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Transnational migrant entrepreneurs' childcare practices: Chinese children in Hungarian homes

In this ethnographic paper I make an attempt to present and discuss from an anthropological perspective childcare practices integrated into the transnational migration processes of Chinese entrepreneurs working in Hungary. The childcare practices applied by certain members of the group of Chinese migrants ever since their arrival in the early 1990s are different in several ways from mainstream forms of childcare services used by Hungarian parents. It has to be noted that childcare practices in China refer to a complex group of socio-culturally conditioned phenomena in a context of rapidly changing family and interpersonal relations (see Naftali 2009; Evans 1010; Stafford 2013; Fong 2002; Kwok-bun 2013; Yan 2009), including, most recently the abolishment of China's one child policy in 2015 (with all its complex social implications). The Chinese context of practices, norms and informal rules of who cares for children often lead to grandparents and other relatives assuming these tasks (see Chen, F. et. al. 2011). The paper focuses on Chinese migrant children caught at a certain stage in the process of transnational family mobility; on time periods when they are looked after, cared for and temporarily raised by adult members of the Hungarian host society in the carers' homes, while their parents live and work in Hungary.

The paper consists of two main parts. The first part introduces the research problem, presents research questions and methods, highlighting at the same time relevant aspects of the Chinese context in Hungary. The second part provides an ethnographic description of the child care system and focuses on carers, parents, and children primarily from the Hungarian carers' point of view.

I.1. Introduction: the example of David between his Chinese migrant entrepreneur family and Auntie Gizi, his Hungarian carer

Let me begin with the story of David, a young boy born in Budapest, Hungary to his Chinese entrepreneur parents in 2004. David spent the first two years of his life in Budapest, where, a couple of weeks after his birth he was sent to live in the home of a paid Hungarian child carer. When he turned two, his parents decided to send him back to China. There he first lived with his paternal grandparents, and later spent subsequent periods living in his father's sisters' homes. He attended primary school in China and forgot Hungarian, the first language he learned as a baby. At the age of ten his parents brought him back to Hungary and placed him immediately with Auntie Gizi, a paid Hungarian carer in her mid-sixties. When I first met them in the spring of 2016, David had been living in his Hungarian carer, Auntie Gizi's home in a quiet residential Budapest neighbourhood for more than a year.

In the meantime his parents were based in Budapest and attended their transnational trading enterprise paying regular visits to China. David's mother and her three siblings and their families all lived in Hungary and worked for the family company established by David's maternal grandmother. The grandmother, the head of the family as Auntie Gizi remarked, arrived in Hungary with one suitcase in the hand in the mid-1990s from South-East China, and with the assistance of her children and other family members she built up a trading business that became successful and turned their extended family wealthy.

Back in Budapest David attended the local primary school where he was placed in third grade when he arrived three months before the end of the schoolyear in 2015. His Hungarian peers

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were in fifth grade and that was the class that would have meant the smooth continuation of his studies in China. Nevertheless, his parents expressed the view that repeating third and fourth grade would allow him time to learn Hungarian and do well at school later, from fifth grade onwards.

David's mother Mimi, a Chinese woman nearing forty, arrived in Hungary as a young adult after finishing secondary school in China. Contrary to her mother she did learn to communicate in Hungarian well enough to discuss basic questions related to her son with Auntie Gizi. It was Mimi who kept contact with Auntie Gizi about David. She visited David once a week or once in a fortnight and stayed there for five-ten minutes discussing technical issues with Auntie Gizi. She took her son to a restaurant once a week during the weekend but took him back to his carer's home to sleep. David's family took him on vacation trips twice a year; the year before our first encounter they travelled with him to Mexico, to the US, and to Greece and Spain. He also spent three-four weeks with his grandparents in China during the summer holidays. David's father, a first generation Chinese man only appeared in the carer's home when his mother was away on a business trip. In Auntie Gizi's view the main reason for the parents' coming seemed to be checking whether their son was well and to bring money for his expenses such as extra lessons, sports activities, food, and occasional toys.

During subsequent visits to Auntie Gizi's house I had the chance to follow how David's life continued back in Budapest. To Auntie Gizi's surprize David decided to get up at four in the morning every day and have breakfast at quarter past four served by his carer. She walked him to the nearby school in the morning and back at four in the afternoon. The private tutors came to their home to give him extra lessons every afternoon. English lessons were high priority among them. The only programme out were karate classes where Gizi took him twice a week after school. It was also Gizi who took him to the local paediatrician if he had health problems or kept contact with the school on the family's behalf as David's 'grandmother'. David seemed to have had a bad time at school in constant conflict disobeying his teachers and intermittently ignoring and fighting his classmates several years his junior.

David was not the first Chinese child recently divorced Auntie Gizi cared for in her home after her return from Austria where she and her husband ran a restaurant. She found David a rather unusual child full of discontent and with an air of superiority around him; someone who never called her name and who just declared what he wanted. Gizi made several attempts to take him to the cinema, to the zoo, or to the circus, all of no avail. He preferred having his food ordered from the restaurant to going out for dinner, he considered zoos and circuses bad smelling places, and showed no interest in going to the movies. His parents did not keep daily online contact with him, nor did they allow him to have a smart phone or a tablet because they did not want him to play online games; nevertheless, he did have electronic games he could entertain himself with, he had Lego toys, and he was allowed to watch TV.

David was a not an only child. The elder of his two sisters, seventeen at the time of our first interview in 2016 was finishing secondary school in China with outstanding results and lived in her grandparents' home in China. The family wanted her to attend university there. His other sister only one year his senior also lived in China with her grandparents but she spent the summer of 2015 in Hungary in the home of Gizi where brother and sister lived together for a couple of weeks. Gizi told me that the children's parents decided to move their younger daughter back to Hungary on a permanent basis but they wanted her to live in the home of a younger Hungarian carer.

I. 2. Research problem, research questions

Eleven-year-old David's individual transnational mobility history and his close relationship with his Hungarian carer is not an isolated case among children of Chinese migrants in Hungary. As we shall see further in the section on research data, the caregivers interviewed cared for numerous children, the majority of whom spent extended periods living in the carers' homes in Hungary ever since the arrival of the first massive waves of Chinese migrants in the 1990s. Literature on the Chinese migrant population also suggests that it is a widespread childcare solution among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary. Works by Dóra Paveszka (2006), Pál Nyíri (2006), and Fanny Beck (2015) all make references to these types of childcare-related experiences of second and first generation migrants.

Outsourcing the care of one's own children to non-relatives or physically distancing them for extended time periods is not the dominant strategy of working parents in China nor of Chinese parents living in West-European or American diasporas. This child care arrangement does not seem to be part of an emerging trend in Hungary where it's been present ever since the first Chinese children arrived or were born in Hungary in the early 1990s. It has to be noted, however, that not all children of Chinese migrants in Hungary grow up in the same way and that there is considerable variation among the different parental child care solutions.

On the other hand, similar childcare practices established by Vietnamese migrants in the Czech Republic were studied extensively by Adéla Souralová who explored the intimate relationships between Vietnamese migrants, their children and Czech child care providers (Souralová 2015). Based on rich empirical data on different care arrangements of Vietnamese children Souralová showed in what way the intimate bonds between Czech carers and second generation Vietnamese youth contributed to the integration of this migrant population in the Czech Republic.

David's personal story between China and Hungary and his family's reasons for their decisions raise many questions. These questions cut across a wide range of interconnecting issues that stretch beyond the limits of this current research. Initially, it was tempting to approach these child care phenomena from the context of the widely discussed topic of migrants' children left behind, or migrant children on the move (see for example Leinaweaver 2010; Moran-Taylor 2008; Dreby 2007; Parreñas 2010) or similar studies from China (see for example WU et. al. 2011; Chen, S. et. al. 2013), as the Chinese children involved were taken along but outsourcing their care to a high degree they were, in a way, also left behind by their migrant families. Nevertheless, the fieldwork shifted my focus to the intimate bonds formed between Chinese migrant children and Hungarian carers, to the role intimacy between Chinese children and local adults played in both their lives, and to the role it played in the transnational migration processes of Chinese entrepreneur families established in Hungary. Does intimacy between Hungarian carers and their cared for serve as a channel of integration into local society? If yes, how exactly does this happen? How do the often contrasting Chinese and Hungarian ingredients of this childcare scheme combining different values sets affect migrant children's childhood, their personal integrity (another culturally shaped/created concept?), and their persons as individual human beings?

It was a central aim to find out how this existent yet unexplored child care scheme created by Chinese families and Hungarian individuals as part of a transnational migration process actually worked. The ethnography of this system of care arrangement may provide answers to a wide range of questions. What characterises the Chinese migrants and the Hungarian individuals who get involved in this relationship? Are all Chinese migrants in Hungary likely to choose this care form? Why and how do they engage in these care relationships? Can characteristic child care arrangement patterns be identified? How are the terms of cooperation defined and negotiated? An ethnographic account of this phenomenon may contribute to the understanding of its short and long-term consequences on locals and on migrant families, and

especially on migrant children, and may help explore how the child care arrangement and the experiences related to it fit into the process of growing up transnationally. It may provide important clues to what way these arrangements relate to migrants' integration and how they influence the identities of the second generation of migrants. The situation of David and that of other Chinese kids raised in similar care schemes between China and Hungary connected to issues of integration from a Hungarian as well as a from Chinese perspective.

Possible conflicts between first and second generation members of the same Chinese migrant family may also be connected to the relationship with Hungarian carers and to the differences in child care and parenting strategies. David's experiences cannot not be understood and interpreted without his family's parenting strategy in the contexts of rapidly changing Chinese family relations and their economically driven transnational migration processes. David and his compatriots' experiences were unquestionably episodes in a relatively recent Chinese transnational family mobility towards Central-Eastern Europe.

I. 3. Research context, data, methods, methodological challenges

This paper is based on an anthropological research project on the intimate interpersonal relationships between members of Hungarian society and Chinese migrants, titled 'Chinese person in the family' (see Kovács N. 2015, 2016).[2] It investigated the relations between Chinese parents, Chinese children and Hungarian caregivers and also the effects of these care arrangements on children's lives, behaviour, identities and belonging.[3]

The qualitative small scale investigation was based on anthropological fieldwork and on formal and informal interviews. The phenomenon was explored through practices, experiences and narratives of the social groups involved: Hungarian carers, Chinese children and youth, and Chinese migrant parents. Interviews were made with Hungarian caregivers, Chinese care receivers both children and young adults, and Chinese parents who used the services provided by Hungarian carers. Budapest paediatricians who treated Chinese patients regularly also provided valuable information. Altogether forty two persons (fourteen Hungarian carers; three Hungarian teachers from schools with a Chinese student population; three teaching assistants from Budapest international schools, three paediatricians, eleven Chinese parents, eight young Chinese adults) were interviewed formally. This data was complemented by information gained through informal communication with people who did not want a formal interview, several Chinese parents and youth among them. I also made use of literature references to this phenomenon from the Hungarian Chinese context (Nyíri 2006; Beck 2015).

My original research plan counted on interviews with connected groups of three: parents, carers and children, but it was a challenge I could not handle during fieldwork. Field experiences suggested that the idea of an inquiry into one's intimate personal relationships in the areas of marriage and childcare violated implicit Chinese norms of communication, and fell victim the socio-culturally conditioned attempt to present a personal image that fits best norms and expectations of behaviour (see Várhalmi 2014, Kovács 2017). The majority of the research data was gathered from interlocutors who were unrelated to each other. During the last two months of the research project I was helped by a Hungarian field assistant who had been working for Chinese entrepreneurs in Hungary for years, and who worked on filling some of the information gaps especially on Chinese parents' views.

[2] The project ran between 2014 and 2017 and it received financial support from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA).

[3] The other thematic area of the project explored mixed partner relationships with a special focus on how partners' different sociocultural backgrounds influenced the formation and inner dynamics of mixed marriages.

My position as an anthropologist studying childcare arrangements of migrant children was inevitably intertwined with and influenced by my position as a Hungarian mother of kindergarten and elementary school children. The research process made me realize my own socio-culturally conditioned notions of 'good care' and 'good childhood' and how they may impact the interpretation of my data. In her study on first world expatriate wives' volunteer work in a Beijing state orphanage Leslie K. Wang's stresses the socially conditioned nature of logics that underlie care practices, and how western women identified good care solely with maternal nurturance and emotional connection (Wang 2013).

I. 4. Chinese migrants and Chinese enterprises in Hungary

The Chinese migrant population in Hungary is fundamentally different from Chinese diasporas in Western Europe, Australia and North America. This diaspora is the result of relatively recent waves of migration and its members are much less integrated than Chinese diaspora communities with several generations of history in their countries of arrival. Chinese migrants first arrived in Hungary in massive numbers in the early 1990s with clearly set economic goals, and their number was about fifteen thousand in the mid-2010s.

During the past two and a half decades the principle business model of Chinese entrepreneurs has changed from local retail to international wholesale of a wide range of Chinese products, several businesses growing large and becoming very successful economically. The group of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary operate their businesses on a transnational basis and lead a transnational way of life with persons and resources in constant flow between Hungary and China and sometimes also other locations in Europe or the Americas.

It is important to point out that although the overwhelming majority of Chinese migrants in Hungary are entrepreneurs, some of them work as non-family member employees in Chinese companies, or work free-lance as, for example, tourist guides or interpreters. Information from employees and free-lancers is over represented in this study as they were more accessible during fieldwork. None of the employee parents contacted opted for the live-in childcare arrangement.

It seemed intriguing to try to visualize the Chinese ends of successful Chinese transnational family enterprises and understand how originally non-entrepreneur relatives living in China can make a fundamental contribution to the family enterprise from the Chinese side in a relatively short time. A recent demographic study compared internal migration within China and international migration from China to the USA. The authors analysed the role of migration networks in internal and international migration for the South-Eastern Province of Fujian and shed light on this question (Liang – Chunyu 2013). It should be noted that the rate of migrants from Fujian was reported to have increased in Hungary in recent years (Nyíri 2006:41). Liang and Chunyu's analysis introduced the migrant-sending community's political context in the study of migration and pointed out the important role cadre (public official) family members played in the successful international migration of their relatives (Liang – Chunyu 2013:220).

In his study on Chinese migrant work form in Hungary, Várhalmi confirms Pál Nyíri's view that Chinese migration helped female employment and female entrepreneurship (Várhalmi 2009:19), and that Chinese visions of the future in Hungary are shaped by a flexible adaptation to the changing economic environment open to the possibility of moving out of Hungary altogether if necessary (Várhalmi 2009:75).

Finally, I would like to draw the attention to the concept of family as it appeared in the Chinese context of this research. Várhalmi stressed the constitutive family component in Chinese transnational enterprises (Várhalmi 2009). It is very important to emphasize,

however, that the primary association invited by the notion of family in the Chinese entrepreneur context of Hungary is trust, and not intimacy-based emotional connectedness. Qualitative research on intermarriage between Chinese migrants and Hungarians confirmed the culturally shaped differences in the notions of 'family'. One such difference was the Hungarian priority of the mixed nuclear family as opposed to the Chinese priority given to the extended Chinese family. These often irreconcilable shaped fundamentally the inner dynamics of mixed relationships (see Kovács N. 2015, 2016).

II. Childcare arrangements of Chinese children in Hungary – experiences from the field

In the following section I provide a description and analysis of the informal childcare system of Chinese children in Hungary as seen in the light of the data gathered through anthropological fieldwork conducted between 2015 and 2016. The discussion in this paper is based primarily on the fourteen carers' views complemented by information provided by educators and health professionals, reflecting occasionally Chinese viewpoints. Carer interviewees reported on the existence of twelve other persons who carried out similar activities but whom I could not interview. Ever since the early 1990s my fourteen interlocutors cared for a total of thirty eight Chinese children.

What exactly this care-arrangement comprised varied to a great degree from case to case with regard to children's age; the time spent with Hungarian carers; where and how this activity actually took place; and the services provided. This research was driven by the interest in care schemes in which Chinese children lived in carers' homes in Hungary, often combined with periods of living with grandparents in China. Let me note here that the academic staff members of expensive international private schools in Budapest commented on the existence of two other care-arrangement forms. Some Chinese children attending these institutions lived in the family home where they had a live-in Hungarian carer that attended them full time. Other students were reported to be living with their carer in an apartment rented for them by their parents often in the close vicinity of their school.

The majority of the thirty eight Chinese children lived in their Hungarian carers' homes full time for several years. Some of them were taken home to sleep in their parents' home on Saturdays; some were taken once every fortnight. Several younger children under the age of six were reported to have been left back in Hungary while their parents travelled to China during the summer. Two of my interlocutors, Jucika and Klári, were unwilling to accept live-in children. Another carer, Hugi, who otherwise also rejected the live-in arrangement, made the first exception the summer prior to our interview when she put up a fourteen-year-old Chinese boy for the summer vacation. Although Jucika, Klári and Hugi generally worked with school age children who slept in their family's place, they mentioned that they had to fight off pressure from Chinese parents who would have preferred the live-in arrangement in several cases.

Chinese migrant children arrived in the Hungarian carer's homes at different moments of their lives. For children born in Hungary a typical entry point arrived shortly after their birth. The youngest children carers talked about were four and five-week-old infants, some of whom stayed in their carer's home until they reached the age of two or three. Children arriving from China after a period spent with relatives generally moved in with their Hungarian carers after kindergarten around the age of six, or having completed the first years of Chinese elementary school, around the age of ten. Some Chinese children who had been born in Hungary but who spent a more extended period in China arrived in carers' homes for no longer than a year with the objective of learning Hungarian intensively, living in a Hungarian household and receiving assistance with school tasks. The eldest Chinese children encountered during fieldwork in this type of arrangement were fourteen and sixteen.

Reaching school age, children were often moved back to their parents' homes, however, they spent most of their time after school, and most of their weekends in the home of a Hungarian person who walked them to the nearby playground, helped them prepare for classes, gave them lunch, afternoon snacks and often dinner, and kept them company while their parents worked long hours in their businesses.

Until the abolition of China's one-child-policy in the autumn of 2015, living in the diaspora opened an easier way for Chinese families to have more children. The one-child policy was an important factor shaping parents' child placement decisions influenced by the relative position of the child in the family. First children could easily be fitted into the official administration in China so they were more likely to be sent back to China soon after their birth under the care of relatives. Chinese parents reported that the situation was more complicated in the cases of subsequent children, leading to different treatment and different placement schemes of children within the same nuclear family.

II. 1. The oral contract between carers and parents, and its content

Most carer-narratives about the first step towards an agreement with the parents of the first Chinese child they ever cared for had shared features. In many cases they met in the street in the company of the mutual Chinese or Hungarian acquaintance who put them in contact. They did not have a shared language and could communicate with difficulty leaving open way to unclarified details and possible misunderstandings; nevertheless they reached an oral agreement over the child's placement in the carer's home. According to my interlocutors, none of these transactions involved written permission or any type of written document. In his study on forms of Chinese employment in Hungary Zoltán Várhalmi discusses the circle of use of written contracts in work situations (Várhalmi 2009:68). He points out that while business agreements with Hungarian partners are turned into written contracts, such documents are missing altogether from the employment of distant or close Chinese family members. Várhalmi does not specify the employment documentation of Hungarian employees. The informally organized care work activities described here are undocumented and exist in the black economy.

One carer who had no formal job nor was she retired yet at the time of our interview commented that she asked the parents of the Chinese child to register her officially as their child's nanny and pay the moderate monthly fee of one thousand forints (approx. three Euros) that would not allow her social security but would give her employment continuity. She told that it took her a long and effortful time to explain to the parents what exactly she wanted and why she asked for it but when they understood they agreed to it immediately.

The space of care in migration related care literature appears as a central theme shaping the power relations between service buyers and service providers (see for example Cheng 2004). In care arrangements that exist as a consequence of the global migration of third world care workers the space of care is typically the service buyer's home. With the exception of one case out of fourteen in my sample, the space of care was the carer's home. Five of my interlocutors remembered vividly the ease with which Chinese fathers entered their homes for the first time. Some of them arrived with a child's cot and, with the carer and his family watching with eyes wide open, he walked up and down in the apartment to find the right place for it, locating it in the end in the couple's bedroom. Marching in the kitchen, opening the fridge, and tasting food stored in cooking pots became a habit of several Chinese parents on their visits to the carers' homes.

Chinese parents asked for clean cloths, nutritive meals, and a strict attitude on behalf of the carer. They expected carers to take the child to the doctor if necessary; and they expected carers to attend parents' reunions at kindergartens or schools. Based on what Hungarian

carers said it was Chinese parents who defined the content of the oral contract including the frequency and amount of payment. Some carers' work was counted by the week, but it was more widespread that their work was counted by the day, and they received payment weekly or biweekly. They covered all the expenses they considered necessary. I made timid attempts with care service providers as well as with service buyers to find out about fees. Matching carers' answers with parents' answers left me in doubts as to the real sum paid and received, with parents' telling me about substantially larger numbers three times more than carers.

It was often days or weeks later when misunderstandings concerning important practical details of the oral contract about the child's everyday life came to light. One conflict area carers spoke of as unforeseeable was the time the Chinese child was supposed to spend in the carer's home. During the first negotiations several parents said that they did not know exactly which days they would take the child home with them but expressed their intentions to do so. Almost all carers of live-in children under the age of ten commented on the end of the first week the child moved to their house and on their uncertainty when the parents would show up. As Johnny's carer recalled:

> "And there we were waiting for Johnny's parents to appear at our doorstep on Saturday to take him home. But they did not come. Just imagine all that anxiety… And I called his mother and she said they were so busy they could not take him. Could he, please, stay? Of course, he could stay."

Hungarian carers' days off the job were a recurrent source of conflict and several interlocutors recalled that there were entire months that they had the child in their home without a break. Since without exception all of them grew fond of the child that lived with them, this conflict lost intensity as time passed.

In most accounts of live-in care arrangements, references were made to a very strong mutual emotional attachment that developed between carer and child. It was usually stories of children between the ages of two and six that highlighted the weekly or biweekly conflicts over temporary separation from carers when parents came to pick their child up Saturday night. Sometimes parents gave up the fight and left their child in the carer's home, sometimes special situations were set up that made take-over easier. Andi, a caregiver in her early fifties remembered how little Lulu's parents decided to pick her up:

> "Finally, they [Lulu's parents] asked us to meet them in the local Tesco's. 'Pretend as if you were shopping and sit her in a trolley and just leave her there and disappear and we take over.' So that was what we did but it was very hard and she [Lulu] became desperate."

The emotional involvement, the personal costs and consequences of caregiving are topics widely discussed in care literature, often in the context the power structure of relations between first world white service buyers and more deprived migrant caregivers. Although in these cases of local carers and migrant care buyers the internal power structure is fundamentally different, the Hungarian carers' emotional involvement often became a factor that weakened their bargaining position with Chinese parents (see Uttal - Tuominen 1999).

Hungarian carers also pointed out that it was very difficult to renegotiate the original terms of contract with Chinese parents. Two of the carers mentioned that they wanted to ask for extra payment during periods of the child's illness when they worked night shifts trying to lower the child's temperature or taking him to the night urgency unit in the hospital. Those parents held the view that there was no work to be done with a child during the night and they refused to pay the extra money. Illnesses often generated disagreements between carers and parents. Some parents rejected to use of antibiotics while the carers, instructed by the paediatrician, insisted on them. Carers found that parents do not attribute importance to what

they considered severe illnesses and some commented that they were surprised to see that parents took the child back to them ill with high fever.

The time span of the oral contract was never defined with precision when the agreement was made, or if it was, Hungarian carers felt they were not made familiar with it. When asked about how much longer they would go on caring for the Chinese child living in their homes, caregivers responded that they were not sure and they gave time estimates in years. Four carers told about incidents of an abrupt end of the care arrangement and the oral contract that they found difficult to handle for affective reasons. In these four cases children were reported to have been sent to China to live with relatives.

All Chinese parents left relative freedom of decision to carers about everyday matters in children's lives without having them specified previously. They placed their trust in the formerly unknown Hungarian child carers, however, sometimes they misjudged certain qualities of the potential carer and decided on a child placement that did not work well for the child and had to be changed. The case of baby Kevin offers an example of this. Baby Kevin, the second child of a family of entrepreneurs, was born in Budapest in 2013 and arrived in one of my interlocutor's home six months later. Kevin's father and mother were both in charge of shops ran by their extended family and worked very long hours located in two different shopping malls, so a couple of weeks after his birth Kevin was sent in the care of a Hungarian person whose identity was not revealed by his parents to the carer who happened to be an infant carer by her original profession. Although Kevin was not born prematurely, it was visible that he did not develop as it could have been expected, neither physically, nor mentally. All he could consume at the age of a year and a half was tiny portions of formula milk, and his bodily movements were those of a much younger child. He could not express his needs, he clang to his carer's shoulders inseparably, or lie still wherever he was placed, and was frightened by loud human voices. Kevin's carer's Hungarian family had several members who worked as child health professionals and his problems received much attention so by the time I met him during fieldwork at the age of two and a half he was on the way of reaching up to his peers.

It was easier to modify the placement decision of children who were old enough to express themselves with words. Sári, one of my interlocutors in her mid-fifties commented critically on the work of three other un-interviewed child carers, a pair of retired sisters in the 15th district, and Helga, a woman in her early sixties who had been in business providing live-in childcare for Chinese, Vietnamese and Hungarian children for two decades. During her career as carer of Chinese children Sári received Lili and Momo both of whom had spent an undefined time period in Helga's apartment; however, both of their parents decided to the find another place for them. Helga had from fifteen to twenty live-in children on a permanent basis in her three-room apartment in a block of flats of the 14th district of Budapest. It was Lili's parents who took my interviewee to Helga's place when five-year-old Lili was moved. As Sári told, "Helga installed bunker beds in the rooms separated by curtains; that was the private space each kid could have. There were very strict rules the kids had to follow and they were not allowed to raise their voice. She beat the kids up… You know, Chinese parents encourage the use of physical punishment if necessary." Parents did not share their reasons with Sári; nevertheless, five-year-old Lili ended up in Sári's home where she lived with Sári's children and husband for three and a half years.

II. 2. Hungarian carers

The care arrangements of Chinese migrant children in Hungary discussed here had a markedly gendered character. The Hungarian adults assuming the responsibility of the care of one or more Chinese children in my accidental sample were all women. Three of them were

assisted in this to some degree by their spouses and four of them were helped by their teenage or young adult children. All the care workers I met were parents as well; all of them had at least two children of their own and some of them raised up to four own children. The youngest women were in their late forties, the eldest in their early sixties during the research period, however, all of them engaged in this activity years before my fieldwork started. I met a married couple who received the first Chinese child in their home soon after the first massive waves of Chinese migrants settled in Hungary in the early 1990s, and who always had at least one child living in ever since 1996 when they were in their mid-thirties. Their experiences outlined possible relationship scenarios stretching over a period of two decades. Three of the more elderly carers' comments suggested that age was an important factor taken into account by Chinese parents who expressed a preference for younger carers.

In terms of residence and social standing David's Auntie Gizi represented the high end living in her own house in a residential neighbourhood of the 14th district of Budapest. Besides another woman in her forties who lived in a small house in the 15th district, all carers resided in apartments in blocks of flats (*lakótelep* in Hungarian) in the 4th , 8th and 15th districts of Budapest and in a North-Eastern suburb.

Three of the fourteen carers interviewed completed tertiary education (two kindergarten teachers and a dietician). Five of the fourteen had had previous experience working with children; there were two kindergarten teachers, a kindergarten assistant, an infant carer, and a district children's health visitor among them.

The channels through which the first contacts in my sample were made with Chinese parents outlined two patterns. The first was connected to state childcare institutions: the kindergarten employees met Chinese children and parents on their jobs. Once a successful and mutually satisfactory parent-child-carer relationship was established it led to more. Jucika, one of the three kindergarten employees in her mid-sixties about to retire at the time of our interview was particularly popular among Chinese parents although she resisted the live-in arrangement. She was a woman of rules who was reported to give afternoon tea and dinner as well as very efficient tutorial classes to primary school children in her apartment. She always had more work offer from the network of Chinese families than she could take and she passed children on to her colleagues Hugi and Klári who were also unwilling to care for live-in children. So, one of them contacted a friend and former colleague who accepted children to live in.

The second pattern of contact in my sample was based on a combination of a series of spontaneous encounters and a formation of trust between Chinese migrants and potential carers. They met regularly as a Hungarian attendant and a Chinese customer in a café situated near a Chinese shopping centre in Budapest; as neighbours and friends of a Hungarian person who rented business premises to a Chinese family; as a relative of a Hungarian accountant working for Chinese clients, to mention a few examples.

Although my carer interlocutors' personal narratives of when, how and why they got engaged in the care of Chinese children in their own homes showed many individual traits, their antecedents, social situations, personal positions, and labour market perspectives outlined a characteristic pattern. Women of their age groups (late forties to early sixties) with few qualifications are in a vulnerable position on the labour market. Their majority (eight out of fourteen) was divorced, received no financial support from their former husbands, and became the principal breadwinners in their households. Five of the women had had Swiss franc mortgages and either already sold their previous family homes or felt under strong economic pressure to do so in the near future.

All of them stood at a vocational crossroads with abrupt changes related to their work or family situation when the possibility to care for Chinese children opened up.

Jucika, Hugi, and Klári, three women, colleagues at a Budapest kindergarten in the 15th district, were childcare professionals in formal employment. They were fresh divorcees with their former husbands assuming no or very limited financial responsibility for their children and mortgages in common. They were the three carers mentioned previously who rejected the live-in care arrangement. Rozália, the fourth woman with a childcare related profession who used to work as a district children's health visitor, had just quit her former job and finished setting up a private kindergarten when she found the Chinese family's ad looking for a 24-hour professionally trained carer for their one-year-old. There was a fifth woman, mother of four adult children, who was trained as an infant carer and worked in a day care nursery before she had a family.

Most other Hungarian women had become unemployed, or stood at the verge of unemployment after years spent outside the labour market raising their own children before they got engaged in this activity. With no university degrees or marketable expertise they found their prospects of return to the world of work weak.

As it has been mentioned before, the fourteen carers I met attended the needs of altogether thirty eight Chinese children in recent decades. This number does not, however, represent the totality of children they received in their homes for afternoon and weekend care and primary school tutorials during the time of fieldwork. The care activities of those receiving school age children for tutorial lessons outlined a business model that was based on regular income from several families. Besides Chinese children, I met Vietnamese and Hungarian boys and girls between the age of six and eleven in carers' homes. Hungarian parents paid by occasion, while similarly to Chinese parents, Vietnamese parents set prices for the day or for the week. I asked the carer I refer to as Hugi to tell when she cared for whom during an ordinary week. Hugi, who lived in a two bedroom apartment in a block of flats with her two teenage children, explained:

> "Sometimes I work morning shifts and sometimes I work afternoon shifts at the kindergarten but I usually finish by four. I go and pick up the three Vietnamese children who come every afternoon and on Saturdays. The Chinese children come on weekends. Some of the Hungarian children come once, or twice, or three times a week. When everybody has arrived I give them some light snacks and we plan the afternoon. They can choose from three options and we make three groups. Kids in the first group start with their school tasks, while the second group watches TV in my son's room; members of the third group can play games with my daughter in her room, and the groups take turns. It works well, of course, my son and daughter help me a lot, but they understand why it is necessary."

Carers mentioned several sources of satisfaction on their jobs with Chinese children. Some emphasized the importance of earning money and being able to make ends meet and said that keeping up this activity they could be in control of their lives. They were satisfied professionally when children's grades improved at school. All of them commented on the emotional gains from the mutual affection for the children they cared for, a gain, that on the other hand, weakened their position to represent their own interests as the parents' employees. Three of my interlocutors interpreted their work experiences as a special way to get to know an exotic culture. As Hugi put it,

> "you now, I can't afford travel to foreign countries, although I would love to go. But getting to know the Chinese kids and their families, and the Vietnamese kids… it opens the door to an exotic world and I like that very much."

II. 3. Chinese parents

As mentioned before, the overwhelming majority of Chinese migrants in Hungary are entrepreneurs (Nyíri 2006:43). Although in a 2006 study Nyíri described the local Chinese society undivided by sharp social lines (Nyíri 2006:44), a more recent study that targeted Chinese work forms referred to the consolidation of a local Chinese economic elite (Várhalmi 2009:26). The first massive waves of Chinese migration to Hungary arrived from all over the PCR, however, the influx from the South-Eastern Provinces has increased in recent years. The average education of Chinese in Hungary migrants is higher than that of the average population in China, and in fact I met several highly educated former professionals who became entrepreneurs in Hungary.

All the parents of my accidental sample of thirty eight Chinese children except for one couple were first generation migrant entrepreneurs many of whom arrived from the South-East.[4] One couple worked as employees in the business of the wife's distant relatives hoping to become independent one day. It was not only fathers who had enterprises. Mothers either had businesses of their own or were in full charge of a definite unit of a more extended family company working very long hours and weekends. To the best of my understanding, the majority of these parents completed no tertiary education and many of them originated from rural areas or small towns. By no is means is this representative of the totality Chinese migrant entrepreneur families in Hungary.

Paying for live-in childcare or regular after-school classes were costs not all migrant entrepreneur families in Hungary could afford. Discussing second generation identities, Beck refers to Chinese parents who would have preferred to send their children to live-in care in Hungary but its costs they considered too high and that was the reason why they sent children to live with her grandparents in China (Beck 2015:10).

Above a certain level it was not possible for me to judge the economic standing of a Chinese family based on the type of childcare they opted for; but based on what they told carers, their businesses were in the process of rapid expansion. Unlike the children of the wealthiest, no school age Chinese child from the thirty eight attended private school. The majority of the families were reported to have purchased the apartment they lived in the 10^{th}, 13^{th}, $14^{th,}$ and 15^{th} districts of Budapest, generally in the vicinity of their business locations. Children in my sample who arrived recently from China were sent either to the Chinese-Hungarian bilingual school or the local school nearest to the carer's home.

When decided over a child's placement Chinese parents completed the transaction with no delay or trial period for carers or children. Two carers who received one-month-old babies in their homes remembered the challenge of the transition from breastfeeding to formula milk in one day.

In spite of their limited communication possibilities, in carers' view it was always Chinese parents who defined the terms of cooperation, the amount and frequency of payment, the services paid for, the frequency of their visits to the child, or the timing of carer's days off, just like as if it was any other business operation they were accustomed to.

Chinese fathers' and mothers' practices with their children did not fit Hungarian carers' culturally conditioned and gendered expectations of parental behaviour in several ways. All carers without exception noted the differences of Chinese parents' communication with children in terms of gestures, bodily contact and facial expressions. Hugs, kisses, prolonged periods of continuous and intimate physical contact were reported to be missing altogether.

[4] This section is based on data provided by carers, and to some extent, on insights from second generation Chinese youth. Although I briefly met some of the parents, it did not become possible to interview them formally. Chinese parents unrelated to the thirty eight children were interviewed but their material is not included here.

Carers' majority commented on fathers' more active involvement in keeping contact with the carer and the child. Sometimes this was directly related to their more advanced level of Hungarian, but not only were fathers reported to talk more to carers. In general, carers found fathers' behaviour with their children more attentive and more affectionate than that of mothers, and remarked that mothers demonstrated much less interest in their children. Sári recalled an episode related to Lili and her mother. Six-year-old Lili had been living with Sári's family for more than a year. Her parents usually came to visit her once a fortnight but during summer her parents travelled to China leaving her behind and four weeks passed without Lili and her parents seeing each other. Finally, the parents dropped in to visit her after their return. Lili's father talked to his daughter in a friendly way and then got down to technical matters with Sári. Lili's mother said hello to Lili and with a sudden move returned to her handbag dropped on the sofa. "I thought she would open the bag and pull out a gift she brought for her from China. But she pulled out her phone and sat down on the sofa immersed in it. Oh, I felt so sorry for the little one."

Although they phrased it differently, all carers of live-in children reflected on children's attachment to them and children's lower degree of emotional attachment to their parents and to the fact that this did not seem to cause any problem for Chinese parents. "I can't imagine how they are not jealous of us", Sári wondered, "but they don't seem to be jealous at all. On the contrary, they seem happy that their child loves us so much."

Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents' treatment of siblings intrigued carers and the anthropologist alike. Observing the different childcare scenarios within the same nuclear family outlined no rule of equal treatment of children on an individual level. Families' situations including their economic position and the intensity of the development of their businesses change during the process of migration, and face them with different time and money constraints at subsequent periods following their arrival in a new country. Migrant families' start up situations and China's one child policy were likely to have contributed to the fact that several first born children in a family were sent home to China to the care of grandparents for a varying number of years. Subsequent children were more likely to stay in Hungary in live-in care, especially if the family enterprise prospered.

Another consideration that pushed Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents towards sending a child to China was related to language and one more highly valued skill associated with Chinese language education: discipline. Although many Chinese children born in Hungary and raised by Hungarians including some of the thirty eight children in this research participated in some form of systematic Chinese language education either attending the Chinese-Hungarian bilingual primary school, or one of the stricter weekend Chinese schools, parents reported on moments when they noticed that their child just did not know enough Chinese. An entrepreneur mother's losing control of and inner dilemma about his children's education and their knowledge of Chinese is revealed by a lengthy interview excerpt cited by Nyíri (Nyíri 2006:64-65). Sending some of one's children under the care of Hungarians may lead to family situations in which some of the children cannot actually communicate with their parents in Chinese and need a sibling's help with translation, such as described by Beck (Beck 2015: 39).

Carers commented on Chinese parents' practice of separating siblings during their outsourced care periods living with Hungarian carers. Sári, my interlocutor with the longest experience with Chinese children became acquainted with a Chinese family in the mid-1990s. Before their arrival the couple left their firstborn with grandparents in China and had her come over to Hungary when she reached six years of age in 1996. Then she was placed with Sári and her family immediately after her arrival and lived with them for four years. Later on two more children were born to the family in Budapest. The second of the three was sent to China

shortly after her birth, whereas the third child was placed in the care of another Hungarian woman and was never sent to live in China. When the family decided about the return of the second child to Hungary they made an initial attempt to unite her with her younger sister under the care of the Hungarian lady responsible for the youngest. The sister in the middle had a terrible time there in constant conflict because she felt that the Hungarian carer favoured her younger sister in every possible way. So, after two weeks the parents changed their minds and sent the second child to live with Sári and her family. Lilian, a second generation Chinese interlocutor born in China, an only child raised between China and Hungary with experience living in a Hungarian carer's home had a clear cut explanation for this practice.

> "I think being the only Chinese child at a carer's is better because you get more exclusive service, private attention to your needs only. At least, that's what I would choose."

Even more intriguing than the different treatment given to siblings are Chinese parents' reasons for their choice of childcare arrangement. Talking to members of the non-entrepreneur Chinese population in Hungary, and highly qualified Chinese migrants living in Western Europe about the possibility of sending one's child to live-in childcare confirmed what was mentioned before that many Chinese parents prioritized living with and caring for their children themselves. As literature suggests, the modernization and subsequent individualization of Chinese society (Yan 2009), the changing content of parent-child, and especially mother-daughter relationships (Evans 2010, Fong 2002), the increasingly accepted role of romance and emotions as a basis for marriage (Efron Pimentel 2000) are all factors that may influence childcare related norms and practices. Unqualified members of extended families arriving from rural and small town areas of the South-East of China that formed the majority of the families carers in my research sample got into contact with are more likely to be representatives of less modernised family values and practices.

Chinese entrepreneur parents' choice of child care is intrinsically related with their parenting strategy. Based on Baumrind's parental control typology (Baumrind 1966) psychological literature differentiates between authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. While authoritative parents are demanding, but responsive, understanding, forgiving and affectionate to their children and encourage children's own decisions and reasoning, authoritarian parents are also demanding but non-responsive to their children, do not recognize their emotional needs, employ corporal punishment, and expect them to follow their instructions without explanation; 'authoritarian parents see their primary job to be bending the will of the child to that of authority' (Darling 2014). Several elements of authoritarian parenting were present in the childcare practices employed by the parents of the children in this sample, such as the disregard for children's emotional needs, the withdrawal or hiding of parents' affections, and parents' encouragement of carers to use corporal punishment if necessary.

Authors of a comparative psychological study focusing on the socialization goals and parental practices of Chinese and Indian mothers of preschool children found that patterns in relationships between filial piety, (that is obedience to parents), socioemotional development and authoritative parenting differed across Chinese and Indian mothers. Their results suggested that Chinese mothers believed that the use of authoritative practices, which encouraged socioemotional development in children, would inhibit the achievement of filial behaviour and academic achievement (Rao et. al. 2003)

Finally, I would like to draw the attention to the relatively balanced power relations between service buyers, Chinese migrant parents, and service providers, middle and lower middle class Hungarian women. Similarly to Vietnamese migrant parents in the Czech Republic

discussed extensively by Souralová (Souralová 2015), the economically prosperous transnational Chinese migrant entrepreneurs' relations of power with their Hungarian carer employees are fundamentally different from those care relations where it is white middle class first world women buying the services of third world deprived migrant women and where the space of care is the service buyer's territory.

II. 4. Care arrangements and Chinese children

The children under the care of my interlocutors belonged to very different age groups at the time of fieldwork. Some were toddlers, some attended kindergarten or elementary school, and a few of them were already young adults, some with children of their own. Few definitive statements can be made on how the live-in care arrangement and multiple mobilities of children between paid carers and relatives in Hungary and China affected their lives, identities, and personalities, their relations with their country of origin and country of residence. Experiences of the various age groups, nevertheless, outline areas of impact.

The majority of Chinese migrants involved in the care relationships encountered during research took up a second, contextual identity and tended to adopt a non-Chinese first name reserved for and used in situation that involved Hungarians. Most of my Hungarian interlocutors remained unfamiliar with parents' full Chinese names after years of cooperation. Likewise, Chinese parents gave their children non-Chinese names informally and they instructed carers to use those for everyday communication contributing to the 'yellow outside, white inside banana identity' of second generation Chinese youth in Hungary (Beck 2015). So, for example, the carer of four-week-old Huanche was asked to call him Johnny and that's the alias he was living under in his Hungarian homes for nearly three years. Marking a contrary tendency, several second generation young adult Chinese persons who spoke to me in Hungarian with no accent found it important to stress that they do not run under a Hungarian alias, only by their Chinese names.

Most Chinese parents manifested their intention that their young children address their Hungarian carers as Mother (in Hungarian *mama, anya*), Father (*papa, apa* in Hungarian), or Grandmother (*nagymama* in Hungarian). (Literature on Chinese migrants in Hungary generally uses the term dajka, or nurse, nanny in English which are equvialents of the Chinese word baomu 保姆 for child carer.) Four of my interlocutors, Jucika, Hugi, Klári and Gizi working with school age children commented on their strong opposition to this practice and insisted on being called Auntie (néni in Hungarian) combined with their first names. When asked for their reasons they coincided in saying that they did not want to get too involved in the relationship emotionally and wanted to remind themselves that it was a paid relationship with a definite timespan.

Languages, codes of behaviour

Familiarity with a language or the lack of it may have immediate and far reaching consequences for Chinese children living and raised partly or completely in Hungary. Some of the children born in Hungary and cared for by Hungarians are fluent speakers of Hungarian and speak hardly any Chinese when they are sent back to kindergarten to China. On their return to Hungary a few years later the situation is reversed and leads to difficulties on multiple levels at Hungarian schools, as we saw in the case of David.

Learning Hungarian as a first language and using it uninterrupted by years of stay in China make learning and keeping up Chinese skills a challenging task. This is further aggravated by the extra efforts and discipline learning to write Chinese requires. Chinese parents and carers both made brief references to situations of shame during family visits to China with children

who did not speak Chinese well enough or who did not behave respectfully and in a disciplined way during encounters with members of the family. Parents' expectations of language skills and familiarity with Chinese codes of self-controlled behaviour were central motifs of their decision to send a child to live in China with relatives.

Parental socialization goals of young Chinese children are easily overruled by childcare practices employed in Hungarian carers' homes. The outcome of parallel systems of socialization of parents and carers goes beyond language. Several carers as well as elementary school teachers commented in unison on the phenomenon of code switching performed by Chinese children when transferring from one sociocultural context to the other. All carers told about experiences of abrupt changes in physical contact, body language, facial expression and even sometime the activity children were engaged in when their parents arrived. Many Chinese children in Hungarian homes learned to appreciate physical contact, were reported to enjoy being held in their carers arms or sit comfortably on their laps while reading a book. They learned to give and receive kisses on the face. They had fun playing with peers in a somewhat uncontrolled and loud way. A code switching episode was told by the director of a small and friendly multicultural elementary school. She contrasted the ways her Chinese students greeted her in the morning and how they said goodbye in the afternoon running towards her laughing with arms wide open for an embrace of farewell.

> "One day it was his mother and not his Hungarian carer who came for Lacika [one of the Chinese children she referred to], and her mother told him to say goodbye to me and Lacika said goodbye with a poker face without the slightest movement and accompanied his mother. That was an enormous difference."

The recognition and expression of personal emotions and observations evaluating childhood experiences marked a sharp contrast with first generation Chinese migrants' more reserved forms and topics of expression (see also Kovács 2016). Shasha, a young adult second generation Chinese woman made it one of her life objectives to assess, understand and learn to handle the personal consequences of her upbringing in two worlds following two often contrasting sets of rules. Shasha was born in China and her parents moved her to Hungary in the mid-1990s at the age of ten. She was sent to live for a year with a Hungarian family who had a daughter Shasha's age.

> "They were nice to me but I did not understand a word and I cried a lot there. It was very difficult. But I am not in touch with that family any more. I cannot even recall where exactly they lived. After all, what my parents did to me made me tough and I would endure anything, anywhere, and I think that is good", Shasha summarized her position during one of our lengthy conversations.

Young adult Kitty, who lived in a Hungarian carer's home for much longer remembered her life with her carer and her carer's husband with nostalgia identifying the carer's home with intimacy (Beck 2015:29).

Lili, the second Chinese child Sári cared for in the late 1990s for three and a half years had a long intimate conversation with Sári during one of her nostalgia visits to their house, a place of her childhood. With tears in her eyes Lili made the following confession to Sári: "The best time of my life are the years I spent with you. I learned to like children because of you and I want to work with children. I started already, I'm teaching English to a little Chinese girl and I enjoy it very much."

Sári, who also cared for Lili's elder sister and kept close contact with both girls, was invited to the sister's wedding together with her husband. The elder sister married a young first generation Chinese man and was expecting their first baby. She and her husband continued working in her parents' network of shops in a similar way to her parents.

> "And she came up to me and asked me, 'Sári, would you take care of my child when she is born? Can I take her to your place?' I was very moved by this. And I said, yes, if that's what you really want."

On his return to Hungary after eight years spent in China, Auntie Gizi gave full board to fifteen-year old Leo for eight months. Leo was born in Budapest and lived there until the age of six. Leo forgot all the Hungarian he learned as a young kid and his mother paid Gizi a monthly fee for lodging and feeding him and practicing Hungarian. Gizi and Leo became mutually fond of each other. Leo would have preferred to stay in her house but her mother, a former entrepreneur turned a guide for Chinese tourists by the time of our interview, said she could not afford it. Leo moved out but their relationship with Auntie Gizi turned into an intimate and respectful friendship they have been cultivating ever since. Seventeen year old Leo and sixty-five-year old Auntie Gizi were planning to save up for a trip to China together.

III. Conclusions

The anthropological research presented in this paper targeted outsourced child care forms of Chinese migrant entrepreneur parents working in Hungary. The paper, based mostly but not exclusively on data from carers, aimed at providing an ethnography of this phenomenon. Fieldwork and literature suggest that the practice of live-in childcare arrangements, that is, Chinese children living in Hungarian carers' homes on a permanent basis, dates back to the mid-1990s that coincided with the formation period of the Chinese migrant entrepreneur population in Hungary. At the same time, it has to be noted that literature on Chinese family relations and informal communication with Chinese migrant individuals outside of the group of migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary or in Western Europe indicated a marked preference of caring for one's own children personally.

Field research outlined a certain socio-cultural-economic pattern of carers, as well as migrant families likely to choose the childcare arrangement involving the child living in the carer's home and/or living with relatives in China for years.

Carers were found to be lower middle class to middle class women in their late forties to their mid-sixties, often assisted by family members. Some of the women were childcare professionals, former kindergarten teachers, and district nurses. They all resided in the capital and on the whole, their labour market positions were weak due to their age and lack of qualifications. Some of them faced unemployment and some of them found themselves in a difficult situation after a divorce. In all cases carers reported on an affective and intimate bond that developed with the Chinese children they hosted.

With the exception of one couple all the Chinese parents of the thirty eight children were migrant entrepreneurs. Several couples, especially the ones who arrived more recently, started out from rural areas in the South-East of China as part of a process of family chain migration. The migration of Chinese women combined with female migrant entrepreneurship present in Hungary is a key demographic factor in understanding the childcare practices discussed. Data from this research alongside with studies on Chinese transnational enterprises in Hungary suggest that the notion of family is constitutive in Chinese businesses. Parents' practices and behaviour with their children the in carers' presence and their instructions to carers about rigour and corporal punishment reflected marked elements of the non-responsive authoritarian parenting style. Parents did not elaborate on their reasons for choosing this care form but simply said to the carers that they had to work and their businesses could not wait. Literature suggested that more parents would have preferred the live-in childcare arrangement than the ones who could afford it. To sum up, variations of childcare solutions were influenced by the type of employment migrant parents had; the geographical area and degree of urbanization of the place they came from; and also by their degree of education.

Chinese children's ages varied from five weeks to sixteen years with the primary goal of the arrangement shifting with age from day care to assistance with studies and the provision of a space for Hungarian socialization. In their carers' homes Chinese children not only learned Hungarian; they acquired another cultural code set that contributed to their 'banana' identity. They experienced a parenting or care style that had more elements of the authoritative parenting style prioritizing socio-emotive development, and they became intimately and affectively connected to their carers.

The live-in care arrangement cases that are often combined with care periods with relatives in China share common features. They form part of the black economy, and they are based on informal oral agreements the exact terms of which are defined in major part by Chinese parents. Trust, informality, uncertainty, and the relative balance of power refer to important aspects of the relationship between Hungarian carers and Chinese families. Not having a shared language in most cases, trust on the Chinese part is either advanced and is based on information from fellow migrants and on nonverbal impressions about carers and their living surroundings, or, as we have seen, on a previous gradual process of getting informally acquainted. Trust on the Chinese side seemed to work well, however, and the loose contact kept with children involved risks of bad treatment as the story of baby Kevin suggested. The lack of a shared language or a written agreement over the care of the child, and Hungarian carers' culturally shaped notions of childcare and parental behaviour often led to uncertainty on carers' behalf about what to expect from Chinese parents in terms of visits and days off. This global migration-related care arrangement scheme outlined more balanced power relations between care buyers and care providers than the majority of cases of third world female migrants providing care services far away from their own homes to first world white middle class women. It also marked an important difference that the place of care became the carer's home where the child often lived full time with the carer for extended time periods.

The study of the childcare arrangement between Chinese migrants and Hungarian carers connects to a variety of issues. Finally, I would like to comment on two of its aspects, transnationality and integration through intimate ties

The parenting practices many of which included alternating live-in childcare in the destination country, Hungary, with live-in childcare with close kin, grandparents, uncles, aunts in the country of origin, China, represent very proper transnational practices. These practices are inseparable from the authoritarian parenting styles discussed above and witnessed among some of the Chinese migrant entrepreneurs parents; from the socio-culturally conditioned notions, norms and values of family that are not based primarily on intimacy and emotional ties between members of subsequent generations; and from the family-based transnational business model of successful Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Hungary. Geographical and spatial mobility of children are justified by the long term good and economic and social mobility of the entire family group, however, it does not target children's individual success or happiness directly. Eleven-year old David's parents' rationale serves the long term purposes and ambitions of the extended family.

A thorough exploration of practical details, parental behaviour and affective dimensions of this care process contribute to our understanding of its long term consequences for the integration prospects of second generation Chinese youth in Hungary. For several members of the second generation, childhood experiences in carers' homes connected to intimacy and an affective relatedness. Those spaces were defined by different care strategies with more elements of the authoritative parenting style, and more dominated by attention to a child's individuality and affective needs than the Chinese contexts they were familiar with. Chinese parents did all they could to be in control of the care process in the carer's home and contributed to their children's acquisition of Hungarian, nevertheless, children raised by

Hungarian women could easily fall short of discipline and filial piety. Chinese parents, on the other hand, could not necessarily foresee where exactly certain elements of outsourced care could lead to in children's and their families' lives. Sometimes they reacted to unexpected or unwanted developments by making an abrupt mobility decision concerning their child, cutting of contact with the Hungarian carer. Fieldwork and literature suggest that on their children reaching adolescence in Hungary, Chinese parents' job becomes more challenging with Hungarian peers role models competing with form of behaviour expected by parents.

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