia