Translated excerpt:

Follow-up Application for the DFG Research Training Group 1474

Transnational Social Support

Transnationale Soziale Unterstützung

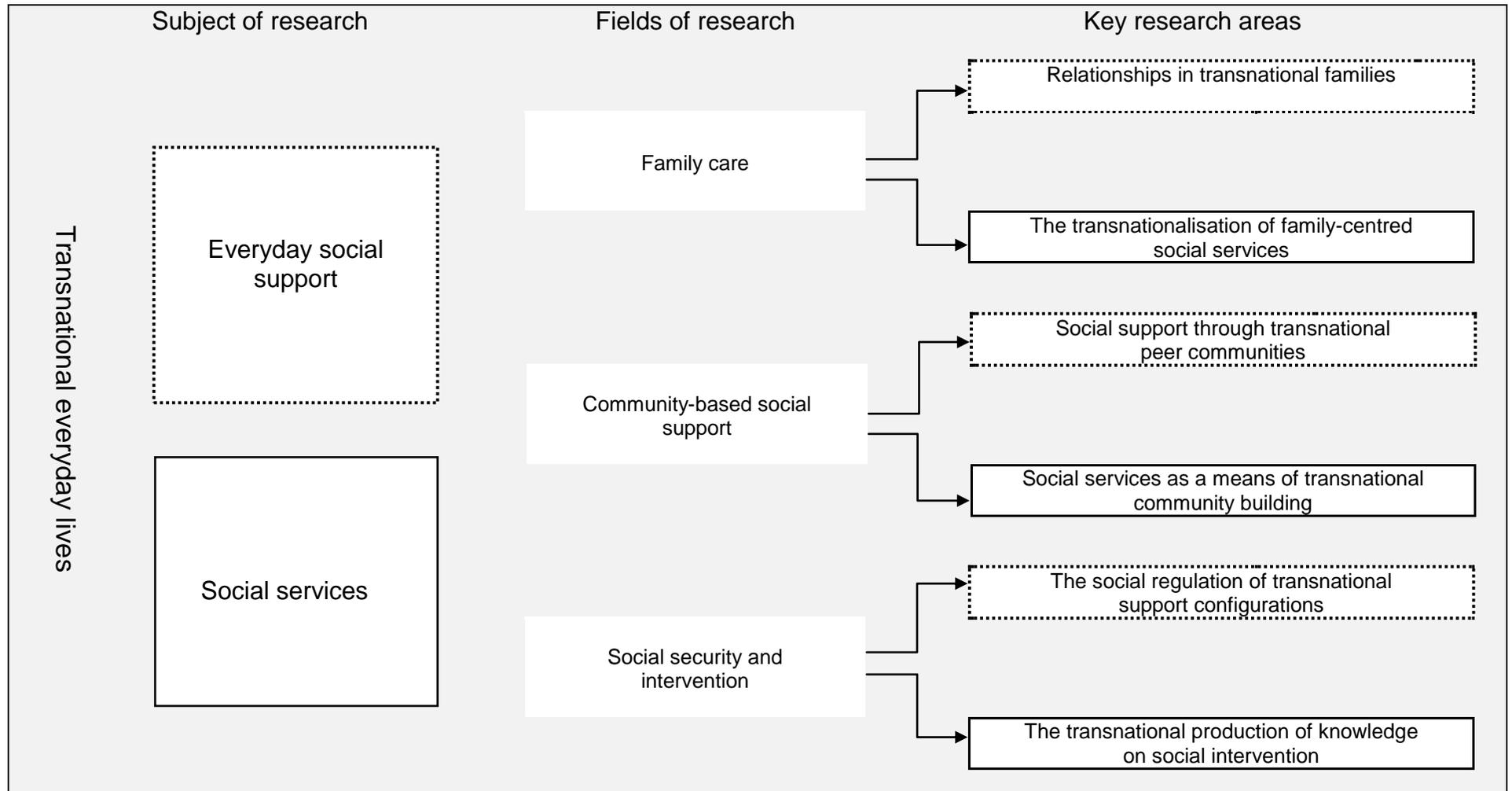Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz and University of Hildesheim Foundation

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Second funding period: 01 December 2012 to 31 Mai 2017.

Date of application: 1 April 2012

Structure of the research programme "transnational social support"

Subject of research

Transnational everyday lives

Everyday social support

Social services

Fields of research

Family care

Community-based social support

Social security and intervention

Key research areas

Relationships in transnational families

The transnationalisation of family-centred social services

Social support through transnational peer communities

Social services as a means of transnational community building

The social regulation of transnational support configurations

The transnational production of knowledge on social intervention

3. Research Programme

3.1. Transnational social support

The term 'social support' refers to mechanisms 'through which a social environment protects its individual members from threatening and impairing events and experiences, and which, in case the latter come to pass and take their course, can support them in their coping efforts.' (Nestmann, 2001, p. 1687). Social support thus encompasses interventions and social relationships that help ease burdensome and impairing life events, situations or trajectories. Even when actors are not confronted by burdensome life events, social support can play a preventive role in promoting human well-being and welfare and preventing problems from arising in the first place.[1] As it is used in the context of DFG Research Training Group 1474, 'social support' is not only limited to 'an active interplay between a focal person and his or her support network' (Vaux 1988, p. 29) but also includes the legal, organisational and structural parameters which affect people's agency. Altogether, research into social support therefore investigates relationships between actors, communities, and social intervention and regulation from the point of view of alleviating, coping with or preventing burdensome or restrictive situations in life (cf. Homfeldt, Schweppe & Schröer 2006; Chambon, Schröer & Schweppe, 2012). In this context professional help is seen mainly as social intervention into everyday support structures.

Research into social support long equated people living geographically close to a person's home with frequent interpersonal contact (Wellman & Wortley, 1990). The assumption was that people living nearby provided more social support, frequently of various different types. Today, statements of this type are more finely nuanced or relativised: '[G]eographical proximity or distance do not correlate straightforwardly with how emotionally close relatives feel to one another, nor indeed with how far relatives will provide support or care for each other' (Mason, 2004, p. 421). Indeed, research on transnationalism (cf. Dahinden, 2005) itself provides examples of close social relationships continuing to exist as people move further apart geographically. Studies on transnational relational structures and transnational migration also show that intensely emotional relationships remain stable even across great geographical distances and beyond nation-state borders (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). **[page 6]** On this note, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2008) state that 'some migrants and their descendants remain strongly influenced by their continuing ties to their home country or by social networks that stretch across national borders' (p. 284).

Based on the results of these transnational studies it can be said that in almost every case, migration creates social structures which cannot be categorised by nation-state units (Bommes, 2002, p. 92) and that structured, long-term relationships of mutual exchange and support can form across national borders (Faist, 2000b; Glick Schiller & Levitt, 2008; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 2009). However, few research findings are available regarding the shapes and paths which can be taken by such transnational relational structures when it comes to social support processes (cf. Herz, 2010). There is some evidence that social support provided via border-crossing networks comes in different forms (e.g. functional, economic, advisory, informative or emotional support). A qualitative study by Ryan et al. (2008) comes to the conclusion that both practical support, in the form of babysitting, and emotional support are provided not only by local ties, but also through transnational relationships. Similarly, Herz's investigation for DFG Research Training Group 1474 (cf. Report 1) reported that transnational relationships played an important role in the personal networks of German migrants in the UK, based on data from a standardised

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[1] Since back in the 1970s the research into social support has distinguished between the direct and buffer effects of social support (e.g. cf. Cobb, 1976; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Umberson & Landis, 1988). Buffer effects refer to situations with specific burdensome circumstances or events. Empirical evidence has since been found of the positive effect of social support both directly and as a buffer in various fields involving illness-related difficulties and psychological, psychosocial and social problems. However, social support was also found at a relatively early stage to have potentially counterproductive or negative, burdensome effects (e.g. cf. Antonucci, 1985; Laireiter & Lettner, 1993), which are also being analysed in DFG Research Training Group 1474.

online survey. Just under 80 per cent of the German migrants involved named at least one cross-border relationship providing support.

Beyond this context of geographical positioning and social support, the concept of transnational social support also makes it possible to analyse border-crossing forms of social support and interventions which have often received little attention or have been prevented from receiving attention due to the predominance of 'methodological nationalism' (cf. Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002; for social work cf. Köngeter, 2009).

Previous research work by DFG Research Training Group 1474 has shown that processes of transnational social support give rise to different forms of 'boundary work'.[2] According to this research, the effect of transnational boundary work is not only that territorial borders are crossed, but also that various social, legal and biographical associations created through the demarcation of nation-state borders are modified and 'intertwined' (cf. Mau, 2007). The term draws attention both to the analysis of structural circumstances (borders) and to the actions which can be taken by the actors in question (cf. Mangold, Report 9). Transnational support processes create cross-border linkages (cf. Pries, 2002; 2008). These are integrated into various (everyday) contexts and reference systems, so require translation and adaptation to handle and iron out incompatibilities between social, political, cultural, economic and legal systems (cf. Mau, 2007) and vice versa. As these boundary work processes take place, specific social ties, means of support, forms of knowledge and social spaces are created.

From the point of view of the transnational production of knowledge, boundary work can be seen as dealing with differences between nationally tinged frames of reference which are created in conditions involving multiple locational ties. In this process, knowledge is modified, translated or generated (cf. Duscha, Report 7; Köngeter, 2012a). In her dissertation for DFG Research Training Group 1474 about a Brazilian migrant organisation in a German city, Duscha shows how, as they organise a club, the migrant women's border-crossing transnational everyday worlds create knowledge about transnational support (cf. Duscha, 2012a/b, Report 7**). [page 7]** In other words, transnational support processes are not created through the acquisition of by knowledge about transnational problems and phenomena but through the spontaneous production of transnational knowledge.[3]

Historical analyses carried out as part of DFG Research Training Group 1474 (Chambon, 2011; Köngeter, 2012b) show that boundary work and cross-border linkages are by no means a new element of social support processes, but instead arise during the development of the modern nation state. Studying the history of the transformation of border-crossing structures and relationships is an effective route towards the analytical 'denaturalisation' of the modern status quo (Zimmermann, 2010, p. 248f.).

Indeed, one constitutional element of research into transnational social support is carefully reflecting on and overcoming what is known as methodological nationalism. This well-known term refers to the problematic issue of the naturalisation of the nation state and the equation of society with the nation state (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 302). This does not mean that the importance of the nation state is generally ignored or that the world is seen as being de-territorialised as is, for example, said to be the case with 'world theories' or 'global network analysis'. Instead, the stress is laid on the idea that research 'has to consider both deterritorialized elements in the form of intense flows across the borders of states and territorial elements in the efforts of states and organizations to control such flows and establish criteria of membership for persons' (Faist, 2012, n. pag., or cf. Pries, 2010a). In the context of DFG Research Training Group

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[2] The term 'boundary work' originally comes from interactionist sociology of scientific knowledge and was primarily applied to symbolic attempts to create demarcations between knowledge and science. However, Lamont and Molár (2002) use 'boundary work' not only to describe the ability to define identity and make distinctions that can be gained through demarcation, but also more generally to describe social communication relating to and crossing boundaries (cf. Abbott, 1988; Gieryn, 1999; Bowker & Star, 1999; Llewellyn, 1998).

3 In autumn 2012 a volume on 'Transnational Knowledge' (Bender et al, 2012) was published by the DFG Research Training Group 1474 fellows looking into the subject of the transnational production of knowledge.

1474, Köngeter (2009, 2012a) has reflected on methodological nationalism in social work and pointed to forms of transnational knowledge production, an element which had previously been passed by.

3.2 Transnational everyday worlds

In the field of research into social support there has been considerable focus on processes of transmigration and on transnational organisations (cf. Chambon, Schröer & Schweppe, 2012). Meanwhile, however, scant attention has been paid to the everyday transnational worlds of different sections of the population and the challenges these imply for the social services. The research provides clear indications that today transnational aspects can be found not only among specific groups but across wide swathes of the population. De Swaan was even talking of the 'transnationalisation of the masses' as far back as 1995. This is related not only to increased mobility, new communication technologies and cheaper communication and transport, but also to shifting incentives created by institutional systems (e.g. legal regulations for immigration, emigration, residence and work permits, and the rights and entitlements to welfare which can be claimed by individuals living abroad) or how the individuals themselves are equipped and skilled (e.g. language skills).

Empirical evidence of this trend can be found on various levels. For example, labour migration from Germany has increased considerably in recent years (cf. Mau, 2007) and is by no means any longer limited to highly qualified people: it now increasingly includes people with a vocational education, mainly skilled workers in the construction trade, craftspeople and industrial and technical workers (Mau, 2007; Mau et al., 2007). Migrant workers do not necessarily move away permanently or even for long periods; it is more common for them to cross borders for short periods as many fields are becoming more internationalised and require greater mobility. Similar tendencies can be seen in the fields of schooling and training, civic involvement (cf. Mangold, Report 7) and higher education (cf. Altissimo, Report 18). It is also clear that for many people, geographical mobility is seen not just as a job requirement but as a social ambition and a desirable asset. **[page 8]**

Transnational everyday worlds do not necessarily require mobility, so are not just a phenomenon encountered in mobile groups. People can, for example, be integrated into transnational networks by using modern means of communication. Bender et al (2012) use the example of transnational families to show how their everyday life is transnationalised through the formation of border-crossing social spheres created through the media, 'with geographically distant elements appearing locally, in their living rooms, turning that "distant" everyday life into another part of their own daily existence' (p. 198). Thus people who often have various local ties may also be involved in close-knit social networks stretching across continents (see Beck, 2004). Mau (2007) uses the term 'domestic transnationalisation' to refer to such border-crossing links within the domestic population which can often occur without migration, a change of locality or global communication, thanks to the presence of foreign nationals and people from migrant families. Transnational everyday worlds are also created through symbolic or mental border-crossing links (cf. Huber, Report 12); transnational everyday lives are developed following two or more national frames of reference in the form of memories, plans for the future or biographical accounts, or symbolically by means of border-crossing (collective or individual) ideas or leanings (cf. Klein-Zimmer, 2012a, Report 10). For example, this is the case for actors with a strong affiliation to religious and/or political groups.

Corresponding changes in people's ability and knowledge have been described, among others, by Murphy-Lejeune (2002). In this context, terms such as 'transnational competence' (Koehn & Rosenau, 2002) and 'transnational habitus' (Guarnizo, 1997) have been brought into the discussion. Guarnizo (1997) describes transnational everyday worlds as entailing a set of conscious and unconscious dispositions that incline migrants to act and think in a certain way and which come hand in hand with the development of specific skills. Above all, the development of such skills in transnational everyday life involves having access to and using context-specific patterns of behaviour and being able to code-switch (cf. Vertovec, 2009). For example, empirical

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investigations into communication between Thai and Western couples show how they overcome language barriers by using sounds, signs and body language to develop their own means of understanding one another (cf. Ruenkaew, 2004a/b; Tosakul, 2010). Kaufmann points out in her study for DFG Research Training Group 1474 how these individually developed codes can be used to help solve problems when bicultural couples undergo counselling (cf. Kaufmann, Report 29).

3.2.1 Everyday social support

Since the 1970s, investigations into actors' everyday worlds have become a central aspect of research into social support. 'Everyday' is generally understood as the events and experiences of social support encountered on a day-to-day basis, and as generally available knowledge on social support, in contrast to the 'desubjectified' purpose-built worlds of institutions of education and welfare (e.g. cf. Thiersch, 1986; Nestmann, 1988). The main focus is on pluralisations and contradictions in people's everyday worlds (cf. Bitzan, Bolay & Thiersch, 2006) or the support provided by 'everyday helpers' in various contexts (cf. Nestmann, 1988). Since the 1980s, research based on modernisation theory has looked into the everyday worlds of different sections of the population, such as young people (cf. Lenz, 1990) or the elderly (e.g. cf. Schweppe, 1998). This is the context in which initial studies were carried out on the everyday lifestyles of migrants as the recipients of social work services (e.g. cf. Täubig, 2009). In youth research there have been some studies indicating that young people's cultures and everyday lives can be transnational (e.g. cf. Tertilt, 1993; Fürstenau & Niedrig, 2007; Riegel, 2004; Klein-Zimmer, 2012a, Report 10; Mangold, Report 9; Wrulich, Report 26). **[page 8]**

Altogether, it can be said that until now, analyses have not been very systematic in their study of the boundary work and cross-border linkages which occur along with support processes. Only a small number focus on transnational aspects using detailed empirical evidence, such as Täubig (2009) in her dissertation on the everyday lifestyles of asylum seekers in their housing. Moreover, even this study displays a typical characteristic of previous investigations concentrating on transnational everyday worlds and their significance for social work: they are closely connected to forms of what is known as 'transmigration'. Altogether, most studies on cross-border everyday support fall within the realm of transmigration research, in which transnational aspects often draw accusations of tautology, with – as Pries describes it – units of reference based on geographical areas and social spheres being construed ex ante as transnational: 'On one hand transnational social spheres are taken for granted as units of reference; on the other hand corresponding research is often aimed at proving their existence as units of analysis' (Pries, 2010, p. 27f.). This criticism is shared by Vertovec (2009): '[R]esearchers have looked for transnational patterns and found them' (p.17). Accordingly, in the second phase of DFG Research Training Group 1474 (subject of application), the focus is to be extended beyond the field known as transmigration, with investigations into the way border-crossing processes become part of everyday life and into the transnational boundary work involved in social support processes in everyday situations. The aim of all this is to discover which boundaries are being worked on ('trans-what?', Vertovec, 2009,. p. 17), in which conditions transnational support processes take place and when actors (re-)produce which boundaries as a way of dealing with their everyday lives.[4]

3.2.2 Social services

In his book 'Abschied von der interkulturellen Pädagogik' ('Goodbye intercultural pedagogy'), Hamburger (2009) indicates that, in the end, social work, with its 'culturally sensitive', 'intercultural' approaches, cannot avoid putting its subjects into ethnic compartments with national connotations. According to Hamburger, the recipients of social work services continue to be seen as migrants who have to stand their ground in the face of an outlook on ethnicisation focussing on the nation

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[4] As part of DFG Research Training Group 1474, Huber (2012a, Report 12) is currently developing heuristics for analysing transnational everyday support including and going beyond the context of migration. She is showing how different kinds of transnational everyday world give rise to different forms of everyday support, concentrating especially on cross-border support provided through symbolic, mental and medial means, and the ambivalence this support involves.

state, as reflected, for example, in schemes for educating or advising foreign nationals (cf. Mecheril, 2004).

Social work is rightly advised not to go on assuming a priori that nation states are the universal framework for the production of welfare (cf. Böllert, 2010) but instead to recognise the cross-border linkages and boundary work arising within social services and the production of welfare, especially if the field is prepared to include co-production by its subjects in its programme (cf. Schaarschuch, 2000). This presents a new challenge not only to 'traditional' international social services (international adoption agencies, international youth exchanges, etc.) but also, for example, to school social work (schoolchildren being without exception a heterogeneous, mobile group), elderly care and family and debt counselling. All these fields are confronted with unfamiliar new cross-border constellations which are often ambivalent and fraught with conflict.

In future, DFG Research Training Group 1474 aims to focus on the entire spectrum of social services, not only on institutionalised social services run by the welfare state, so as to be able to study social services provided by carers, self-help organisations, etc. beyond the context of the welfare state. Social services for the elderly are a particularly good example of the way that the provision of social interventions and programmes is embedded in a transnational welfare mix. DFG Research Training Group 1474 carried out an investigation into how work in the homes of care recipients is divided among outpatient care services and transnational private agencies, demonstrating the complex ways in which local service structures might be restructured in future through transnational cooperation (cf. Krawietz, Report 2). **[page 10]** For example, the combination of local service provision patterns with a 24-hour cross-border care service displays characteristics of a two-class care provision service (cf. Krawietz & Schröer, 2010).[5] As yet there has been only sketchy research into the details of how this transnational mix is produced and negotiated by different actors and what effect it has on local service infrastructure in which areas (cf. Scheiwe & Krawietz, 2010; Thelen, Cartwright & Sikor, 2008).

It is not only in this context that it will be important to examine in detail the relationship between social security and social services (see Point 3.3.3) and to analyse the structures and processes through which the two fields are socially and legally regulated. This includes closer scrutiny of the paths along which means of social security have developed in various fields (for early childhood education see Scheiwe & Willekens, 2007) and of the transnational production of knowledge on intervention. As yet little is known of the logic according to which transnational cross-border linkages are created in different means of local social security. There has been extensive research in the fields of the law and political science into the significance attained in this context by EU law, the case-law of the European Court of Justice and international conventions on the provision of services (cf. Bieback, 2001; Eichenhofer, 2004; Münder & Böttcher, 2009; Schulte, 2002) and into the legal consequences this entails regarding the administrative steps taken by municipalities. However, there remains a lack of empirical evidence on the form this process takes from the point of view of local actors and on the way they put it into practice as they provide social services.

For this reason, in order to widen the scope accordingly and to allow for an examination of the transnationalisation of social services both during their co-production along with recipients and during the staging of social interventions and schemes, the aim is to extend the focus of research in DFG Research Training Group 1474 beyond that of the first phase; beyond transnational organisations (cf. Ehlers, 2011; Ehlers & Wolff, 2012). Another issue will be that of how social services can be developed further by reflecting and working on boundaries.

3.3 Fields of research

The three fields of research presented below – family care, community-based social support and social security/intervention – can themselves each be divided into two key areas based either on

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[5] The local service providers provide the qualified activities, which are acknowledged and legally safeguarded and include medical and nursing care. The migrants, in precarious, uncertain employment relationships, take on all the activities which are not or not sufficiently covered by the welfare state and which the families have to take care of themselves (e.g. all the time-consuming, caregiving activities within the home).

forms of everyday social support or on forms of social service (see diagram).

3.3.1 Family care

Investigations into family-centred social services (e.g. cf. Bertram & Ehlert et al, 2011) and analyses of the transnationalism of family care relationships are currently being carried out independently of one another and have as yet rarely been brought together, thought the basic statistical data alone suggest that it could be worthwhile to analyse cross-border processes in family care relationships and family-centred social services.

In 2010, according to the German Statistical Office, out of 382,047 marriages in the Federal Republic of Germany, 43,798 (11.46%, or one in eight couples) were binational.[6] **[page 11]** This high figure is due on the one hand to the population's rising diversification and on the other to migration and the growing number of opportunities to meet and get to know people on holiday, through work and on educational visits. Births data paint a very similar picture: of the 677,947 children born in Germany in 2010, 86,744 (12.3%, or one in eight children) were born into binational relationships with one German parent. Of the children who were German nationals (644,463, i.e. 95%), 113,081 (17.5% or one in six) children had at least one other nationality. 146,565 (21.6% or more than one in five) of the children born in Germany have at least one foreign parent.[7]

Furthermore, cross-border family relationships also arise through emigration. In 2006 at least 12% of German citizens living in the Federal Republic had German relatives living abroad (Mau, 2007). These processes extend family ties beyond national frames of reference. Steffen Mau takes the viewpoint that children from binational marriages 'inherit' transnational family networks (p. 118) through having two backgrounds. Lutz (2007) draws attention to the extent to which the discussion on transnational families and 'motherhood' is nonetheless shaped by national migration regimes, and especially by relevant national definitions of 'family'. She points out that the study of transnational family compositions calls for a different definition of the word.[8] Pries sees the family as a transnational social space as long as individual family members 'are distributed relatively evenly across different locations in different national societies, but at the same time share just as many (if not more) commonalities through their social practices, in using specific symbolic systems […] and in the shared use of artefacts […] as they do with other actors and social groups in their different locations' (Pries, 2010, p.30). When it comes to the question of how family ties (and thus family care) are created and maintained on an everyday basis, from a transnational perspective of families, it is the transformation of social practices which are brought to the forefront: 'The practices, outlooks and points of reference of one context might displace, compete or merge with those of the other context' (Vertovec, 2009, p. 64). **[page 12]**

Relationships (e.g. intergenerational relationships) in transnational families

Until now, descriptions and analyses have mainly focused on processes of transnational family care as they affect the relationship between the child and the adult generation, and generally only the relationship between minors and their parents (cf. Carling et al., 2012). The main focus has

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https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/Eheschliessungen/Tabellen/Eheschliessunge nDeutschAuslaender.html?nn=50736 , accessed on 3 January 2012. One aspect which should be taken into account is that the figures probably underestimate the total number of binational marriages. They only reflect the marriages entered into at German registry offices (cf. Mau, 2007). Another point is that naturalised citizens count as German, so many marriages between couple coming from a background of migration count as marriages between Germans.

[7] https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/Geburten/Aktuell.html?nn=50738 , accessed on 5 Jan.2012. The German Statistical Office only covers current nationality; all naturalised citizens count as Germans, meaning that the figures are probably actually higher than those given.

[8] 'For some time now, the conventional definition of "family" has been under pressure, as it does not reflect the variety we experience in real life […]]. In contrast to this idealised image, in the case of transnational families the home and the family are not in one place but are linked despite being scattered across different countries. Creating and maintaining this link is a task actively pursued by all family members.' (Lutz, 2007, p. 130)

been on the experiences and behavioural patterns of transnational mothers (e.g. cf. Parreñas, 2001, 2005a; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Erel, 2002; Fresnoza-Flot, 2009), while only a marginal number of studies have taken fathers as their subject (e.g. cf. Pribilsky, 2012; Hoang & Yeoh, 2011). For some years now there have been signs of increasing interest in the effect that transnational family life has on children's wellbeing (e.g. cf. Donato & Duncan, 2011; Mazzucato & Schans, 2011) and on the context of transnational family care and older family members (e.g. Baldassar et al., 2007; Mazzucato, 2005). There is an almost total lack of systematic analyses of family care in the context of multi-generational transnational families and horizontal relationships within each generation (e.g. among siblings). This comes as a surprise considering that one main reason for introducing the term 'care' in educational science was to appropriately reflect the plurality of intergenerational ties: 'Pedagogy involves all the caregiving relationships between all generations living at any one time, whether those relationships are mainly focused on education/teaching, childraising or social assistance. [...] The plurality of pedagogical relationships between the generations is furthermore emphasised when people's entire life histories are taken into account. We need to move away from the binary code of the child and the adult' (Zinnecker, 1997, p.200).

When transnational care relationships are analysed, there is again particular interest in intergenerational ties and thus in the generations themselves, as communities of people from different age ranges and cohorts (Kaufmann 1993, p. 97), who share a collective fate. Mau, for example, bases his investigation on the idea that different meanings of transnationalism are displayed among the generations, falling along a continuum ranging from the 'normalisation' of transnational experiences in the younger generation to 'catch-up transnationalism' along the older generation (cf. Mau, 2007). These differences require investigation regarding their effect on transnational family caregiving relationships. Equally, the changing needs of different family generations and the care provided to them across their lives – factors which, in conditions of transnationalism, constantly undergo re-negotiation (cf. Bender et al, 2011) – also deserve examination from the point of view of family biography. In this field there has as yet been scant examination of reciprocity in family care-providing relationships (cf. Brückner, 2001). Of course cross-border families cannot simply be assumed to display solidarity per se. Until now, theoretical approaches to conflict and ambivalence in intergenerational relationships (Bengston et al., 2002; Lüscher, 2004) have been strongly attached to national frames of reference and thus are still untested when it comes to family relationships extending beyond national borders. Another issue which arises in this regard is that of gender relations in transnational family contexts. Recent studies (Ho-ang & Yeoh, 2011) point towards a tendency for men to identify more strongly (among other things) with the role of the caregiver than previous studies (Parreñas, 2005b) had suggested.

The transnationalisation of family-centred social services

Family-centred social services are those which accompany and support families in their function as caregivers, nurses, attendants and childraisers (e.g. in childcare, elderly care). They are designed to prevent family problems (e.g. through family education) or to relieve such problems when they occur (e.g. counselling on childraising issues and family problems provided in or outside care institutions; women's refuges). Sometimes such social services become a separate actor in transnational boundary work. The question of the transnationalisation of family-centred services thus takes two forms. Firstly, there is the issue of the extent to which family-centred social services are adapted to the transnationalism of family structures (e.g. support structures). In that context what needs to be investigated is the image of the family which forms the basis for the provision of social services and, where appropriate, how transnational family structures are taken into account in social service interventions and measures, as well as discovering what correlations are created between transnational family living conditions and the social services. Secondly there is the question of how family relationships and forms of support change when families draw transnational services into their childraising, caring or nursing duties (cf. Krawietz & Schröer, 2010). For example, does employing a live-in migrant carer lead to crowding out; driving the family members out of their duties as carers? Or does it in fact cause crowding in; increasing support from the family (cf. Künemund & Rein, 1999)? Or does the fact that the care assistant and the person in need of care are living in one household lead to qualitative changes in the types of support

provided and the relationships they entail between the recipient of care, the family members and the care assistant? Do family members perhaps become 'care managers', tending to take on easier, more pleasant duties such as going for walks, shopping and organising meet-ups? Are the caregiving duties that migrants take over from family members those described by Anderson (2000) in the case of women in domestic service as 'the dirty work'; all the time-consuming, unappreciated household tasks and the intimate, physically and psychologically burdensome forms of social support? (...) **[page 14]**

3.3.2 Community[9]-based social support

Communities are a central subject area for research into social support in two ways. They provide various kinds of social support while also being a medium for social services, which they address with the aim of increasing their potential for support, or which they initiate through community-building. Thus, since the 1970s, the research into social support has increasingly focused in support provided through everyday (Nestmann, 2001) intermediary structures (communities) and those of civil society (cf. Olk, 2002). In recent years there has been a certain relativisation of the role played by geographical vicinity in the constitution of support relationships within communities; a relativisation doubtless sparked by transnational studies, as described above. There is now less emphasis on communities' territorial boundedness and how their members are connected by geographical vicinity and presence (face-to-face interaction), as was initially the case with investigations into neighbourhoods and municipalities. Now the research is based more generally on relationally defined communities, linked in a network of social relations by shared interests, aims, values and norms, affiliations or trust (cf. Hamman, 1999; Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 1998; Wellman, 1997; Wellman & Gulia, 1999).

This shift in the field of vision in the research has also led to a focus not only on border-crossing communities, in which cross-border linkages are created across widely differing levels (e.g. re Migration cf. Portes, 1997; Al-Ali & Koser, 2002; Faist, 2000a; Levitt, 2001; Goldring, 1996; re economy, politics, social movements cf. Djelic, 2010), but also on the communities which play a role in help-organising processes (cf. Duscha, Report 7). In everyday social support examples can be found of territorially bounded relationships and border-crossing communities existing in parallel (cf. Beck, 2004; Herz, Report 1; Mangold, Report 9). This fits in with empirical studies indicating that 'personal communities are becoming more "glocalized" – both extensively global and intensely local' (Chua, Madj & Wellman, 2011, p. 108).

The challenge to research into social support comes from an analysis of transnational communities both on the level of everyday support relationships and on that of social services. Accordingly, investigations in the field need to look into the processes and forms of everyday support in border-crossing peer communities. Equally, community-based social services need to be studied as regards their organisational structures and the implications they might have in practice. **[page 15]**

Social support through transnational peer communities

The transnationalism of peer communities has been encouraged by the use of modern communication media. For example, new support structures arise in what are known as 'online communities'. This term was introduced by Hiltz (1985)) and Rheingold (1993) to describe intense feelings of friendship, empathy and support among people linked in virtual space (cf. Chua, Madj & Wellman, 2011). Systematic studies of social support processes in online communities are currently being carried out within DFG Research Training Group 1474 on Facebook (cf. Kanagavel, Report 13) and the Internet platform 'African Women in Europe' (cf. Maluleke, Report 19). The co-

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[9] The English word 'community' covers two German words: 'Gemeinde' (a formal administrative unit) and 'Gemeinschaft' (a group of people sharing certain attitudes or interests). In Anglo-Saxon research into social support, the term is thus generally used to describe groups falling between those two categories. We adhere to this understanding of the term: 'community' cannot be equated with 'Gemeinschaft' as used in classic German sociology, e.g. in the works of Max Weber (1976) and Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) in the context of the connection between communal relationships (Vergemeinschaftung) and associative relationships (Vergesellschaftung) (cf. Pries, 2008) or as introduced in theoretical outlines for social pedagogy, mainly through the writings of Paul Natorp (1899) (cf. Sandermann, 2009).

existence of territorially bounded relationships and cross-border communities has been proven in a study by Mangold (see Report 9) investigating the production of experience among young adults in international volunteering. This demonstrated the existence both of border-crossing support processes among the transnational volunteering community and of support relationships within the local community: on the one hand there is community-building among people of the same age (people spending a year volunteering in various nation states), while on the other hand there is the local community, whose structure is built upon shared ideas and which can be particularly well summed up by the criterion for affiliation of 'knowing both worlds'. ,This means that 'peers' are no longer understood as a group of similarly aged people, but instead develops into an interest group whose members span different ages.

Even locally bounded peer communities on the level of municipalities are increasingly becoming involved in cross-border processes. These processes do not only come about through traditional forms of migration. Neighbourhoods, etc. are increasingly becoming the site of transnational events (Mau, 2007, p. 77).[10] The various border-crossing initiatives and projects are now of a number which can hardly escape notice, and have become a firm fixture of local political practice (cf. Statz & Wohlfarth, 2010). At the same time, social issues in particular (unemployment, democratic change, exclusion and discrimination, selective educational opportunities) have become part of municipalities' transnational relationships.

Social services as a means of transnational community building

For the social services, communities are a central sphere of intervention. For example, community-based assistance in the context of community organising (cf. Müller & Nimmermann, 1973) and community developments (cf. Cary, 1970) were one of the core factors behind the development of social services as a profession and a discipline (e.g. cf. Müller, 1982; Sachße, 1986; Lindner, 2000; Wendt, 2008). Not only in this field but also in the research into social support there has been extensive investigation into the ways community resources and achievements can be shaped (cf. Otto & Bauer, 2002).

Historical analyses of the settlement house movement show that community-based social services have long been integrated into transnational contexts both on the level of the recipients and on that of social workers' professional practice (joint visits, international conferences, exchanging concepts) (cf. Chambon, 2011; Köngeter, 2012b). However, this angle has only explicitly been explored in the context of the work of transnational organisations (e.g. cf. Steinhöfel, Report 3, Artner, Report 17) or in relation to migrant communities, such as Diaspora communities (e.g. cf. Kraus, Report 22; Somalingam, Report 23). Until now transnational support processes in local communities have also only been examined as they relate to transnational organisations, as Steinhöfel (see Report 3) shows explicitly, for example, in his dissertation on joint liability during the extension off microloans in Ghana, based on the example of the role of the loan officer. While previous research had mainly explained group lending as functioning by means of locally bounded social capital, this case demonstrates that a role is played by the observations and actions of the loan officers employed by the microfinance institutions, which are part of transnational organisation networks. **[page 16]**

Altogether, however, community-based social services largely reveal themselves as uniquely locally bounded. This can be seen in theoretical and conceptual considerations of the social spheres at which the social services are aimed (e.g. cf. Früchtel et al., 2010; Kessl et al., 2005; Kessl & Reutlinger, 2010). There are only a few isolated cases of an opening up to communities' transnational contexts, as expressed in Furman et al's (2008) thoughts on transnational knowledge transfer for community-based projects, or in examinations of the effect of modern communication media on the cross-border extension of community-based services (McNutt, 2010). For this reason, there is to be an examination of how or whether social services react in view of the transnational links described in communities, or even play a role in their initiation. (...) **[page 17]**

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[10] This received a particular boost from Agenda 21, inasmuch as it gives local authorities a central role in making its goals a reality (cf. Statz & Wohlfarth, 2010).

3.3.3 Social security and intervention

In all their diversity, international research outlooks on social work continue to be dominated by comparitivist studies (cf. Treptow, 1996; Homfeldt, 2002; Schweppe, 2007; Treptow & Walther, 2010). These studies concentrate on the fact that the social services were established in the context of the welfare state in the twentieth century, and analyse different professional developments in that light. Recently, however, the discussion on international social work (cf. Midgley, 2001; Lyons, 1999) has also begun to highlight the opportunities for the profession which could arise through reflection on transnational perspectives. However, this discussion has until now been dominated by considerations of standards to be set and subjects to be studied (e.g. the thesis that social work is a human rights profession, cf. Staub-Bernasconi, 2003).

The approach taken by the research into transnational social support, by contrast, is based neither on a universal, normative position nor or an understanding of social work as a profession which is closely linked to the social services' historical roots in the welfare state. Instead, it asks the question of how social interventions are created on an everyday basis and how they can be analysed as forms of social security. In asking this question, a wide range of processes can be identified through which knowledge on social interventions is produced, extending beyond the reconstruction of professional approaches within national development paths.

The research into transnational social support uses a wide-ranging understanding of the term 'social security', extending beyond the conventional entities of social legislation. Alongside such entities, other possible examples of social security which are considered are support relationships in families and under family law (cf. Scheiwe, 1999), relations, neighbours, volunteering associations, self-help groups and religious institutions. The idea of using this wider meaning of 'social security' comes, among other things, from research into the anthropology of law (cf. Benda-Beckmann & Benda-Beckmann, 2006; Benda-Beckmann, 2007). It includes all social support services and interventions which arise in the context of a demand for care, and which constitute various forms of caring for others and for oneself (cf. Benda-Beckmann, 2007, p. 166). **[page 18]**

This approach thus crosses the boundary set by the nation state between public and private responsibility for care and nursing, taking into account everyday ways in which social interventions are carried out and the boundary work they involve in their various interrelationships (cf. Scheiwe, 2010). This includes forms of transnational family care, as well as entailing an examination of the norms inherent in processes of social support regarding who it is that is to be provided with help, and who it is that social interventions need to be designed for. This can be illustrated, for example, by the case of private households resorting to cross-border nursing schemes; such cases touch upon different levels of social security: the families' private responsibilities, their rights to receive support as guaranteed under social legislation. mixed forms of standardised public and private support, and gaps in the security provided.

Thus, this wider understanding of the term 'social security' helps overcome – at least in analytical terms – the dichotomies between the state (in its formal sense) and informal support, and between state and non-state activities (cf. Thelen, Cartwright & Sikor, 2008). These different levels of security can overlap, interlock and clash, or there may be gaps in the security they offer. As regards the actors, the question needs to be asked of how they shape these different levels and 'use' them in social interventions. With this in mind, two key programmes will analyse on one hand the social regulation of transnational support configurations and on the other hand the transnational production of knowledge on intervention, as different layers in the constitution of social security.

The legal regulation of transnational support configurations

When one considers transnationalised everyday worlds it becomes evident that the law and the social practice of intervention are closely interlinked (cf. Scheiwe & Krawietz, 2010, p. 7f.). The social regulation of transnational support configurations is shaped, among other things, by 'complex processes of legal transnationalisation that have reconfigured the relations between the law,, state and territoriality' (Randeria, 2009, p. 214). However, it is a matter of debate whether this

can be spoken of as transnational law (cf. Hanschmann, 2009, p. 379). The 'blending' of various legal social security regulations is generally described using the term 'legal pluralism'. This means the co-existence of different systems of law within one national territory, all of which can be applied to the same circumstances, occasionally creating a conflict between the different systems.

The important issues which come to the fore in this context revolve not only around the social regulation of transnational family matters (divorce, custody, caregiving relationships, etc.) but also around the legitimisation of social interventions and how support is organised transnationally. In border-crossing contexts in which more than one national legal system is relevant, those which apply are German international civil law (regulating which law is to be applied), international law (conventions ratified by Germany and incorporated into national law) and increasingly also supranational EU law. The complexity of this situation makes it a mounting challenge even for professional caregivers, who are often caught up in ambivalent situations while providing transnational social support, involving various forms of regulation and associated normative and ideological asynchronies.

The transnational production of knowledge on intervention

When the wider meaning of the term 'social security' is used it becomes apparent that knowledge on social intervention has in the past often been reconstructed from a narrow nation-state view of social security, and that it continues to revolve around the social services' roots in the welfare state. In his historical study on transnational social politics, by contrast, Rodgers (1998) points out the cardinal importance of transnational linkages in the development of forms of social security. Though some other studies (cf. Hamburger, 2009) indicate that transnational configurations can also be found with relation to the production of social services, there has nonetheless so far been a lack of systematic research into the transnational production of knowledge on social intervention. **[page 19]**

As part of DFG Research Training Group 1474, in a joint international case study at the University of Toronto, Chambon (2011) and Köngeter (2012a) presented evidence of the transnational production of knowledge in the case of the community-based support schemes of the settlement house movement. They showed that community-based interventions were designed in the face of migration processes bringing increasing social class polarisation, in order to increase 'Volksgemeinschaft' ('people's community', Siegmund-Schultze, 1912). The designers behind the interventions were aware of and distanced themselves from existing knowledge on social processes in cities with other nation-state frames of reference, meaning that the process can be described as a transnational production of knowledge (cf. Köngeter, 2012a). In a nutshell, circulating transnational (morally charged) knowledge regarding the risk to the nation state from domestic and international migration processes was used to examine the issue of community transnationalism (especially that of Asian and South European migrant groups) and to encourage territorially based unity.

More recently, Yeates (2011) identified the different entities (organisations, networks, social movements) through which knowledge on intervention 'travels' around the world as programmes, models and suggested practice and can be found locally in the shape of transnational concepts in individual social institutions. In this context Peck and Theodore (2010) indicate the importance of pilot programmes, which are often run with no consideration of the welfare state or nation state of their origin. The transnational distribution of such programmes is also characterised by different regional peculiarities, as shown in a study by Franzoni and Voorend (2011) on Latin America. Empirical analysis of the transnational production of knowledge on social intervention calls attention to the transfer of knowledge between different levels of social security (e.g. in the form of suggested practice, pilot programmes or even welfare state rationalities). Particular interest is shown in how knowledge is 'translated' as it is transferred transnationally. In other words, unlike in previous research, it is no longer assumed that there is an identifiable core of social interventions which can then be attached to a nation-state construction of social security. (...)