Numerous sociological studies conducted during the last decades have revealed an increased diversity and de-standardization of family forms and configurations, family formation patterns and inter-relations among its members. These changes are so evident and dramatic, that occasionally even the question has been raised whether family as a social institution still exists. Until today in many European countries we observe ongoing trends, e.g. of decreasing marriage and/or birth rates, of increasing divorces and remarriages, of postponement of family formation to later stages in the life course.

At the same time researchers observe continuity and, especially in Northern Europe, even trends’ reversals. Traditional patterns of the division of paid and unpaid work within couples, for example, are visible everywhere, even if on gradually more subtle levels. The desire to live in a stable partnership and the motivation to have children remain high. The family still is considered one of the most important values and life spheres.

Continuity and change - we find both at the same time. So, questions arise: how much continuity do we observe? Where do we observe change and why? How can the observed change/continuity be explained at a global, social group or individual level? How can we explain asynchrony of developments between the European countries/regions? How can and should we identify and measure the change/continuity? Are we over- or under-estimating the degree of change due to a lack of appropriate methods?

Scientific Committee: Isabella Crespi, Detlev Lück, Gerardo Meil, Giovanna Rossi, Eric D. Widmer, Anna-Maija Carstén, Vida Česnuitytė, Esther Dermott

Local Organizers: Vida Kanopienė, Vida Česnuitytė
PLENARY SESSION I
Chairs: Sarmite Mikulionienė & Anna-Maija Castrén
Discussant: Detlev LÜCK

Ulla BJÖRNBERG, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

NUCLEAR FISSION IN FAMILIES. HISTORIC REVIEW OF PERSPECTIVES IN EUROPEAN FAMILY SOCIOLOGY

Like many themes in sociology, family sociology has had a special interest in studying social change through the lens of families. In the process of modernization families have been portrayed as carrying changing features that have caused worries in debates about the effects of changes on keeping important “family functions” alive. In retrospect, families were analyzed as units to be held together through special duties carried out by women in particular, through the financial support by husbands. For example, looking back at my own history, I started to study families inspired by Nordic approaches to the interconnections of family, social class and community. However with the growing impact of women studies the focus shifted into analysis of what was going on in families with theoretical lenses of gender. Women studies asked new questions about family life and analyzed domestic labor and the exploitation of female unpaid reproductive work. The theoretical framework was macrostructures of patriarchy. Complementary to the gender approach, the features of individualization within the process of modernization developed as an overarching lens in studies of changing family patterns. Family change like sinking birth rates, increased cohabitation and falling marriage rates, children born out of wedlock, divorce and separation and formation of new families became the final blow to the view on families as units - “Nuclear fission of families”, to quote the title of a thesis by the Norwegian sociologist, Kari Moxnes. New conceptions like ‘family practices’ (David Morgan), ‘family configurations’ (Eric Widmer), ‘network families’ (Bäck-Wiklund), ‘family fragments’ (Smart& Neale), ‘transnational care in families’ (Baldassar and Merla), ’same sex families’ (Rosenheil) are examples of analyses of emerging family forms and of how family relations are maintained or reconstituted under changing social conditions. The role of social- and family policy and balancing work and family in analyzing institutional conditions for family life also provided a large amount of studies in family sociology. The position of the child in changing family formations has also become a strong focus in family sociology. Likewise the intergenerational perspective, especially on care under the new circumstances of increased female employment and ageing populations.

Julia BRANNEN, University of London, United Kingdom

STUDYING FAMILIES AND FAMILY LIFE: SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHES

The paper will consider some of the key methodological issues and approaches in the study of families and multi-generation families. In particular, it will address three sets of issues. The first concerns how to study aspects of family life that are habitual and quotidian and bring them into the reflective engagement of family members. The second concerns situating and making sense of family lives in relation to the historical and contextual aspects of time and space and the methods we may deploy in this endeavour. The third concerns the forms in which people narrate their family lives and how to understand and make sense of narrative accounts and memories.
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THE STRUGGLE FOR FAMILY LIFE: RETHINKING SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Keywords: institutions, roles, creative action, recognition, conflict

There has been much recent debate about the value of ‘the family’ as a sociological concept, and efforts have been made to generate alternative frames for analysing the dynamics of what has been described as ‘personal’, ‘intimate’ or ‘relational’ life (e.g. Smart 2007; Edwards, Ribbens McCarthy and Gillies 2012). The value of ‘orthodox’ approaches to defining the subject matter of this field of analysis in terms of ‘the family’ has been subject to critical debate and contestation (Gilding 2010).

Against this background, the need to explain intense social conflicts over the character and practice of contemporary ‘family’ life remains. Central questions concerning the shifting relationships between familial roles, identities and practices, and wider institutional changes, for instance in employment and the state, remain. Sociologists point to a new emphasis on individual choice, the diversity of family forms and roles, and the prioritisation of personal connectedness and intimacy (Irwin 2005; Smart 2007; Weeks 2007; Dermott and Seymour 2011; May 2011; Chambers 2012). The ways in which these institutional processes play out in relation to shifting normative configurations of gender, sexuality and the individual, comprise important areas of ongoing and future research. Efforts to understand personal struggles for intimacy, care, respect and love are situated within these wider social processes.

The often heated debates about the degree to which individualism has become the primary norm shaping familial and personal life (Giddens 1992, Jamieson 1999, Lewis 2001, Roseneil and Budgeon 2004; Daly and Scheiwe 2010) have underlined the difficulties of developing explanations which can account for normative and institutional change as well as stability, while at the same time paying attention to individual and collective forms of action. Explanations which can connect these levels of social life are needed, to allow, for instance, for fuller accounts of the ways in which symbolic capital continues to attach to conventional family forms (Bennett et al 2009:217).

This paper explores some of the challenges for generating comprehensive explanations of the dynamics of continuity and change in family life. The many analyses inspired by sociology’s ‘cultural turn’, focusing on discursive regimes around gender, sexuality and human reproduction, have been valuable, not least in emphasising complexity and conflict in the field of familial and intimate relations (e.g. Stacey 1990; Lupton and Barclay 1991; Cossett 1994). However, critics argue that the Foucauldian tendency to explain action as an effect of the operation of power through embodied forms of subjectivisation risks deflecting attention from the interactive, necessarily creative and consequently unpredictable character of such actions, as they are situated within, and in turn configure, social institutions and normative structures of meaning (King 2009:267; Lukes 2005:97).

The more recent development of a Bourdieusian-inspired sociology of culturally structured action has challenged Foucauldian accounts of the discursive construction of social life. Attention has shifted towards the relational and emotional character of situated forms of action, as they play out in fields characterised by struggles for distinction, through the accumulation of various forms of capital (e.g. Gillies 2007; Taylor 2009). However, critics take issue with Bourdieu’s assumption that social life is driven by the self-interested and ‘somewhat cynical’ effort to maximise one’s resources, and consequently one’s status (Joas 2009:384-5), again raising important questions about the drivers of continuity and change in this area of social life.
This paper instead seeks to consider the ways in which neo-pragmatism (Joas 1993, 1996; Bernstein 2010), and the sociology of recognition (Honneth 1995; Lovell 2007) allows for a comprehensive explanation of how contemporary ‘family life’ is taken up and remade, not least through the ‘feedback loops’ of social interaction (Demo 1992, Turner 1970). Honneth’s argument that social conflicts can generally be understood as effects of struggles for recognition, which he identifies as taking the form of efforts to secure respect, esteem or love from multiple sources, is a promising development in thinking about struggles within and about ‘family’ life. This turn towards explorations of emotional dynamics offers interesting ways of expanding available perspectives in ‘family’ or ‘personal life’ sociology. Similarly, neo-pragmatist thought, with its interest in the necessarily creative character of social action, as roles and identities are interpreted, designed and re-made by their incumbents, in situations which are often beyond their own making (Joas 1993), provides a potentially valuable approach for explaining how conflicts around family life shape, and in turn are shaped by, situated agents.

References


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CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS OF FAMILY AS RETARDANTS OF CHANGE IN FAMILY LIVES. NEW RESULTS FROM “LEITBILD” RESEARCH

Keywords: leitbild, culture, stability, theoretical concepts, family research methods

Description of the theoretical framework

Judging from an economic theoretical perspective, social change in family lives should proceed as fast as the circumstances, determining family related behaviour, are changing. What we observe empirically, however, is that there is a strong inertia: In many aspects social change is occurring slower and less consequent than the circumstances for economic behaviour do. The division of paid and unpaid work within couples, for example, has shifted somewhat towards more gender equality, but not very far, considering that women’s educational degrees have drawn level with men’s degrees in many European societies and human capital is no longer a convincing explanation for women being principally responsible for childcare and housework.
For explaining this inertia it seems promising to supplement the economic by a cultural theoretical perspective. Inspired by Katharina D. Giesel (2007), a research team at the German Federal Institute for Population Research proposes the theoretical concept of “leitbilder” (Diabaté & Lück 2014). It assumes that individuals have pictured conceptions of guiding role models in mind, such as pictures of the “normal” composition of a family, a “typical” number of children, the “perfect” timing when to have children or the “right” way how to distribute paid and unpaid work within a couple. It further assumes that these conceptions are collectively shared within societies, social groups and generations. And it assumes that individual behaviour tends to follow these conceptions, especially when actors do not have enough time or information to rationally reflect their options.

Regarding family related decisions “leitbilder” are likely to be relevant because young adults in fact often are unable to estimate the costs and benefits of various family career tracks: Will I be happy with this person as my partner? Will I be happier with or without children? Will I regret not to have spent more time with my child if I keep working fulltime for pay? Will my partner earn enough money to support our family? Will he loose his job and be unemployed for some time during the next 15 years? Will we stay together as a couple? Facing the long list of questions like these with uncertain answers, a common strategy may be to forego a rational decision and instead follow one’s family “leitbild”; one’s concept of how things should be normally. The family related “leitbilder”, again, are likely to be much more stable over time than economic or political circumstances and thereby retard the social change of family lives that changing circumstances are initiating.

Research hypotheses

The paper tries to find evidence for the theoretical concept of “leitbilder” by answering three research questions:

(1) Do people in fact have pictured conceptions of a “normal” family in mind? (Hypothesis: They do.)

(2) What do these family related “leitbilder” look like? (Hypothesis: They at least partially correspond to a reality of family lives of the previous generation.)

(3) Do the cultural-normative conceptions people have in mind correspond to their family related decisions and behaviour? (Hypothesis: They do to a certain degree – and thereby complement structural circumstances for economic rational decision making.)

Description of the data and the research methods

For analysing “leitbilder” the German Federal Institute for Population Research has conducted the survey “Familienleitbilder” in Germany in 2012 with n=5,000 (Lück et al. 2013). It is representative for the population, aged 20 to 39. The paper is going to use these data and conduct descriptive multivariate factor analyses as well as multivariate regression analyses for testing the hypotheses above.

Most important findings

The analyses have not been completed yet. First findings indicate an ambivalent picture: Partly “leitbilder” do correspond to a reality of family lives that lies back several decades. Partly they are quite up-to-date. This result may be caused by a bias and reflect social expectations; it may indicate that “leitbilder” also can be updated from time to time. “Leitbilder” certainly do correspond to people’s family reality.

Conclusions & discussion

Due to the lack of a longitudinal design a causal relationship between family related “leitbilder” and family lives cannot be tested. However, also the cross-sectional analyses provide some evidence for the existence of family related “leitbilder”, for an influence of family related “leitbilder” on individual family careers as well as for a lag between family related “leitbilder” and structural
circumstances. Therefore it is plausible that “leitbilder” work as retardants for change in family lives.

**References**


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**A COMBINED ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK IN STUDYING FAMILY REUNIFICATION**

**Keywords:** reunited families, transnational families, civic stratification, migrants in Italy, structure/agency

In this paper we focus on family reunification. How emigrant families are put together and the forms they take varies with the culture and social origin, though also with the subject's and the family's migratory strategy, the socio-cultural context of the host country and the latter’s chosen migration policy. The range of migrant family types and the differing patterns under which they reunite suggest they should be seen as the dynamic outcome of a process responding to a host of rules, including those of law (Tognetti Bordogna, 2004). Therefore, the issue of family reunification appears extremely complex. Faced with this complexity, the risk is to approach the question of family reunification overly emphasizing the normative regulation and forcing the subjects in a passive dimension; or, on the contrary, de-contextualize the subjective strategies of migrants and their families.

Exploratory fieldwork in Italy – in the province of Reggio Emilia which has one of the highest immigrant densities in Europe – led us to adopt a combined analytical framework in studying such families, bearing in mind both the theory of civic stratification (Kofman, 2004; Kraler et al., 2011; Morris, 2002; Rinaldini, 2010) the transnational perspective of migratory processes (Bertolani, 2012; Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec, 2004) and the linked concepts of “agency” and “social capital” of individuals (Aheam, 2002; Coleman, 1988). In particular, in our opinion, the combination of these analytical perspectives, helps to avoid theoretical limits concerning the determinism of structuralist readings of migration, but without to ignore the presence of devices tending to desubjectification of the actors. In this sense, individuals’ “agency” should not be considered as unconditional free will but as a constant process of choice that is subject to relational, cultural, economic and political constraints, contributing at the same time to modify these same constraints. Therefore, human actions are dialectically related to the social structure in form such that the two dimensions are mutually constitutive.

Our paper is based on results from qualitative empirical research of an exploratory nature, carried out in the province of Reggio Emilia, Northern Italy. The research lasted three years and
investigated processes of family reunion and family formation, living experience and the daily affairs of migrant families residing in that area. We held 33 interviews with reunited family members (10 Moroccan, 13 Pakistani, 10 Indian; usually with the spouses, though in 4 cases with children as well) and about 40 semi-structured interviews with young Indians who had been reunited. The choice of three national groups was dictated by the commissioning body’s need to know the true picture of these three communities, which are especially dense locally. The sampling technique employed was mixed: we adopted snowball sampling, based on reports coming in from friends or acquaintances of the same nationality; then, we partly adopted a “reasoned selection” so as to be able to saturate the concepts that emerged during research.

Our analysis focuses on the combined outcomes of structural limits and subjective and family migratory plans in the transnational social field. We reports some outcomes on the ways through which restrictions may be turned to possibilities and on how this affects the formation of the families and the roles within them. The study focuses on how traditional reproductive behaviors change taking in account national family reunification rules, constraints and resources offered by kin-networks and also personal desires. Also, it aims at illustrating the meaning that a transnational marriage can assume for the parental network and the individuals involved, in terms of personal and family’s prestige or of redefinition of family roles, of power-relations among the spouses and of gender identity within the newly born family. Finally, the paper discusses how traditional marriage practices (like for example “arranged marriages”) may be redefined in a transnational perspective.

In the first part of the paper we point out the characters of ambivalence that the institution of family reunification entails in itself, as a device that should favor and allow the family reunification while, at the same time, regulating, defining and restraining the number of the admitted family members. Then, we point out some of its social consequences, as family reunification may foster a process of stabilization but, at the same time, favor processes of redefinition of family roles and of negotiation of tradition. In the second part of the paper we explore some aspects of the concept of transnationalism applied to reunited families, to conclude that they are intrinsically transnational and to point out the implications of this fact in their everyday life. In the third part we apply the concept of civic stratification to the study of family reunification. A final section analyses some of the results of our fieldwork, on which to validate the combined analytical approach.

Our contention is that a transnational perspective, civic stratification and the concepts of “agency” and “social capital” can be usefully integrated and provide a new interpretive key to various aspects of family reunification.

References

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**USING VISUAL METHODS TO DESCRIBE FAMILY CHANGES: DOING AND DISPLAYING MIGRANT FAMILIES IN LITHUANIA**

**Keywords:** visual methods, family change, migration, doing family, displaying family

The de-bordering of Europe and the development of intra-European mobility are the significant factors giving the rise of the number of family changes in Lithuania. Intensive flows of emigration and increasing returned migration, as well as high mobility of women, transnational networking and growing numbers of parents–children living separately are among characteristic features of the recent family situation in Lithuania. This paper will examine the situation of families who are experiencing family changes due to emigration of one/several family members. As Janet Finch (2007: 72) argues the “… changes in the circumstances of one or more individuals can trigger the need to re-specify and reconfirm family relationships”, families under migration experience times of heightened intensity in the need to convey that they are still families. The paper will draw on the qualitative research of families under migration, carried out in 2014 at Vilnius University. The qualitative research was a part of the two-stage mixed methods research study, supported by the Research Council of Lithuania. The questions were raised, such as, what do we mean by migrant family change? Which way family practices are organized in different lived realities of family change? How family members try to convey that family relationships work and what meanings do they apply to these activities? What are the appropriate methods to do research on lived realities of families under migration?

My decision on the conceptual research model was to a large extent based on the knowledge attained during research studies since 2004 and the analysis of literary sources. The classical Reuben Hill’s *ABC-X model*, constructed while studying families separated by war was chosen to serve as the organizing conceptual axis of the whole two-stage mixed methods research. To this day, the model is widely applied in sociology when researchers seek to analyse family experiences across contexts unfavourable to family – experiences of violence, loss, divorce and re-marriage, physical handicap and migration (see, for example, McKenry and Price 2005). The works of Pauline G. Boss and her insights on *boundary ambiguity* as well as *managing stress* as the processes of selecting and applying ways of coping got a special attention. By invoking Hill’s stress model Boss has researched families of soldiers who went missing in Vietnam and families of patients suffering from Alzheimer’s disease.

Although the qualitative research, conducted in 2014 is framed by *family stress* model the author of the article takes the perspective of analysing *family change* instead of *family stress*. In adopting R. Hill’s model for the study of families in migration an assumption was made that migratory events do not necessarily lead to the negative impact on the family, since events/situations (*factor A*) are mediated by family resources (*factor B*) and by what meaning family members attribute to the event/situation (*factor C*). In this case, family resources and ability to define the situation in positive way are considered to be indicators of coping with challenges. Coping is analysed as a *process*, not as a result and refers to it as *impact management* (*factor D*), understood as management of family resources and definitions of the situations held by family members (Juozeliūnienė 2013).
In particular, the author of the paper was concerned to focus more precisely on family practices through the lens of managing family resources and emotional attitudes. The challenge was to unpack migrant family change-continuity.

_Impact management or managing changes_ are analysed through the lens of family practices. The concepts of _doing family_ (Morgan 2011) and _displaying family_ (Finch 2007) are considered as important sociological tool kits to study family practices. These concepts are employed to show that family life must not only be ‘done’ but also be ‘seen to be done’, while both family members and external audiences need to recognize and accept these displays. In family sociology the concepts of doing and displaying families initially were introduced both as empirical activities and as analytic concepts (Dermott et al. 2011). The author of the paper focus on the analysis of empirical activities of family members to consider the applicability of both concepts to the situations of family changes in the context of migration.

The paper draw on migrant _family doing_ practices through role-making activities and relationships organized around generation, kinship, gender, friendship while _family displays_ are analyzed by different examples of verbal explanation of family practices, behavioral presentation to the audience and acceptance of displays by multiple audiences.

Eight families were selected for qualitative research. In order to allow the variety of narratives, selected families reflected different lived realities of migration characterized by different social reception of the audience. In order to follow the logic of mixed methods approach the focus was on the actualization of solidarity indexes (developed by Vern L. Bengtson) analysed in the first stage of the two-staged research study. Solidarity relationships were conceptualized as family resources, capable to be accumulated in times of changes. Families selected for interview represented various solidarity based family types. Three members for each family took part in the interview for the purpose to give „voices” to family members and significant persons of different gender, generation and relatedness to the family.

The author discusses two methods used in interviews with migrant family members – a _Role making_ map and concentric circles to study emotional support. Integration of two visual methods in the interview helped the informant and the researcher narrativize the management of family resources and definitions of the situations held by family members.

The first visual method – _Role making_ map - is modification of _My family_ mapping method, introduced by Irene Levin (1993). _Role making_ map consisted of four steps with partial goals: 1) Forming a list of issues associated with the lived realities of the period of migration. In this step the structure of the family practises according to an informant is determined. 2) Informant groups issues and assigns them into different groups of significance. Colours could be used by informant in order to associate significance with different colours. The structure of family practices is represented in a hierarchical way according to the informant. 3) Role making map is formed, visualizing how an informant managed different changes appeared in the times of migration. The informant is asked to arrange a map, according to how difficult or easy was to manage the listed issues. 4) In-depth interview – researcher asks an informant about meanings, which he gives to his role making and asks to narrate family practices. This visual method takes its point in “doing” and “displaying” family in the context of migration.

The second visual method takes its point in “relationships” of emotional support. The author of the paper analysed advantages of concentric circles methods in order to choose between the _Four field_ map (Wendy Sturgess, Judy Dunn, and Lisa Davies), _Five field_ map (Margareta Samuelsson, Gunilla Thernlund, and Jerker Ringström) and concentric circles maps, introduced by Liz Spencer and Ray Pahl (2006), while studying friendship. The idea of mapping personal communities by Spencer and Pahl was selected to study emotional support. The informant was asked to place the names of people who provided emotional support on a map of concentric circles or out of the circles in case they did not provide the expected support or were labelled by escalating the _boundary ambiquity_. The meanings attributed to different practices were examined in a number of ways.
throughout the in-depth interview by discussing the way the names were allocated to different circles as well as by comparing emotional support by relatives, kin, siblings, friends and acquaintances. Although the author tried to avoid the strict division of space of the concentric circles according to categorical concepts of family members, kin, relatives and relational concepts, such as close friends and acquaintances, however these concepts were applied in the data collecting and data analysis processes.

While the narratives that emerge during the interviews with the members of the eight families cannot be viewed as comprehensive analysis of migrant family change, they provide insights into the family change-continuity situation of families under migration and can be regarded as contributing to a multi-layered picture of family practices. Application and testing of the concepts of doing and displaying family is a valuable contribution to the research field of family and interpersonal relationships.

References


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FAMILY AS A NEXUS OF MATERIAL-DISCURSIVE PRACTICES: NEW ONTO-EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE DEFINITION OF HUMANS AND HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE DEFINITION OF FAMILY

Keywords: Definitions of family, new materialism, new materialist ethnography

Within the last decades the concept of family was subject to constant redefinition. Who and what is family was steadily questioned. Despite many forms of close relationships exist, the continuance of the institution family has not declined or has even been reinforced. We experience what Rosi Braidotti calls a "schizoid double pull“ (Rosi Braidotti borrows the concept of the schizoid form Deleuzebarra): the accepted definitions of family constantly broaden and traditional family forms become strengthened at the same time. With current instruments of defining, the term "family" becomes harder and harder to grasp. In this talk I want to introduce a new definition of family as a nexus of, what philosopher Karen Barad (2007) calls, material-discursive practices.

Research thesis

On an analytical level we currently experience two types of family definitions: Top down and bottom up concepts. Top down definitions of family appear in family research, statistics, legal texts and political definitions. While Family was defined by Parsons and Bales (1956) as a formation that includes a men, a women and their biological child, to date several more assemblages of humans are
considered to be a family: e.g. divorced parents with their new partners and their children, single mothers with their children, same sex couples with or without children or couples that live together apart. If we look at self definitions (bottom up definitions) of family in interviews a certain closeness within a relationship and certain activities are used to attach the meaning ‘family’ to a relationship (e.g. Jalinoja, 2008; Roseneil and Budgeon, 2004; Pahl and Spencer, 2010). These definitions do often not fit structural or legal definitions of family. Informants also define a group of long-term roommates or a couple with their two cats as family. Research on bottom up definitions of family investigates the narratives of informants about their family ties (e.g. Pahl and Spencer, 2010) and the meaning of family, which is attached to certain family activities (e.g. Jalinoja, 2008; Morgan, 1996).

We are able to bring top down and bottom up definitions of family together by perceiving both of them as parts of material-discursive practices, which constitute families. If we do not define family by the members (humans or animals) but by practices, the boundaries of family and the shaping of family members become comprehensible. By adopting such a perspective we are able to describe how boundaries of families emerge and transform.

**Theoretical Framework**

A recent nexus of theories, the so called new materialisms, which include posthumanist practice theory (Hirschauer, 2004; Haraway, 2004), deleuzian materialism (Braidotti 2003, 2006) and agential realism (Barad, 2007), emphasizes material-discursive processes and how they form the boundaries of humans, things, discourses, structures, values, etc. Donna Haraway argued that humans, their relations and their connections as kin are made in practices (Haraway 2004). Practices are defined as processes, which include seemingly independent entities, which act together. These seemingly independent entities can be humans, animals or things but also legal structures, discursive definitions, norms or values. Relying on Garfinkel and Goffman, Stefan Hirschauer (2004) calls those entities participants, as they are entities that become perceivable by being part of doings. Participants are all parts which are figured in practices, e.g. humans, things, discourses, values or thoughts. Those figured participants do not precede the process nor does the process precede the participants; the participants are made within the practices (Haraway 2004).

However, in our everyday world there seem to be clear cut boundaries between some participants, e.g. between different humans or between concepts like family and friends. Further, those individuals seem to preexist their actions. Karen Barad (2007) sees participants separated and figured within practices through the enactment of boundaries. Agential cuts produce those seemingly independent and preexisting individuals by producing an exteriority, along with specific configurations of time and space within the practice. Those processes cut the participants out of an indeterminate material-discursive body which then becomes relationships and participants.

In theory practices introduce agential cuts that create boundaries of a e.g. human that becomes the seemingly pre-existing doer of a deed (Barad, 2007). This is the effect of a temporal cut that makes it seem like the entity had been there all along. For actual research this means to study seemingly established participants (e.g. a family member) and their co-participants within their everyday processes and to reconstruct the boundary making work during analysis.

**Most important findings**

From a new materialist perspective humans, their companions and their relationships with each others are figured in practices. Therefore family members are not perceived as individuals which inherent properties (genes, the ability to reason or love) that make them connect with each other and act with each other; rather, practices enact mutual activities, relationships and their participants. Hence practices enact activities like romantic love along with their family members. The family member does not preexist the activity; but the activity figures certain members, e.g. a female and
male human participant. Those humans are not connected by properties or inherent abilities that create relationships, they are **connected, because they are made within the very same practices.** Within these practices nonhuman participants are also enacted and cannot, therefore, be separated from the production of human family members. Participants of the practices that figure human families can be humans, but also animals, things, discourses, values, images and numerous other entities.

If we take the assumptions of various new materialisms seriously we also have to discuss how family is formed as vital material. As practices are ongoing processes, families are fluid formations in transformation, but they are also manifest materially and are corporeal. Family is not just a discourse, a meaning, a concept or a metaphor, but a material and corporeal entity which becomes real in activities between bodies, documents, artifacts, discourses, values etc. Family therefore is and has a body itself which is separated into family members, humans, animals or things by agential cuts. Single (human) bodies appear in the process of organic and inorganic material intra-action. The aim is *not* simply to expand a notion of the (human) body to an assemblage like family, but to explicate that humans are not pre-existing individual bodies, but are figured in practices. Humans come to embody certain parts of the assemblage, like being a family member.

**Conclusion**

These reconceptualizations have consequences for standard definitions of family and parenthood. For example the differentiation between biological and social parenthood becomes impossible to maintain and parenthood has to be radically redefined. Further, the centrality of the nuclear family diminishes as numerous additional participants in the practice of family appear. With this concept a difference between the nuclear family as a hegemonic configuration opposed to other family forms dissolves as every family is a unique assemblage of participants.

However, a substantial definition that is faithful to everyday family practices must be empirically grounded. The methodological consequence of investigating everyday practices is ethnographic research on micro-relations between participants and the embodiment of family (Schadler, 2014). A new materialist ethnography of family formations will follow this theoretical research (This research will be conducted with an *Erwin-Schrödinger-Fellowship* of the Austrian Science Fund (Cofunded by Marie Curie Actions)).

**References**


Friday, September 26, 2014

PLENARY SESSION II

Chairs: Detlev Lück & Isabella Crespi
Discussant: Giovanna Rossi

Lynn Jamieson, University of Edinburgh, Scotland

PRACTICES OF INTIMACY, FUTURES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Since the 1950s social change in family life in Europe and North America has been described as becoming more intimate and less hierarchical, more friend-like. Similar characterisations of change in personal life are also being made for countries across all of the continents of the globe. A more nuanced picture of the micro-dynamics of social change is gained through focusing empirically and theoretically on the repertoire of routine and mundane practices that build the quality of personal relationships. I have argued that thinking in terms of practices of intimacy in couple, parent-child, friendship and sexual relationships facilitates working across historical and cultural contexts and is helpful in assessing the limitations of digitally mediated forms of communication compared to face-to-face interaction for building intimacy. In this paper I consider whether a repertoire of practices that has the potential to build intimacy may also be implicated in reproducing hierarchy, inequality and division. In doing so I also discuss whether a focus on practices should encompass imagined future practices as well as routine or mundane practices in the here and now, while remaining mindful that both imaginaries and the enacted are socially produced.

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FAMILY DIVERSITY GROWING OLD: THE FAMILY CONSEQUENCES OF THE PLURALIZATION OF LIFE COURSES FOR THE ELDERLY

The pluralization of the life course has led sociologists to stress the diversification of family contexts in young and middle adulthood. In the last decade, such diversification has also received more attention in gerontology (Silverstein & Giarrusso, 2010). However, the diversification of families in old age is not well known and its consequences for their relational resources hardly considered. This presentation explores whether a plurality of family members beyond the household characterizes family contexts in later life, and if so, whether this diversity has consequences for the relational resources of the elderly.

In recent decades, a series of demographic trends has changed the face of the family in old age. Increased life expectancy and the decrease in fertility have shaped “the beanpole family” with a complex mix of family generations (Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1990). Living longer, older people have a greater likelihood of facing the death of family members of their own cohort, such as their partner, siblings or distant kin, with some individuals even outliving their own children. Low
fertility as well as delayed parenthood have contributed to the development of childlessness among different aging cohorts. In addition, new family forms such as step-families have become more frequent since the 1960s, bringing with them the consequence of an increased diversity of pools of relatives in old age (Silverstein & Giarrusso, 2010). Moreover, although distinct pools of relatives offer different alternatives for the development of significant family ties, the presence of such pools does not in itself guarantee that meaningful family relationships are developed (Connidis, 2010).

Because life trajectories have become more diverse in cohorts of individuals that currently reach old age, we hypothesize that a diversity of family configurations is present during this life stage. Depending upon the ways in which individuals define their significant family members, we expect them to develop distinct types of social capital. We hypothesize that bonding social capital is more likely to be developed in family configurations focused on partners, children, and grandchildren whereas family configurations focused on siblings, extended kin, or friends are expected to develop bridging social capital.

SESSION II: FAMILY FORMS, STRUCTURE AND CONFIGURATIONS

Chairs: Ulla Björnberg & Pierre-Alan Roch

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PERSONAL CONFIGURATIONS IN LIGHT OF COHABITATION TRAJECTORIES

Keywords: personal configurations, cohabitation trajectories, longitudinal data, sequence analysis, international comparisons

Description of the theoretical framework

Through social participation, individuals develop personal networks composed of family and non-family ties such as friends, colleagues and acquaintances. The prominence of those personal relationships vary across the life course following transitions and events such as leaving home, having a partner, becoming a parent, etc. At a macro level, the type of welfare state in which individual lives unfold influence this variation. This paper investigates the composition of personal configurations in light of cohabitation trajectories encompassing the transition to adulthood from 20 to 35-40, in three countries, Switzerland, Portugal, and Lithuania representative of contrasted welfare states. It emphasizes the importance of considering patterns of trajectories in their macro-structural context, rather than single transitions and events, to better understand personal configurations.

Individuals have personal networks which provide essential resources for individuals on a daily basis or in case of need such as instrumental, informational, and emotional support. As personal relationships have become more individualized and voluntary-based in contemporary welfare states (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Giddens, 1991), personal networks often go beyond family and are composed of a great diversity of relationships. Throughout the life course, the composition of personal networks varies depending on life stages as well as life transitions and events. Hence, individual networks of relationships reflect the influence of past as well as on-going life trajectories.

Process of deinstitutionalization and destandardization of the life course have been identified, starting in the 1960s (Kohli, 1989). It leads to a limited pluralization of life trajectories. The transition to adulthood is particularly destandardized, as formerly simultaneous transitions such as
leaving the parental home, getting a first job, and marrying (quickly followed by becoming a parent) are often independent from one another and postponed. Moreover, the patterns of transition to parenthood vary by gender, social class, and countries (Van de Velde, 2008).

From the 80s onwards, life course sociologists have stressed the importance of considering individual lives as comprehensive wholes, made up of interdependent sequences of social participation (Elder, Kirkpatrick Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003. Cohabitation trajectories, especially, influence the development of personal networks. Cohabitation trajectories reflect family stages as well as transitions and events such as growing up in a one-parent family, leaving the parental home, moving in with a new partner, becoming a parent, and divorcing (Widmer & Gauthier, 2013). Beyond specific transitions and events, trajectories also show patterns and interestingly highlight stages and duration which is a major dimension to explain the prominence of certain relationships. Depending on what cohabitation trajectories they are following, some individuals will be more bound by family ties, whereas others will have more opportunities to open up their personal networks to other types of ties.

Life courses, as well as personal networks, are framed by welfare states, since the impacts of the current shared processes of de-industrialization and globalization on life courses depend on the answers given within countries. Four types of welfare states are commonly distinguished among Western societies: the liberal, the conservative, the social-democratic, and the Mediterranean welfare states (Arts & Gelissen, 2002). The Baltic states represent a particular type, known as the post-socialist welfare state (Aidukaite, 2003). Through social policies, welfare states differently shape life courses and personal networks. Switzerland represents a mix type with liberal and conservative components, Portugal the Mediterranean type and Lithuania the post-socialist type.

**Research hypotheses**

1. As individuals participate in several social fields, their personal configurations will be composed of family and non-family ties; the share of which being explained by previous cohabitational trajectories and the type of welfare state in which individuals live.

2. Standard cohabitation trajectories will be associated with a focus on the family of procreation, whereas non-standard cohabitation trajectories (e.g. lone parent, solo living) will foster non-kin based networks.

3. As a major institutional frame, the degree of individualization of the welfare state in which individuals live will influence the share of family and non-family ties, i.e. the degree of electivity in personal networks of relationships.

**Description of the data and the research methods**

The data used in this study gathered together a subsample of three – structurally equivalent national surveys on *Interpersonal relationships and individual life trajectories* carried out on a representative sample of individuals in Lithuania, Portugal and Switzerland between 2010 and 2012, focusing on specific birth cohorts. For the present analysis, we retain one that the birth cohort of individuals born between 1970 and 1975 (respectively 1000, 1000 and 400 individuals of both sexes).

Our methodological approach is a mix of methods composed of sequence analysis, cluster analysis, and regression analysis. Based on a free-listing technique or name generator (Widmer, Aeby, & Sapin, 2013), a typology of personal configurations using cluster analysis was built. Cohabitation trajectories were constructed using a retrospective life history calendar that recorded the dates of all cohabitation changes of each respondent from birth to the year of the survey. We focus on the cohabitation trajectories between 20 and 35-40 to investigate in particular transition to adulthood.

We retained nine potential statuses: *living with two parents* (1), *living with one parent* (2), *living alone* (3), *living with a partner* (4), *living with a partner and child(ren)* (5), *living with child(ren) only* (6), *living with relatives* (7), *living with roommates* (8), and *living in another situation* (9).
Based on this information, a typology of cohabitation trajectories was built using consecutively sequence analysis and cluster analysis (Macindoe & Abbott, 2004). Eventually, the impact of cohabitation trajectories on personal configurations was assessed by means of logistic regressions with selected control variables (sex, citizenship, education, childhood cohabitation trajectories and welfare state of residence).

**Most important findings**

Sequences analysis carried out clear cut types of cohabitational trajectories, characterized by the timing, pace and number of transitions. Eight types of personal configurations were obtained showing the diversity of ties. Results show that certain family stages and transitions, in particular parenthood, strongly influenced the composition of personal networks. While parenthood associated with conjugality put the focus on the nuclear family of procreation, other situations enhanced other ties such as those stemming from friendship, kinship, or even occupation field. Considering the macro-structural context given by the three welfare states allows differentiating various levels of the individualization process and its links to the type of social capital available to individuals.

**Conclusions / discussion**

Results show a centration on the nuclear family of procreation underlining how important partners and children are in the considered welfare states, although with local differences. Parents, and particularly mothers, also occupy a key position. The prominence of friends in some configurations is worth pointing out. Following Pahl and Spencer (2004), a process of suffusion seems indeed to be going on but with different intensity according to the macro institutional context. We could group those ties in distinct personal configurations, dedicated to family ties, to friendship ties and to the occupational field. An additional type brings together individuals that seem to be completely socially isolated.

Personal relationships are influenced by cohabitation trajectories. Regarding personal configurations, several findings can be pointed out. Co-residency enhanced feeling of proximity. Present co-residents, partners and children, as well as former co-residents, parents and siblings, were likely to belong to the important relationships of the respondents. Transition to parenthood created a dramatic change in people's lives and reorganized ties along the parent-child relationship, which is central in contemporary welfare state, although with some local variations. Gender also had an influence on the composition of personal relationships. Results of the analyses highlight the relevance of a comparative, diachronic and systemic perspective taking into account whole cohabitation trajectories in macro institutional context to understand personal relationships.

**References**


THE SHIFT OF PERSONAL NETWORKS DURING THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD: A GENDERED PROCESS?

Keywords: Personal networks, social capital, transition to parenthood, kinship, gender

Theoretical framework

The transition to parenthood has been frequently designated as a period of great transformation of close relationships, and this particularly for women. However, little is known about the structural changes of personal networks associated with gender effects during this transition. Following the insights of Elisabeth Bott (1971) about the importance of the composition and of the relational properties of personal networks for the gendered division of labor in couples, this paper addresses these changes and their contribution to the gendered life course. Research showed an increase in contacts with kin during the transition to parenthood (for example, Belsky & Rovine, 1984; McCannel, 1988; Bost et al., 2002). Changes in composition are expected to have an impact on relational dimensions such as density and reciprocity of relationships. Several studies have indeed demonstrated that closely related relatives (parents, siblings and, adult children) develop stronger, more reciprocal and denser relationships (Wellman & Worthley, 1990), useful for coordinating aids and mobilizing resource in case of need. However, this reinforcement of bonding social capital might be made to the detriment of bridging social capital (Campbell, 1988; Smith-Lovin & McPerson, 1993), limiting individual autonomy and access to diversified resources which are particularly beneficial for occupational trajectories (Granovetter, 1973).

Research questions

This contribution examines the changes of composition and of relational properties in personal networks of individuals in the transition to parenthood. First, we hypothesize that the emphasis on kinship members, in contrast to friends or colleagues, increase in personal networks during the transition to parenthood, with, as a consequence, an increase of density and reciprocity of relationships. Two alternatives are possible about the duration of the changes. First, changes are only temporary, ties being activated in the network only close to the birth of the child, the most demanding stage of the transition, while getting back to “normal” later on. Alternatively, they may become permanent, once the new model of relationships is set. Importantly, we expect that gender has an impact on the process of change. The transition to parenthood may have more relational consequences for females than for males, as females face the most changes in work participation, which is a central place in which personal networks built up.

Methods

The data come from a longitudinal study on the transition to parenthood in the French speaking part of Switzerland. The overall sample includes 235 couples, all of whom were expecting their first
child in the between 2006 and 2007. A total of 470 individuals have taken part in the three waves Kinship methods survey conducted by the Center for Life course Studies PaVie (University of Lausanne and Geneva). Women and men of each couple were interviewed at three stages of the transition to parenthood: first at 3 to 7 months of pregnancy, then at 3 to 6 months after the child’s birth, and finally, when the child was old of 18 to 24 months.

Respondents filled out an egocentric personal network questionnaire - inspired by the Family Network Method (Widmer, Aeby, & Sapin, 2013) - that permits the collection of systematic data on personal networks. In order to make networks comparable, the partner was included in all cases at wave 1 and the partner and the child at wave 2 and 3. Respondents not only had to estimate their own support relationships with the members of their personal network, but also the support relationships existing among all the members.

To identify the composition of personal networks, we applied cluster analysis on the free listing of personal members that was done by the 470 individuals, either males or females, who were included in the study. A total of 1149 personal networks were included in the analysis, as up to three waves per individual in each couple were possible. In order to test the hypothesis that there was a shift towards kinship in the transition to parenthood and to identify the development of personal networks during the transition to parenthood, we traced their profile of continuity and changes from wave 1 to wave 3 using again a hierarchical cluster analysis. The hypothesis of the interrelation between the composition of personal networks and the relational resources that they provide to individuals was tested by variance analyses for repeated measures.

**Results**

We found that three clusters adequately describe the personal networks of individuals during the transition to parenthood. The first type was named “Mixed” as it included a large number of friends, coworkers but also a large number of relatives. It featured three parallel investments in the realms of kins (related by blood), friendship and work. The cluster “Friendship” (29.7%) included only a small number of relatives as where the number of friends and coworkers was high. The cluster “Kinship” (27.2%) focused on both blood ties from the family of orientation (parents and siblings) and relatives by marriage or partnership, while the friends and co-workers held a secondary importance.

The analysis of the profiles of continuity and changes from wave 1 to wave 3 identified five patterns of development during the transition to parenthood for personal networks. Three types involved individuals who did not change the composition of their personal networks during the transition: 1) some individuals remained in a Mixed configuration at the three measurement times (22.3%); 2) others in a Friendship personal networks (30%), and 3) others in a Kinship personal network (17%). However, there were two types in which individuals greatly changed their personal networks during the transition to parenthood (30%), by two different processes of kinshiping: some individuals in a Mixed personal network before the birth of the child changed their configuration to a Kinship configuration (18%), by including in-laws in their personal network after the birth; and, other individuals being in a Friendship personal network before the birth changed their configuration to a Mixed network (12%), by including their father and mother, as well as, in some cases, their siblings.

Overall, women are overrepresented within Mixed networks, while men are overrepresented among individuals embedded in Kinship networks. Friendship personal networks are equally shared by men and women. The two processes of change in personal networks were unequally distributed according to gender. The kinshiping transformation from Mixed personal networks to kinship personal networks was more often made by men; while it was more often women who went from a Friendship network to a mixed one. In relation with those changes of composition, the data also showed interesting results about changes in density, reciprocity and other structural features of personal networks.
Discussion

The transition to parenthood initiated a process of transformation in the organization of personal ties of women and men. Personal networks become more kinship oriented and less oriented towards friendship and work ties. The changes are the strongest in the months following the birth of the child, which represent the most engaging period of the transition. Alterns supporting the new parents are strongly involved in the most demanding period, while when this period is finished, mobilization and collective support decrease, giving way to more punctual support of diverse nature.

The transformation of the composition of personal networks in the transition to parenthood has implication for the social capital of individuals. A kinship orientation increases the density of personal networks, and therefore promotes a bonding type of social capital, particularly in the first months after birth. The shift from a Friendship orientation to a Mixed orientation, and from a Mixed orientation to a Kinship orientation, concerns both men and women. Interestingly, the greater move towards the inclusion of in-laws in personal networks is made by men. Indeed, they much more often cited their parents in law as belonging to their personal networks when they became parents than women did. As a matter of fact, maintaining relationships between kinship members remains the responsibility of women, notwithstanding their increasing role in economy or in the occupational sphere. The inclusion of in laws by men is the expression of this matrilineal orientation of kinship relationships. The transition to parenthood is a key moment inducing this matrilineal orientation of relationships in personal networks.

References


PROGRESSIVE POLYGAMY IN WESTERN UNITED STATES

Keywords: Mormon polygyny, Mormon fundamentalism, female empowerment, polygamy

This paper is based on 20 years of ethnographic fieldwork among the Mormon fundamentalist polygynists of the Intermountain Western United States, providing an analysis of a new phenomenon—a ultra-liberal version of polygynous family life, emerging in the last twenty years in three locales: Salt Lake City, Utah; the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State, and the northern Chihuahuan Desert of Mexico. It is predicted that this “progressive” version of a rigid patriarchal family form emerged in response to the inclusion of additional female converts from mainstream orthodox Mormon society. These unique women are both highly educated and career-oriented, while still maintaining stalwart faith in the Mormon doctrine of celestial marriage, large families, and the raising up “a righteous seed” unto the Lord. These women are also unique in finding very few familial models for their needs in the mainstream Mormon world due to divorce, widowhood, unmarriageability, and/or lack of female networking.

Relevance

Only a few scholars have provided in-depth analyses of North American polygyny. Social psychologist Irv Altman (1996) of the University of Utah, anthropologist Robin Fox (1993) of Rutgers, anthropologist Bill Jankowiak (1995) of the University of Nevada, anthropologist Phil Kilbride (1994) of Bryn Mawr, and Janet Bennion of Lyndon State College of Vermont (Bennion 1998, 2004). Altman focused on the complexity of relationships among the Apostolic United Brethren (the Allredites), emphasizing how these families struggled to fit into a polygamous structure using Victorian psychological frameworks developed in a monogamous context. Jankowiak investigated the father-adoration concept in polygamous relationships in Colorado City (also known as Short Creek). Fox and Kilbride were both interested in showing the benefits polygamy offers in the context of the crises of American modernity; they emphasized how women choose alternative family forms as a way to cope with the socioeconomic obstacles they confront. Kilbride applauded the adaptive measures polygynists to share resources and provide protection from the harsh realities of urban life. My early research explored the unexpected ascendance of women in rigid patriarchal communities, especially how women could gain autonomy and power during the prolonged absences of their husbands. I recorded the experiences of female converts in the Montana Allredite order (Bennion 1998) and found that many women are attracted to the commune because of the socioeconomic support it offers, replacing a rather difficult life in the mainstream where their status as divorcees, single mothers, widows, and “unmarriageables” limited their access to good men and the economic and spiritual affirmation that comes from a community of worship. She depicted enormous variety in the expressions of polygamy in her volume, *Polygamy in Prime Time* (2012), finding that some Mormon women experience more individual satisfaction within the dynamics of a polygamous family than they could in any other marital form. Kilbride’s book *Plural Marriage for Our Time: A Reinvented Option* (1994) similarly states that plural marriage can help rebuild a strong sense of family for specific groups of Americans, especially in times of socioeconomic crisis.

Polygamy is practiced by only 2% of North Americans from a range of religious and national backgrounds, but the practice of plural marriage occupies a disproportionately large space in the public and legal imagination. Reality television shows like *Sister Wives* and *Polygamy, USA* seek to titillate with the details of polygamous family formation and family management among Mormon fundamentalists. These programs also operate to normalize the polygamous unit, showing seemingly happy, thriving and relatively self-aware families with little apparent abuse or underage marriage. The public is able to see—with their own eyes—a variety of forms of polygamy, even those depicting women as the decision makers who operate in the public sphere with careers and political ambitions. At the very least—revealing the enormous complexity and variability of poly life to public scrutiny—people are beginning to question the age-old adage that polygamy per se
causes harm. Although polygamy was the object of intense legal actions between the 1930s and 1950s, no effort to arrest polygamists was made between 1960 and 2001. This lack of interest in prosecuting polygamists causes many to question criminalization of polygamy and the validity of Reynolds v. United States which bans polygamy in our era of modern religious freedom. It has also become difficult to justify banning polygamy when so many other forms of marriage and sexuality are liberalized and tolerated. Could polygamy be considered as a viable tool for women to juggle careers and motherhood and for single women, who normally would not be able to marry, to find a solution to the “lack of good men” dilemma? Or, is the recent verdict of the British Columbia polygamy trial and what many a handful of scholars in this volume suggest is true—that polygamy itself causes gross violations against women’s civil rights and that it is uniformly abusive to women and children?

My contribution in this paper concern here is to identify the variable impact of polygamy on the lives of women and children within three extended polygynous homesteads located in Utah, Washington, and Mexico, with whom I have worked and lived intermittently for several years. As stated, I predict that women in these new progressive movements are well educated, adopt polygyny of their own volition as fully consensual adults, and do so, in order to flee the issues that plague them as active Mormons in the mainstream, namely, widowhood, spinsterhood, and lack of female friends with which to work and raise their children.

Results

The most significant findings among the three extended polygynous families observed were that the women had selected liberally-minded patriarchs/husbands who believed in female-led households, female autonomy, and a more relaxed version of priesthood power. All three husbands exhibited signs of ENFP personalities (extraverted feelers who operate on intuition and non-goal oriented processes) that took pleasure in their wives’ control of the household and sexual matters. Further, the family philosophy and faith-based worship incorporated a more liberal ideological interpretation of Mormonism, including Eastern mysticism, goddesshood, female priesthood, hypergamy, and polyandry.

The families observed also admitted to have been influenced in their “progressive” philosophies of polygyny by HBO’s Big Love series where an independent polygynist leaves the group to provide his wives and children with a more liberal and open expression of fundamentalist life and TLC’s reality show, Sister Wives, depicting defunct independent Kody Brown and his four wives who are in favor of gay marriage and career women. Of great interest is the third family in the ethnography, Brady Brown and his five wives who recently “came out of the closet” with their reality show My Five Wives, depicting the most progressive form so far—a Mormon polygynous family which has blended Buddhist ideologies in their belief framework. They practice female priesthood and four of the five women have careers, as well as children of their own.

In conclusion, this new direction of liberal, progressive Mormon polygyny is a direct result of female conversion from the more educated, more career-oriented Mormon mainstream community, which produces an excess of disenfranchised widows, divorcees, and unmarriageables that look to polygyny for ironic sources of empowerment, access to a liberal “Savior on Mt. Zion,” female networking, and ideologies that give rise to Eastern concepts of the divine self.

References


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WHO WILL BE THE FIRST TO MARRY? EDUCATION AND TRANSITION FROM COHABITATION TO MARRIAGE

Keywords: cohabitation, marriage, education, Lithuania

Introduction

Increase in cohabitation which started in the late 1960s in Northern and Western Europe has been one of the most striking changes in the institution of family in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Although non-marital unions existed in the earlier historical periods (Kiernan, 2002), the contemporary cohabitations play a substantially different role in the demographic and sociological development of the family. However, after more than half a century, the history of cohabitation in the countries where the diffusion of non-marital unions started first, cohabitation did not become a substitute for marriage. In many cases it is not a life-long choice but mere a stage in the marital process (Anderson and Philipov, 2002). Moreover marriage sustains its social desirability and social value, even in such countries as Sweden, where cohabitation is widespread and socially acceptable (Bernhardt, 2004). The evidence on the temporary nature of the cohabitation in the life course raises the question on the social forces that determine the progression from cohabitation to marriage. There is a growing body of research evidence from various developed countries that this process is socially differentiated in regard to individual social and economic characteristics (education, employment) (Kravdal, 1999; Oppenheimer, 2003; Kalmijn, 2011) and that this differentiation is dynamic over time (Ni Brochlain, Beaujouan 2013) and it’s gradient depends on such contextual factors as the gender role segregation and the socio-economic outcomes of educational differences in the country (Kalmijn 2013). Contrary to the growing evidence from the countries of North America, Western and Northern Europe, the research on Eastern Europe remains scarce although there are some studies on the role of the educational resources in the marital behavior in Russia, Ukraine and Romania (Gerber and Berman 2010; Perelli-Harris, 2008).

In the current study we focus on the event of transition from cohabitation to marriage in Lithuania, an Eastern European country that within this region represents the case of relatively late adoption of the non-direct family formation pattern, adherence to the familialistic values and traditional gender attitudes and together with other countries of the region shares large educational differences in employment (Heyns, 2004). Our principle interest is the investigation of the effect of individual’s educational resources on the exit from cohabitation and entry into marriage. The analysis is guided by the following research question: what is the educational gradient in the transition from cohabitation to marriage across gender groups and across various partnership cohorts in the Lithuanian society?
Through answering this question we could assess several issues. First, we could identify the social groups that in the Lithuanian socio-economic setting stay in cohabitation longer and thus adopt the cohabitation as an alternative to marriage. Considering the education one of the main precursors of individual’s economic and life-style outcomes, we could assess whether the prolonged cohabitation is the choice of those with higher resources or with the lower. The answer to the question opens up the opportunity to theorize on the social mechanism of the family formation changes in the light of the two competing theoretical explanatory frameworks – the economic and the cultural. Second, looking at the effect of education on the transition from cohabitation to marriage in the dynamic perspective (across various partnership cohorts) we could assess the continuity or change of the role of educational resources in various socio-economic settings – both, in the Soviet and the transitional society. Third, we hope that our case study from Eastern Europe could contribute to the broader socio-historic discussion on the return of the family to its historical complexity (Therborn, 2004, p. 314) and to the relevance of social class divisions in the marital behavior that were historically inherent to many societies (Mitterauer, 1983; Kiernan, 2004).

Theoretical background

Theoretical explanations of the family formation changes in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe that became visible and better empirically documented after the 1990s attracted a lot of scientific attention and basically replicated two predominant and competing explanatory domains employed in the Western scholarship. The demarcation line between the two frameworks in general follows the culture-structure divide and, in explaining family changes, prioritizes either cultural or structural, predominantly economic, factors. The first explanatory framework is the theory of the Second Demographic Transition (Lesthaeghe, 1983; Van de Kaa, 1987). The second one is “the pattern of disadvantage” (Perelli-Harris, Gerber, 2011), “uncertainty hypothesis” (Oppenheimer 2003) or the “crisis perspective”, developed in relation to the family and fertility changes in Eastern and Central Europe.

In regard to the first theoretical framework we expect that people with higher education were the first to initiate the prolonged cohabitation in Lithuania and this association would be stable for the partnerships contracted at different periods during the 1980s and well into the 2000s. Considering the economic explanatory framework and looking at the trends in other developed countries, we could expect that in the Lithuanian society after the 1990s the educational recourses would become relevant for the transition from cohabitation to marriage. Lower economic and social security, bleaker economic prospects associated with lower education would negatively affect the timing of transition and facilitate longer spells of cohabitation in the life course calendar.

Data and methods

We use pooled data sets of two waves of Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) carried out respectively in 2006 and 2009 in Lithuania. The GGS samples are large, nationally representative and include men and women aged 18–79 and living in non-institutional households. The surveys recorded the complete partnership histories and dates of events in a monthly accuracy.

In this analysis we use the pooled dataset that integrates the partnership histories from the first and the second waves of the GGS surveys. The pooled dataset has the advantage of recording more partnership histories and better opportunities to analyze the family formation behavior of the older generations that are less well represented in the single survey dataset. The sample size in the first wave was 10036, in the second – 8042 respondents. In the pooled dataset, there are 12,127 first partnerships; out of the total, 5,780 are men’s and 6,347 women’s partnerships. There are 3,127 first partnerships that started as cohabitations, out of them, 1563 men’s and 1564 women’s. Considering the main aim of the study and in order to control for the union dissolution, the cohabitations that were dissolved were not included into the further analysis (223 men’s cohabitations and 222 women’s cohabitations).
Our main dependent variable was the transition from cohabitation to marriage. Population under risk was all women and men who entered the first partnership as cohabitation. The process time was measured in months elapsed since the entry into the first partnership that was cohabitation. The respondents were followed for the five years after the beginning of cohabitation and the right censoring was performed. The time axis was partitioned into five intervals each lasting up to twelve months. We applied the descriptive and parametric methods of event history analysis. The piecewise constant exponential models were used to examine the shift from direct marriage to cohabitation. Separate models were run for men and women subpopulation and different calendar periods. The main control variable (time-varying) was education with four categories distinguished: high (ISCED 5-6), medium (ISCED 3-4), low (ISCED0-2) and in education. The other time varying covariate was the calendar period partitioned into five intervals 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, and 2000-2009. Also the time-varying covariate was the parity-pregnancy status and it included three categories: childless and non-pregnant, childless and pregnant, and with children. Additionally we considered age at the first partnership, respondent’s birth cohort and parental divorce till the respondent was up to 15 years old.

Results

Our analysis revealed that the role of education in the transition from cohabitation to marriage is dynamic over time, which in this study stretches across two essentially different societal conditions and encompasses diverse developmental stages of cohabitation. Educational recourses were insignificant for the transformation of cohabitation to marriage during the two last Soviet decades that coincided with the initial stage of the diffusion of cohabitation in the Lithuanian society, when cohabitation represented a selective behavior and played a role of a prelude to marriage. Thus, the exit from cohabitation to marriage was not conditioned by the men’s and women’s education in the 1970s and 1980s in Soviet Lithuania, if controlled for various demographic and social factors. The two following decades mark a changing role of education in the marital behavior, with low education becoming disadvantageous for the transformation of cohabitation to marriage; cohabitants with higher education demonstrate higher propensity to enter marriage if compared with those with lowest education. This turn toward educationally differentiated partnership behavior progressed simultaneously with further development of cohabitation as it becomes the dominant pattern of family formation, loses its role as a short term partnership arrangement. Moreover, these developments happen in the context of sweeping political, social and economic transformations that the Lithuanian society experienced after the 1990.

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SOCIETY-PERSONAL SOCIAL NETWORK-INDIVIDUAL OR INDIVIDUAL-PERSONAL SOCIAL NETWORK-SOCIETY: WHOSE VALUES ARE IN PRIORITY IN FAMILY FORMATION PROCESS? CASE OF LITHUANIA

Keywords: family formation; marriage; cohabitation; social networks; social control

The theoretical framework

Positive control (poverty, wars, etc.) and preventive control (marriage postponement, conscious celibacy and childlessness, etc.), known in demographic theory (Malthus, 1798) are two sides of system of social parameters that regulate population growth. In pre-modern and early societies positive control usually was not needed because of developed preventive control. The preventive control ensured distribution of welfare among social groups in society. At the same time it pretended to “natural order” (Malthus, 1798; Lesthaeghe, 1980). While for ages family formation was related with goal of “successful partnership” meant as maximum utility and minimum loss (Becker, 1981). The strategies of family formation depended on the value of the inheritance of material and symbolic capitals, and the way by which the inheritance was transmitted to the descendants (Bourdieu, 1976). Consciously or unconsciously marriage was desirable between young people from the families with similar economic and symbolic capitals and statuses (Bourdieu, 1976). In each case family formation strategies (time of marriage, form of partnership and etc.) were selected based on amounts and set of capitals and statuses. Eventually, social norms and social control mechanisms were established to ensure the corresponding patterns of the family formation. It was expected that such “natural order” will guarantee a happy life not only to the couple and their families, but also to all members of the society. For such mechanism Wrigley (1978) suggested a term of unconscious rationality: to ensure maximum well-being for the individual in the long-term period society create strategies (rationality) which individual practices but not reflect consciously (unconsciousness). Unconscious rationality is functioning through moral codes which are integrated into traditions, religion practices and etc. Individuals and social groups internalize and practice such codes in order to survive and procreate themselves. According to its content moral codes are similar to term of habitus suggested by Bourdieu (1998).

As a rule, unconscious rationality was mostly obeyed by individuals who respect moral values that are transmitted through generations, and individuals for whom interests of family and social status are more important than other needs, including inner motives (Lesthaeghe, 1980; Bourdieu, 1976). But matrimonial behaviour is related with biological age of person and time. Break of social norms and moral codes usually appeared when the age limit for family formation and procreation was reached but not sufficient resources or even not possible to access the necessary resources for family. Individuals who defy the natural order or unconscious rationality inevitably experienced social sanctions. In pre-modern and early modern European societies, generally, stigmatization or even social exclusion from the community was practiced. For separate cases when individual
manage to overcome the barriers of “natural order” new symbolic codes were created (Lesthaeghe, 1980). In terms of Bourdieu, new habitus was created (1998).

Actually, matrimonial behaviour never exist as closed and unchanging. Particular social norm sometimes disappeared when lose its function in the social system. For example, the modern society gave more opportunities both to women and men to have a chance to provide for their own well-being and to protect their economic situation through active involvement in work and capital markets (Becker, 1981). As a consequence, the family loses the value of an indispensable economic shield. Moreover, in the second part of twentieth century developed Western countries reached such a level of prosperity that granted more rights and opportunities to each member of the society, independently of social origins (Dahrendorf, 1996, p. 165). Under such context, the individual liberates oneself from the family and the society’s dictate that keep the “natural order”. Among the new characteristics is the fact that the individuals from middle and higher social strata practice family models typical to the lower social strata in traditional societies: unregistered marriages, deliberate celibacy, other alternative partnership models (Becker 1981; Lesthaeghe, 1980; 1998; Lesthaeghe, Moors, 2000; Manting, 1994; etc.). As a consequence, matrimonial behaviour took on a new direction that is related with the need of self-expression and self-realization beyond the family, priority to working career and education, etc. So, within the historic perspective matrimonial behaviour of individuals dominated by family and society interests evolved to late modernity matrimonial behaviour coordinated with individual and social groups’ needs.

**The research hypotheses**

Family formation behavior in Lithuania mostly was studied focusing on macro-level analysis trends and factors (Maslauskaitė, 2012; 2009; Stankūnienė, 2006, etc.). While answer on questions are still lacking: How much opinion of parents, relatives, friends are important during selection of family formation pattern? Which factor make greater impact on matrimonial behaviour of individual – opinion or experience of members of the personal social network or other motives? How persons construct family formation process when they follow social norms and, in opposite, when neglect social norms? When social norms have greater impact – during first or later family formation process? Whether respect of social norms in family formation guarantees happy family life?

The aim of this paper is to examine links between socially constructed norms and social control and individual choices in family formation process. The research object is matrimonial behaviour of individual.

The main research hypothesis is as such: matrimonial behavior is determined not as much of inner motives as much dictate of social norms, internalized by individuals, and social control, first of all conducted by personal social network. Personal social network here is understood as constituted from parents, relatives, friends. Dictate of social norms here relate with opinions, experiences and example of members of personal social network.

The main hypothesis consists of three hypotheses: (1) opinions, experiences and examples are the references towards which individuals are oriented during the process of family formation. (2) Individuals who obey the dictate of the social network create the traditional family based on registered marriage. Meanwhile, those who neglect social norms are intended to choose alternative family formation models such as marriage postponement, cohabitation, divorce, etc. (3) The respect of social norms in family formation is guarantee a happy family life.

**Data and the research methods**

Descriptive statistical analysis (frequencies, means, $\chi^2$, $t$-test, Anova test), multivariate statistical analysis (correlation analysis, regression analysis, factor analysis) and event history analysis methods (survival (Kaplan-Meier) function and evaluation of survival function) applied.

**Most important findings and conclusions**

The research results confirmed the main hypothesis only partly. According to opinions of respondents, the main motive of family formation is inner need to create family in Lithuania. But the next motives are clearly oriented towards social network: example of parents’ family, parents’ opinion, then opinion of relatives and so on. Analysis also revealed, that population are divided into three main groups according to priority of motives in family formation: (1) those who voluntary and mostly are oriented towards social norms; unconscious rationality and respect of traditional moral codes are characteristic first of all to them; (2) those who oriented towards social norms because of pressure of social norms and material needs of survival; (3) those who form family first of all according to inner motives and less orientation on social dictate; only example of parents’ family have impact to them.

Evident impact of education on differentiation into these group was found: the higher education level the higher probability that persons depend to third group. That is, persons with higher education level have more freedom from social control in matrimonial behaviour. Level of education has an impact on partner choice and the development of family life. The higher the risk of divorce is for a couple where the partners at the beginning and end of the relationship have different levels of education. Family stability is mostly associated with the situation when people with the different levels of education eventually reach the same level of education.

Example of friends created their families make small but statistically significant impact on choice of family model: registered or non-registered marriage. Those who follow the example of their friends in family formation lived in family longer in comparison to others who didn’t take friends families into consideration. Most important impact friends make to those who create their families in younger age, and not so important impact in later age of person.

Illegitimate pregnancy as socially controlled behaviour is the stimulus to start a family in Lithuanian. In case of pregnancy beyond a wedlock family will be created earlier in comparison to other situations. This is especially true for the non-registered marriages. Moreover, families created because of illegitimate pregnancy survive considerably shorter in comparison to families created based on other motives.

Summing up could be state that matrimonial behaviour in today’s Lithuania is rather strongly associated with social norms and moral codes. Just people with different economic, social and symbolic capitals regard to them differently: consciously or unconsciously, voluntary or involuntary, completely or partly.

**References**


SESSION III: FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY SOCIAL NETWORKS

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YOUNG COUPLES’ RELATIONAL NETWORKS AND MARRIAGE CHOICES PATHS: MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE

Keywords: relational studies, social network analysis, marriage, young couples, membership

The research is about the social networks of young Italians who are organizing their life as a couple. In Italy, next to the weakening/fading of marriages (Bramanti, 2013), some configurations are spreading, such as cohabitation and LAT (Live Apart Together), in which young people experience new relational codes in a context that enhances the reversibility of choices and privatization of behaviors. These configurations profoundly affect the way we conceive the role/identity of the family in the society and trigger a series of knock-on effects on the generations.

Many studies confirm the importance of the networks (whether ascribed, i.e. relatives, or acquired, i.e. friends) to ensuring the well-being of individuals and families. From the pioneering analysis of Bott (1957) on the network as an intervening variable in the couple’s life up to the years 2000, the influence and impact that multi-faceted social networks play on intimate relationships (Felmlee, 2001) gained momentum. The role of the social context in which couples are incorporated, for example, seemingly has an effect on the phase of falling in love and forming opinions about cohabitation of the partners (Manning, Cohen, Smock, 2011) but also on the possible break-ups (Martijn, Hogerbrugge, Aafke, 2013).

The methods of analysis of couples’ network are nowadays more sophisticated thanks to a longitudinal perspective that follows the life course (Kalmijin, 2003) and the analysis of the structural characteristics of the contemporary family contexts, as well as the relational network that goes beyond domestic boundaries (Widmer, 2010).

The purpose of this research is to observe what is transmitted and/or exchanged within the networks of the young couples in terms of values, support, belonging and influence. The aim of this study is to describe the effects of the networks in relation to different aspects, attributes, and modes of formation of the couple. In reference to the relationship with the community and intergenerational relationships, the study also aims to collect proxy information of the concept of social generativity (Bramanti 2012; Rossi, Scabini, 2006).

In particular, through the analysis of concrete support instrumental (Van der Poel, 1993) and expressive networks (seeing each other during free time) we wanted to know the level of shared values with the others (alters) and the presence of a network “membership”. Symbolic ties, which outline a scenario of shared values, common belonging, affiliation and orientation (Tronca, 2013)
were taken into consideration. We also wanted to analyze whether the network influence the choices of the couple to assess the young couple’s extent of dependency (in terms of power) on the previous generation / community.

In summary, the questions that we tried to answer are the following:

- Is it possible to reconstruct morphologies of different network patterns for the various forms of coupled life?
- Do networks convey supports and frames? Do they also influence life projects?
- Is active involvement/engagement within the local community related with the decision to be couple in one way rather than another?

From these questions and guided by the relational approach (Donati, 2010) we constructed the following research hypothesis:

1. We can imagine the existence of different morphological structures among the couples we surveyed, like family-centered / friendship-centered networks;
2. It can be assumed a greater openness and therefore a more public orientation in the couples who have mostly friendship-centered networks;
3. The intergenerational transmission of values influence young couples’ life projects.

The exploratory research reached 150 young people (18-40 years) being partners in 75 couples. among them, 53 couples are young people who have recently participated in initiatives in preparation of their marriage and will get married within one year (35 with religious ritual, 18 in a civil ceremony). Twenty-two couples choose not to marry (and are not planning to get married in the next three years) and are experiencing a LAT or cohabitation.

Relational data were recorded through a structured questionnaire (composed of 20 questions), including items on socio-demographic characteristics of the partners and questions about their life (previous experience, parents’ marital status, presence of children, housing arrangement). Data were collected on the couples’ value orientations and generativity (GENCO scale).

The tool used for data collection is able to gather information on the couples’ relationships by asking them to account for relational networks: a) the tangible support instrumental network, and b) the expressive networks (seeing each other during free time). The SNA method (with UCINET and EGONET software) was used to investigate the size of the network, the structures of the subsamples, the density of relations, centrality and polarity.

The data show that the young people’s tangible support networks are made up of about 6 network resources for each partner (average value), while people you enjoy spending your free time instead compose a bit less extensive network (about 5 network resources1). Females and couples preparing for religious marriage have slightly larger networks.

In the expressive networks, male and female network resources are basically equal and there is a good match between the EGO’s age and network resources’ age (about 60% of people aged 25-35 years). As expected, most of the resources included in this network are friends (66% in the total sample). The partner, close family members (parents and siblings) and other relatives compose the rest. In 80% of cases the people who the surveyed sample hang around with in their free time have similar values (membership /latency), but did not affect significantly any decision regarding coupled life (only in approximately 20% of the cases). There are some differences between the “soon-to-be spouses” and the “no marital choice” sample: the latter seem to be more influenced by their network of friends in their coupling path.

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1 For network’s resources we intend the people that compose the the network
In the young couples’ tangible support instrumental networks, female network resources are slightly more numerous. The majority of the resources (over 50%) are older than EGO (over-40). About a quarter of the resources of the support network is made up of parents, another quarter of friends, then other relatives and siblings. The similarity in terms of values is very high for the tangible support network (85% of resources are close to EGO’s values). The influence exerted in the choices of the couples is stronger than in the expressive network: almost one third of the network resources have an effect on the young people (even if the LAT subsample is less influenced with a percentage of influence that drops to one fifth of the total, around 20%). However, even in this case the majority of the people in this network, 68.3 % did not have any kind of influence on the choices of the couples.

The cluster analysis performed on a number of variables of the EGO and the networks shows a correlation between couples who get married religiously and engagement in voluntary organizations / in the community), while those with a private conception of the couple do not.

References
THE CHANGING NATURE OF INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS

Keywords: Intergenerational relations, family solidarity, education, childcare

Description of the theoretical framework

Relationship among grandparents, adult children and grandchildren are built today on solidarity as strongly as they were in the past, but they are also built on expectations, affection, possibilities and opportunities.

The solidarity dimension and caring approach has often overcome other approaches in the study of grandparent/grandchildren’s relationships. Scarce importance has given to subjects such as the educative role of grandparents and the bonding process between grandparents and grandchildren.

Research hypothesis

Grandparents still play a crucial role in the education of the children and through the relational processes, family relations, etc., but they need specific support especially in families experiencing crisis situations or at risk. Despite programmes based on family training are developed, there are very few formative programmes addressing grandparents.

Description of the data and the research methods

This paper presents the results of the qualitative analysis of several discussion groups carried out during a workshop on intergenerational relations and the educative role of grandparents with senior students of the Open University of Senior (UOM) during 2014. Discussion groups are focussed on three main subjects: socioeconomic profile, life conditions and family relations. A previous survey to 50 senior (older than 55) students of the UOM has been carried out in 2013 and it has led to a qualitative analysis of these specific issues.

A group of 12 senior participates in a methodological experiment aiming at providing support for grandparents caring for grandchildren by promoting intergenerational relations and positive educative patterns. The workshop addresses the adaptation of an evidence-based programme based on training family competences. The aim of the workshop is to know the formative needs regarding childcare and social skills in order to provide support to their educative task. Furthermore, the project aims at promoting the intergenerational relations through the training of positive education patterns that provide them with strategies to cope with childcare and education tasks.

Most important findings

The quantitative analysis gave us a sociologic profile of a specific group of senior (students of UOM). It provides information about their life conditions, the perception of their own wellbeing and health situation, their care responsibilities and a subjective sight of their family relations. The general profile of the senior is that of: women (65,3%), mainly married or living in couple (90%), with a secondary level of studies (60%), and their economic situation is good (ample). They maintain a fluent relationship with their children and grandchildren. They are not intensive caregivers in general, but occasional carers mainly due to work responsibilities of the parents.

The workshop carried out at the UOM has given the opportunity to know how grandparents define their relationships with the other generations within the family.

The paper show grandparent’s voices about how and what they think their role in the family is, and how their expectations are mediated by external and internal factors that shape family relationships. Some of the external are the economic crisis, the public resources, educative, social and work dynamics, but also cultural elements that define the life styles of the different generations: children,
young, adults and seniors. Internal factors deal with educative and socio-economic level, life and health conditions and marital status. A great part of these intergenerational relationships revolve on child caring and solidarity relations, but also on values transmission and education patterns.

**Conclusion/discussion**

The research is still on-going and therefore, not definitive results can be presented for the moment. The analysis of the survey has provided some quantitative information that contributes to provide a general profile of the participant grandparents. However, outcomes from the qualitative analysis of the discussion groups are not ready yet. It is expected that the second part of the analysis will provide us with information about how grandparents perceive their educative role and how intergenerational relationships into the family configure.

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**FAMILY SOCIAL NETWORKS IN LITHUANIA: THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL SUPPORT**

**Key words:** family, social support, types of support, social support network, the older birth cohort, the younger birth cohort, parents, siblings, friends, neighbours

Recent demographic trends in European and other post-modern societies (population ageing and changing balance between the young and old, increase in the number of childless couples and single persons, the spread of new partnership forms, decline in rates of birth, etc.) rise concerns about family capability to ensure wellbeing to its members and challenge the potential of family as provider of social support.

The paper focuses on mutual social support networks of Lithuanian families, aiming to reveal the extent to which the resources of different types of assistance are both given and received in
relationships between members of a family of procreation/orientation as well as between more distant kinship and other persons, i.e. friends / neighbours, etc.

Individual experiences in provision and receipt of support are analysed basing on the data of qualitative research, conducted in the frame of the ESF-funded research Project “Trajectories of family models and social networks: Intergenerational perspective” (code No.VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K-01-106).

The field-work (sixty in-depth interviews) was carried out in summer 2012 June-August, 2012 in the six regions of Lithuania (10 interviews in each region). The informants were sampled from the list of persons who had previously (at the end of 2011 – beginning of 2012) participated in the quantitative survey basing on the age, gender and living place criterion. Respectively 15 persons from each of four birth cohorts (1950-1955, 1960-1965, 1970-1975 and 1980-1985) were selected, among them – 30 females and 30 males.

All informants were interviewed individually face-to-face, the interviews were recorded. Average duration of the interviews was 54 minutes (the longest interview was 2 hours and 30 minutes, the shortest – 18 minutes). Afterwards records were transcribed (the transcribed texts make 850 pages).

The in-depth interviews were conducted using the interview guidelines (a set of open questions) that covered five topics - partnerships and family formation, parenthood, education trajectories, professional career trajectories, mutual assistance. The last topic was elaborated by open questions regarding the exchange of material and financial assistance, psychological support, the experiences of provision/receipt of other help, etc. Analysis of qualitative data was performed using qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti7.

Configurational perspective on family as a complex set of personal ties and interdependencies that extend far beyond its boundaries and include not only more distant kinship, but also friends (Widmer, 2010) makes a theoretical framework of analysis. The first part of presentation focuses on the conceptualization of social support as a multidimensional category that has been variously defined and measured taking into account various aspects – the structure of supportive resources, normative attitudes and the perceptions concerning the availability of assistance, the social support network – its givers and receivers (Schafer, Coyne, Lazarus, 1981; Kahana, Kahana, Johnson, Hammond, Kercher, 1994; Willis, Martin , 2005; Scabini, Lanz, 2006; Miller, Perlman, Brehm, 2007; Regan, 2011, etc.).

Basing on the qualitative survey data, the eight types of social support are distinguished and defined: (1) emotional support (verbal and nonverbal behaviours (e.g., listening, being together) that communicate closeness and affection, warmth and sympathy, concern and support); (2) informational support (giving advice, information and clarification that help to find solutions in stressful situations); (3) financial support (giving money regularly or episodic / one-off help (a gift, interest-free loan) for the large purchases); (4) material assistance (release of various household appliances, furniture, clothing, children’s things, agricultural products, etc.); (5) rendering of dwelling (release of a room / flat - temporarily or for altogether); (6) instrumental support (provision of direct physical assistance in household tasks and farming); (7) care of the older and/or ailing persons (provision of permanent or episodic assistance to physically impaired, seriously ill individuals and the elderly); (8) child care (provision of permanent or episodic assistance in looking after the children in pre-school or younger school age).

Analysis of mutual support networks is based on the comparison of individual experiences of informants of two birth cohorts – the older (born in 1950-1965) and the younger (born in 1970-1985). These two birth cohorts are representatives of two different generations - those who were socialized and experienced transitional to adulthood life events in different historic periods - the soviet and during the years of Lithuania’s political and socio-economic transformations and entry into the EU. The older and younger cohorts also differ by some socio-demographic characteristics (marital status, presence of children) and, respectively, by the performed social roles.
The accomplished investigation enables to make the following conclusions:

- The social support networks of the older cohort are more extensive, however, all interviewed persons, regardless of their age, talked more frequently about the cases of received support rather than about personal experiences of helping the others.

- All in all, parents most often are net givers of assistance to their adult children, thus, in a family the intergenerational support flows are most often one-way and “downward”. Whereas among peers (siblings, friends, etc.) some balance between received and given assistance is observed, in this respect it is possible to talk about the exchange of support.

- Family of origin takes a most important place in support networks, first of all, parents. Although references to the spouse and children as assistance providers are less frequent, a particular role of a family of procreation as supporter in stressful situations is reflected in individual narratives otherwise, when talking about family as a personal core value.

- Mutual support ties with kinship are rather fragmented and one-sided, in this respect friends are much more important, particularly as providers of emotional and financial assistance. The role of friends is more significant in the younger age cohort, especially among women – their mutual support practices are closely related with female family roles. Meanwhile men also help each other in professional life, their mutual support relationships intertwine with personal material interests.

- The inhabitants of rural areas maintain firm support relationships with their neighbours, and these relationships are grounded both on pragmatism and solidarity. Meanwhile, neighbours’ support ties in towns and cities are sketchy and not substantial.

- „Other” persons (acquaintances, business associates, co-workers) take a relatively insignificant place in mutual support networks, they are providers of some irregular support (informational, financial and instrumental).

References


Our research explores the link between family strategies, social policies and individual social capital. Social capital is classically defined as resources stemming from the possession of support and sociability (Bourdieu 1986). Social capital includes practical aspects, such as sociability ties, and normative aspects, such as norms of solidarity and trust (Coleman 1988). Recent research has emphasized the importance of family relationships and the norms of solidarity in individual social capital (Widmer 2006). Social capital can be described as bonding when family plays a prominent role in sociability and norms, with the exclusion of other sources of solidarity (Widmer 2010). Bridging social capital is an alternative to bonding social capital when personal ties are more heterogeneous, they include family, associations, friendships, neighborhoods, and work (Putnam 2002).

The development of welfare state increases economic autonomy of individuals from their family members. One origin of this influence is associated with the nuclearization of the family (Durkheim (1892) 1975). A second origin of welfare impact on the family is associated with individualization; modern welfare states have promoted a multiplication of the levels of integration in society (Elias 2001). The increase of individualization produces greater normative autonomy between parents and children (Attias-Donfut and Arber 2000). A third origin of welfare impact is associated with the crowded-in and crowded-out effects of state policies (Kohli 1999; Albertini, Kohli and Vogel, 2007). Finally, welfare presence has been associated with the decreasing financial interdependence of individuals within the nuclear family itself (Esping-Andersen 1990). Measures of conciliation between family and work life indeed have allowed a growing share of women to be more financially independent from their male partners’ earnings (Lewis 1997). However, the influence of welfare state on the social capital might be explored in the interaction with the family strategies (Castel 1995). The family strategies include inheritance, employment, marital strategies, divorce, fertility, parenthood, and education (Bourdieu 1972).

In our research we exploited two analyses. The first analysis is qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). It allows us to explore the interaction between welfare policies and family strategies and their influence on the social capital in four social regimes according to Esping-Andersen typology: Mediterranean regime countries (Spain, Italy and Cyprus), corporatist regime countries (France, Germany and Austria), liberal regime countries (USA, Canada, Switzerland and Great Britain), and social-democratic regime countries (Denmark, Finland and Norway) (Esping-Andersen 1990). We have not disposed the results of QCA analysis so far. They foresee for the date of the interim meeting. The inclusion of this analysis will allow us to take into account the influence of the family strategies on the individual social capital.

The second analysis includes the cluster and regression analyses. It allows us to explore the impact of welfare state on social capital in same counties without taken into account the family strategies. For this purpose we use data collected by the International Social Survey Program (ISSP 2001) ‘Social relations and social network’.

We hypothesize that the social capital depends on the type of welfare regime. In Mediterranean and corporatist regime countries the internship between the family strategies and modest and selective social policies influences on the appearance of family oriented relationships and norms. Therefore, social capital may hold a bonding form, with a strong emphasis on family solidarity. Because countries among the Mediterranean regime are more oriented toward parents and children than countries of the corporatist regime, we expect the focus on family ties and bonding social capital to be even stronger in their case. In social-democratic regime countries there are more opportunities to
develop social interactions beyond kinship, for example, in networks related with work or in ties provided by associative memberships and other more formal groups. The norms of solidarity may focus less on the family as the universalism of the welfare state decreases the need for family support. The interaction between the family strategies and social policies provides some independence from family members. In this situation social capital may comprise a series of alternatives to family ties, such as friends, colleagues, representative of the state social services and relationships developed in associations. It is harder to make hypotheses about the social capital of individuals living in liberal regime countries. On one side, the commitment to self-reliance and the internship between the family strategies and modest and selective social benefits may decrease the family solidarity. On the other side, the weakness of state support may lead individuals to seek alternative sources of social capital in their family.

The empirical results show that individual social capital to a significant extent depends on social policy regimes. The logistic regression analysis confirms the impact of welfare regime on the individual social capital when control variables such as sex, age, marital and educational status were included. Individuals from Mediterranean regime countries more often develop bonding social capital based on family ties for solidarity practices. The hypothesis of a strong normative family support in Mediterranean regime countries is not confirmed. At the normative level, individuals from such regime more often choose the interplay between the state and the family. Respondents from corporatist regime countries more often develop interplay between kinship, associations, and sparse contacts for sociability practices. The hypothesis about a strong normative focus on family support in corporatist regime countries is not confirmed either. At the normative level, individuals in such countries more often prefer state support or the interplay between the state and the family. Thus, in corporatist regime countries, the relationships and the norms are based on a larger number of sources of solidarity, a situation that is beneficial to bridging social capital. Individuals from countries with a liberal regime more often depend on associations or on self-reliance at the practical level. Ties with children, however, also play a significant role in their social capital in contrast to ties with parents, which remain rare in all countries with a liberal regime. This shows the long lasting importance of the nuclear family as a launching center for young adult children in this institutional context. At the level of norms, there is a strong reliance on the self, complemented by family support. Normative state support and mixed support are underdeveloped in such contexts. This situation may account for a relative deficit of social capital, either bonding or bridging, in liberal regime countries. The state guarantees of the social-democratic regime are associated with more diversified relationships, which include friends and associations as well as family members, especially parents, but also a larger number of people with no or very little sociability. There is a greater variety of sociability practices in such countries than in countries of other regimes. Interestingly, the normative focus on family solidarity is weak in such institutional contexts, as family solidarity is considered to be only a marginal complement to state support. Therefore, social capital has a bridging form in social-democratic regime countries.

References


Labour relations have undergone significant changes over the last decades. Job precariousness and work precariousness weaken assured and stable occupational integrations. These changes challenge “rigid”, continuous and foreseeable conception of occupational career (the choice of a profession, training, labour market integration, promotion and retirement), and question both material and symbolic recognition that are linked to professional activities.

Furthermore, individualisation has emerged as an influential characterisation of contemporary Western society (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, Giddens 1991). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argue that “the post-war development of the welfare state brought with it a social impetus toward individualisation of unprecedented scale and dynamism. […] a break in historical continuity released people from traditional class ties and family supports and increasingly threw them onto their own resources and their individual fate (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 30).

Facing this rise of uncertainties, we analyse how precarious occupational career are unequally exposed to the “disaffiliation” risk (Castel 2005).

According to Duncan Gallie and Serge Paugam (2004) there are three types of factor that might affect the hardness of the effects of precariousness on people’s lives. First, the characteristics of the welfare institutions. Second, the specific economic conditions that each society is confronted with, deriving from their level of economic development and the rapidity of economic restructuring. Finally, the patterns of family life and sociability, which are also influenced by the characteristics of the welfare institutions, are closely related to much longer-standing cultural traditions. This latter factor can be decomposed in three different spheres of sociability: (i) The immediate family and household relations (ii) the interactions with neighbours and the encounters with friends and relatives outside the household (iii) the participation in organizational and associative life.

The first main question of this contribution is to assess how precarious occupational career is accompanied by the breakdown of everyday social networks, thereby reinforcing the rupture from the world of precariousness by cutting people off from information about jobs and undermining their self-esteem. The second main question is to understand how the role of family may act as “social regulation of risk”. More precisely, we can raise four research questions:
• How to define atypical occupational trajectories?
• How growth of uncertain affects occupational career of young adult workers in Switzerland?
• Is there a link between precarious occupational career and disaffiliation of social ties?
• How family can act as social buffer in case of professional precariousness?

On this basis we draw two hypotheses:

• The experience of precarious professional career has often been analysed as a withdrawal from social and family life. The processes of losing stability and position in the occupational sphere can be humiliating and this can change relations with others and lead to a self-imposed isolation. Many people may prefer to accept a reduced level of contact with their wider family until such time as they have gained a job which, from their point of view, renders them more respectable. For the value attributed to work, it can be expected that in Switzerland the more professional career is closed to precariousness the less is the frequency of contact with the relatives, neighbours, friends and the participation in organizational and associative life.

• Where, for reasons such as religion, family norms are particularly strong, then the family is more likely to offer overcome the shortfall of state provision than in societies where the dissolution traditional conceptions of the family has spread more widely in the society. For such institutional and cultural reasons, it can be expected that in Switzerland individual may be personally responsible for their precariousness. Hence family support is likely to be scarce. In other words, we are not expecting that family play a significant role in terms of resources supplier.

In order to test our hypotheses, we draw on data from the swiss FNS study *FamilytiMes* and analysing occupational integration and social ties of two cohorts (1950-1955, 1970-1975) from the age of 16 years old to the age of 36 years old for the younger cohort and from the age of 41 years old to the age of 61 years old for the older one. We mobilise sequence analysis method for categorizing career patterns and use optimal matching tool for computing pairwise distances between them by means of sequence alignment algorithms and using this information for clustering the sequences. Logistic regression will help us to identify which population is at risk. Then we use network analysis to understand how people who are characterised by a precarious professional career are exposed to less social integration.

**References**

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FAMILY FORMS, EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS AND THE WELLBEING OF PARENTS AFTER THE GERMAN REUNIFICATION: THE EFFECT OF DIFFERENT ECONOMIES AND CULTURES

Keywords: Employment patterns, parents, wellbeing, eastern and western Germany

Introduction

Changes in family lives are closely related to the societal context. Germany offers an example par excellence for analyzing these effects. After a joint past until the Second World War, Germany was divided into two separate and independent parts: German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). For about 40 years family policies and labor market policies in the GDR and FRG were characterized by opposite guiding principles. In the GDR full-time employment of women was commonplace and their participation in the labor market was strongly supported by the government even if they had small children. Public facilities for childcare were sufficiently offered starting in the first year of life of children. In the Federal Republic of Germany most people tend not to approve the labor force participation of mothers. It was a common opinion that pre-school children - especially up to kindergarten age - were likely to suffer if their mother worked. Facilities for childcare usually started at the age of three, often only half-day; child care for smaller children usually had to be organized privately. Moreover, in West Germany married couples in contrast to those cohabiting were supported by the state in different ways. For instance, they received tax benefits if one partner stayed at home. On the other hand, in East Germany the family status did not imply far-reaching consequences.

After German reunification in 1989 the family policies of both parts of Germany were harmonized, meaning that the policies prevalent in western Germany were transferred to eastern Germany. However the well developed facilities of publicly financed childcare were largely maintained in eastern Germany whereas in western Germany the availability of childcare facilities was only gradually improved over time. The labor markets were different in both parts of Germany with a significantly higher unemployment rate in the eastern part.

Hence, our paper focuses on how the marriage behavior as well as the employment behavior has changed since reunification. To what extent does the employment behavior of married and cohabiting parents in eastern Germany falls in line with western Germany? Have patterns of employment of parents in eastern and western Germany converged over the last two decades or have differences persisted? The focus of our analyses covers the changes of the following three main patterns of employment: (1) the traditional employment pattern which is characterized by a male bread-winner and a female homemaker, (2) the semi-traditional employment pattern with the man working full-time and the woman working part-time, and (3) the egalitarian employment pattern where both partners work about the same amount.

Moreover, a further aim of this paper is to examine the impact of employment patterns and family status on mothers and fathers well being in both parts of Germany. The analyses of the wellbeing in one’s family cover three dimensions with the following aspects: (1) Personal strain: worries; stress; overwhelmed with parental role. (2) Leisure time: family, partner or individually centered activities. (3) Fulfillment of family life: family climate; happiness in partnership; joy of mother-/fatherhood (cf. Tölke, Angelika/Wirth, Heike 2013).

Hypotheses

(1) Stating a general decrease in marriages we expect that the situation in western Germany will become more like the one in eastern Germany. (2) The increasing number of employed women in western Germany might end up in more egalitarian employment patterns implying a convergence from west to east. (3) Based on wide spread attitudes in western Germany the labor market
participation of mothers results in being overburdened and in a suffering of all family members. Consequently the well being should be lower in egalitarian working couples at least in Western Germany; eastern couples might be familiar with this working arrangement because of their (or their parents) experiences in the former GDR.

Data and Methods

Data from the German Microcensus 1991 to 2009 are used to describe the changes in family status and in the employment behavior of parents in eastern and western Germany. The German Microcensus is a 1% sample of the total population living in Germany and is conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics. The data provide information on the economic and social situation of the population as well as on employment, the labor market and the educational system.

The analyses of the well being of mothers and fathers employ data of the cross-sectional survey Growing up in Germany (AID:A) conducted in 2009 (Rauschenbach, Thomas 2012). The focus of AID:A is on children’s, teenager's and adult’s life circumstances, their stresses and strains, their family structure as well as their socio-economic situation. Thus the AID:A data enable us to examine the everyday family life. In total AID:A includes 25,000 individuals aged 0 to 55 years. In our analysis we study mothers and fathers aged 18 to 55 living with at least one child under the age of 18 years.

In the first part of our analysis we describe changes in marriage patterns and employment patterns at intervals of five years starting in 1991. Eastern and western Germany is compared and the descriptive results are differentiated by the age of the youngest child in the household. In order to study the wellbeing of fathers and mothers several items were selected from AID:A and three main dimensions were defined via exploratory factor analysis: personal strain, leisure time, and fulfillment of family life.

Main Findings

How have the employment patterns of parents changed over time? In both parts of Germany there is an increase in semi-traditional working arrangements (man working full-time, woman working part-time) and a decrease in egalitarian employment patterns with both partners working equal amounts. Contrary to our expectations, in western Germany the family status seems to become less important for the employment pattern of parents but it didn’t gain importance in eastern Germany. Nevertheless, even 20 years after reunification there are remarkable differences in the labor force participation in eastern and western Germany. Parents living in the eastern part are more likely to have egalitarian working arrangements than those in western Germany. Moreover, in eastern Germany the age of the youngest child is less important in determining parent’s pattern of employment than in the West. In western Germany the parental division of labor market participation is still strongly influenced by the age of children. For couples living with children under the age of 3, the traditional employment pattern (male breadwinner/housewife) is predominant. In families with school age children, there is a trend towards semi-traditional employment patterns, with the man working full-time and the woman working part-time. Even though the facilities for childcare for pre-school children have improved in western Germany, the percentage of couples practicing an egalitarian employment pattern has decreased. Thus it seems that couples in western Germany are still bound to the traditional gender-based division of labor whereas parents in eastern Germany adhere more to egalitarian patterns. In eastern Germany most mothers currently working part-time would like to work more and many of those who are not employed would like to work. Their current working arrangements are often not chosen voluntarily but are a result of the difficult labor market in eastern Germany. Employment patterns work as time-frames for the everyday life of families and affect the division of housework, the responsibility for childcare and other family activities to a large extent. Therefore, we expected that the wellbeing and personal strain of mothers and fathers would differ with respect to their currently practiced employment pattern. However, our results give evidence that there is neither a systematic correlation between employment patterns and wellbeing nor between employment patterns and
personal strain. Beyond this, one compelling finding is that although one would expect more “double burden” in eastern German families as these parents more often practice egalitarian working patterns the opposite is the case. Parents in eastern Germany spend more leisure time with their family and are happier with their family life than their counterparts in western Germany. In comparison East-German fathers are on average the happiest group studied followed by East-German mothers. On average West Germans are less happy with their family life. To explain these differences further analyses will be continued which will focus on the role of fathers. The quality of relationship and parenthood might depend on their egalitarian involvement in household tasks and childcare responsibilities. But even cultural norms and habits experienced during the time of the former GDR such as perceiving ones family as a “retreat” might also play a role here. Besides these east-west differences the family development (i.e. the number of children and the age of the youngest child) is important for determining wellbeing. With increasing age of the youngest child worries and stress increases in the east and west as well as for mothers and fathers, whereas the number of children is a major concern only for mothers. Family enlargement with a second child reduces the wellbeing of mothers significantly compared to the one-child family stage.

References

SESSION IV: PhD SESSION
Chairs: Isabella Crespi & Detlev Lück

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CHANGING FAMILY, KINSHIP AND SOCIAL BONDS IN THREE STAGES OF FAMILY FORMATION

Keywords: family and kinship, relationality, qualitative analysis, weddings

The paper introduces my ongoing PhD study and presents first results and empirical and methodological considerations raised by preliminary analysis of the data. The research aims at studying family and kinship ties and other significant social bonds during the early years of marriage by focusing on three stages of the family formation process. The study contributes to the discussion about the communality and social support of the families with little children by examining the mechanisms through which social bonds, including family ties, are formed, maintained or possibly dissolved. The paper contributes to the sociological discussion about family and intimate relationships by focusing on change in family, kinship and other social bonds in the early years of family life as married couple and new parents.

Public debate in Finland has recently stressed phenomena that threat the well-being of families with children. It has been argued that parents experience great pressures when trying to combine the care and upbringing of children and the employment. It has also been shown that the poverty of families with little children has increased and the services for families have been reduced. In consequence of
these developments, the inadequacy of the service system of welfare society and the marginalization of young parents have been seen as growing problems. The recent debate around these issues raises, firstly, a question about the significant relationships: who are the people that offer support and help and who function as a peer group to parents of young children? And secondly: how is the sense of community and belonging formed between individuals? What kind of path leads to an individual having several significant social bonds and a vast network of relationships while others end up having no significant relationships and in some cases even marginalize? My PhD study aims to answer these questions by examining the formation of social bonds in three different stages of forming a family: planning a marriage, taking care of a baby on family leave and balancing work and family life after return to work.

The first years of marriage are of crucial importance for forming a network of social bonds as a family, and I examine the evolving of relationships in three specific stages in this process. First, getting married has historically been a turning point in individual’s life course and a celebration that gathers together the community and reproduces social bonds both within family and kin and among couple’s peers (Etzioni 2004). Second, the transition to parenthood is often a life stage in which the ‘function’ of family and kin – sharing intimacy, security, and emotional as well as material support – becomes evident and concrete. Do the social bonds that new parents already have provide support or is it sought for instance from a peer group of new mothers, a nurse at the maternity health care clinic or a neighbor with children? Third, as I have pointed out in my previous research (Luotonen 2013), combining employment and family life after return to work from family leave is often characterized by multiple and sometimes contradictory responsibilities and preferences and social bonds can be a significant resource in this life stage.

Exploring social bonds and interaction during early years of marriage provides an opportunity to observe how changes in social bonds are connected to life stages on one hand, and on individual choices and preferences on the other.

**Theoretical framework and research questions**

My research is based on two central points concerning family and social bonds. The first is the change in the concept and meaning of ‘family’. Many sociologist studying family and intimate relationships, e.g. Carol Smart (2007) have recently emphasized that intimacy and closeness are received and given more and more in relationships other that family and kinship ties. Possibilities of individual negotiation and choice have grown at the expense of traditional communality. E.g. Eric Widmer et al. (2008) point out that the constellations of social bonds are of changing nature and their definition requires sociological enquiry. Therefore, my research is based on the idea that it is of great significance to examine family relations as part of a wider constellation of social bonds. The second starting point of my research is based on the division made by British historian John Gillis who has studied extensively the historical changes of family. Gillis (1997) makes a distinction between the ‘imagined family’ and ‘lived family’. The imagined family consists of the ideal of an unchanged and stable family. The ‘lived family’ means a constellation of relationships that is negotiated, changed and disrupted in daily life. Gillis’ distinction means that the constellations of family and kinship ties and other social bonds exist, first, in people’s thoughts and talk, and second, in the lived daily life. I will examine social bonds from this twofold approach.

Family relations and other significant social bonds have also been approached from a configurational perspective that takes into account the significance that relationships have to an individual, on the one hand, and their attachment to social networks and the structures of place and time on the other (Widmer et al. 2008). In my research, the concept of configuration functions as a tool for analyzing how individual circumstances, collective norms as well as life stage are connected to forming, reproducing and dissolving social bonds.

To sum, my PhD study aims to explore the development of family, kinship and other social bonds in three different phases in the (nuclear) family formation process. What is expected from family and people in the close social network in different stages of life? What kind of logic can be found in
the ways that people keep in touch with their family, kin and friends? Who is considered as part of family or of network of close friends? The objective of my study is to find the rules according to which social bonds are formed. By rules I mean the logic behind how relationality is built in family and other social relations (see Jallinoja & Widmer 2011) in three stages of family formation: when getting married, after having a child and when balancing work and family life with young children.

My research asks, more specifically: What kind of logic can be found behind the ways in which relationality and sense of belonging are built in family, kinship and other social ties in three stages of family formation?

**Data and methods**

The research is carried out by using mixed methods approach with the aim of revealing different perspectives on the formation of social bonds. The majority of data has already been gathered. Formation of social bonds when planning a wedding will be approached by analyzing couple interview data and systematic information on social bonds gathered by adjunct professor Anna-Maija Castrén in 2006–2011. Individual interviews with the same men and women will be carried out and a new questionnaire data gathered in spring 2014 by myself and Castrén. Another kind of perspective to the formation of social bonds is offered by a data of group discussions with mothers on family leave that I gathered in 2009 in a research project financed by the Academy of Finland. To sum, the data of the study consists of following parts:

- 19 interviews of couples who are about to get married, have already been gathered
- questionnaires mapping the social networks of couples, have already been gathered
- a new round of interviews with individuals, to be done in spring 2014
- a new round of social network questionnaires, to be done in spring 2014
- 12 group discussions (tot. 45 participants), have already been gathered by myself

The analysis of the qualitative data will be carried out by using relevant methods, e.g. approaches of discourse analysis and grounded theory. I will give special attention to the interactional character of the couple interview data and the group discussion data. In addition, the questionnaire data will be analyzed applying appropriate methods.

**The current stage of the research**

My PhD study is in its initial phase but a large part of the data has already been gathered and all of the data is planned to be collected by September 2014. The paper presents the outline of the study and focuses on empirical and methodological considerations based on the second round of data collecting and the preliminary analysis.

**References**


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UNDERSTANDING KINSHIP CHANGES AND VARIATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY NORTHERN SOCIETIES

Keywords: social change, kinship, residence, intergenerational and conjugal solidarities, consensual non-monogamies

Based on field works and extensive comparative studies, anthropologist Maurice Godelier (2004; France) argued that no society has ever been based on kinship nor family. On the contrary, Godelier asserts that kinship practices in all societies are expressions of the political and religious order of the societies. Collective values and representations give sense and legitimacy to kinship practices such as filiation and intergenerational transmission of goods and values, choice of the mates, forms of residence, sexual prohibitions and preferences, beliefs about procreation, terminology. And kinship practices participate to the reproduction of the society, inter alia, by transmitting the political and religious order to the next generation.

Our hypothesis is the following: when (1) the political and religious values and representations of a society change and when (2) the material environment of that society changes as well, then, parts of inherited kinship practices are changing accordingly (i.e. they are changing into new practices materially and mentally congruent to the new social and cultural environment).

Socio-demographic works show trends of decreasing marriage and birth rates, increasing divorces and remarriages, postponement of family formation to later stages in the life course.

For the last decades in Western Europe, an increasing amount of individuals seem to be involved in one or more aspects of kinship changes. Fifty years ago, divorcing parents were rare. How to explain the contemporary divorce rates? Is there nowadays a larger amount of people willing to divorced for personal reasons analogue to the past reasons of divorce? Or, are there new social and cultural causes that push or lead more and more individuals to make that choice? The same kind of questions goes for the birth rates, the marriage rates and the postponement of family formation, for instance.

To understand the big trends, we’ve mobilized a small emerging phenomenon. We have chosen to work on a case where the family norm is in question on different levels: choice of the mates, forms of residence, sexual prohibitions and preferences, filiation and intergenerational transmission of goods and values, believes about procreation and terminology. Understanding what leads some groups of individuals (agents), all around the northern countries, to choose out-norm kinship practices today may help to understand the causes of the currently increased diversity and de-standardization of family forms and configurations. In other words, we study the unusual to get a better understanding of how the usual works.

The vernacular expression ‘polyamory’ describes open relationships—occurring today in several northern countries—that include more than a pair of adults, where all the partners are aware of the others and are consenting to the networking relationships. That non monogamous practice seems, a priori, radically diverging from the normative nuclear and (sometimes serially) monogamous family pattern. So are we applying an ethnographic approach towards polyamorist kinship agents. That means we have got in touch with self-called ‘polyamorists’ in French speaking Europe (Belgium, France, Switzerland), through the web first, and then through their monthly meetings (mainly in
Brussels and Paris). By a snow-ball effects, we have now been introduced to several hundreds of polyamorists. We became close enough to some of them to be introduced to their significant others (of all generations), to visit their residence and gather observations about their daily life. For the last three years, we have been practicing extended empathic interviews (more than 40 hours have been recorded so far). We have practiced participative observation on line (on chatrooms) and into public and private meetings. We have been gathering written and audiovisual polyamorist’s artefacts such as books, documentaries, movies or manifestos written or elected by them).

From grounded data we developed an original analysis table of kinship practices. And we use that table to compare and explain nowadays kinship changes from a new original and, we think, heuristic angle.

Our field data, together with academic state of the art, show (a) that these non monogamous contemporary practices, so called ‘polyamory’, involve more than one significant partner into reproduction and co-parenting, co-residence, sexual bonding and/or attachment feeling; (b)discourses analysis show that humanist values are driving the life course of these agents (individualism, mutual consent, self-fulfilment, gender equality, a taste for freedom and non violent communication…) and (b’) are justifying their choices; (c) discourses analysis tallied by our field observations show that elements of the contemporary material and technological surrounding (concerning sexuality, mobility, communication, consummation and production of goods, time-space management) make non monogamous networking relationships possible for a large amount of the population of western Europe.

As a conclusion, although our data processing is in progress and uncompleted, we would like to argue that

(a) Our hypothesis described above (2.) is right;
(b) If polyamorist practices and ethic ever become quantitatively significant or dominant, the average kinship practices will get through other patterns first; forever. ‘Family’, as a vernacular concept, can hardly be used to understand kinship practices and their changes today. On the other hand, human universals, things that occurs in every societies such as inhabiting residences, producing attachment bonds with significant others, producing offspring, developing forms of intergenerational solidarities/transmissions, regulating sexual pleasure and living together with/by political/religious values seem relevant anthropological distinct facts to be studied in order to understand so called ‘family’ changes in a more heuristic way.

This work is destined for a PhD thesis under the supervision of Prof. J. Marquet (UCLouvain –Belgium) and Prof. E. Widmer (UniGe–Switzerland). Part time data gathering and processing has lasted three years since M.A. obtain in social and cultural anthropology (with honors in 2010 at UCLouvain-Belgium). Proper funding will allow fulltime commitment and accelerate the research process.

References

IDENTITY POLICIES OF MULTI-LOCAL POST-SEPARATION FAMILIES-TERRITORIALISATIONS BETWEEN DISTINCTION AND BELONGING

**Keywords:** multilocality, post-separation family, identity, praxeological sociology of knowledge, qualitative multilevel analysis

Following sociological debates on family, the traditional nuclear family referring to a social group consisting of a heterosexual couple and their children all dwelling in one household is in decline and has lost its predominance even though it still preserves its normative power in public discourse and as an orientation foil. At the same time to date unconventional family models experience both an increase in numbers and social acceptance. The extensive corpus of family research literature on the pluralisation and de-standardisation of the family has neglected a key moment in the understanding of those forms of familial life for a long time – namely the social realities of the actors within, their self-concepts, their perspectives on what they call family and consequently do and present in their everyday conduct of life. A number of studies made effort to answer this desideratum in the years past (Morgan 2011, James/Curtis 2010, Schier 2009, Smart 2007). However it is not only the perspective on daily routines, rhythms and rituals of family everyday life that was still pending. Despite the fact that a structural differentiation and an increase in the distribution of multi-local living arrangements as a characteristic feature and biographical implication of postmodern sociation (Vergesellschaftung) can be observed (Beck 2000), too often family research scholars still refer to family as a household unit neglecting the spatial dimension of changing family patterns and belonging.

Taking the example of an empirical research project on multi-local post-separation families this paper draws attention to a space-sensitive but de-territorialised notion of family in general and focuses in detail on practices of establishing and stabilising collective identities and belonging within shared residence arrangements where children regularly shuttle between the households of their parents. The project to be presented recognizes the importance of the negotiated social constructions of ‘we-ness’ at single places and across
places against the background of the practical everyday challenges of blended familial arrangements and the cultural hegemony of the nuclear family in public discourse. The confrontation of those families with their structural deviance necessitates them to have innovative patterns of interpretation available to balance the cultural lack of concepts and terms and to recognize their complex social networks as family.

Central research questions focus on whether and by which means multi-local families after separation and divorce form a certain collective awareness, a ‘we-ness’ and how this form of identity is created, stabilised and reactualised in daily interactions and narrative actions. Or is there a need for other extraordinary occasions that symbolize family connections and a sense of common sense? What practices are applied to territorialize a collective self at a place and across space?

In line with praxeological approaches, family is understood as something that is done (Morgan 2011, Schier 2009, Nelson 2006), instead of assuming family as a static institution predefined through marriage, a set of family roles or co-residence like structural-functionalist concepts do. Multi-local family practices cross individual residential household boundaries and bring places where family members live into a relationship to each other. Thus a comparative dimension of the everyday, here as well as there, is centrally anchored. For research into multi-local family arrangements an integrating, rather than a bipolar, approach to everyday family practices of adults and children in, between and beyond various places is applied.

To address the questions raised a multiple methods comprising qualitative research design is employed that aims for different analytical levels – single actors, nucleuses and the family system as a whole. Open guideline-based interviews, group discussions and visual methods are applied (Bohnsack 2010, Jorgenson/Sullivan 2010, Witzel 2000, Levin 1993). Data are interpreted by means of the documentary method for text and picture analysis within a qualitative reconstructive approach (Bohnsack 2010).

Results will be presented and current theoretical assumptions on construction processes of family identity will be discussed on a theoretical and empirical basis. Data suggest that passive multi-locally living parents and their new partners in post-separation families move between the poles of referring to the other household on behalf of the active multi-locally living children to create a cross-spatial sense of commonness and belonging and at the same time applying territorialisation practices to promote a space-bound collective identity. These practices include spatial, material, habitual and informational closure processes. Children however face the challenge to merge both residential places and family nucleuses into a coherent whole and simultaneously need to distinguish between different sociotopes and their social orders. Both adults and children are highly encouraged to reflect upon their (collective) practices and thus transfer them into discursive consciousness. On a more general level, the presented results try to find answers on the question about the relationship between tacit and theoretical resp. discursive knowledge within (post-)modern family life.

This paper is part of the author’s dissertation project. The respective doctoral thesis will be finished at the end of 2014.
The hypothesis of destandardization, which was prominent in the 1980s and 1990s, has been mainly revised or modified in the new millennium, because it was not supported by empirical results (Kohli 2007). Destandardization is still mainly assumed to affect family formation more than other areas of the life course, mainly not considering the fact, that there may be different developments with regards to fertility and partnerships, and that indications of a new phase of restandardization have been found. Comparative analyses on the question from life course research using sequence analysis is scarce, despite this methodology is often regarded as being superior for the analysis of hypotheses like the one on (de)standardization requiring a holistic approach to life courses ‘considering events in context’ (Elder 1985, Aisenbrey & Fasang 2010).

To close this research gap, this paper tests some modifications and restrictions of the hypothesis of destandardization (destandardization as a temporary phenomenon followed by restandardization, affecting only selected aspects within family related life courses, affecting genders differently) suggested by prior research, but not yet systematically tested with methods of sequence analysis.
comparing different European countries. Family formation in countries from different European regions (except Eastern Europe) is therefore evaluated based on the data of the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey using simple versions of Optimal Matching Analysis to calculate average dissimilarities. Because of existing doubts with regards to the methodology, intensive reflections are necessary before deciding on the measures to be used and several measures based on different configurations of Optimal Matching are compared.

The most important conclusion based on the analysis of family related events between the age of 15 and 35 is that the hypothesis of destandardization with regards to family formation needs to be specified: destandardization affected partnership formation, not family formation, and was only a temporary phenomenon.

**Introduction, Methodology**

The hypothesis of destandardization, which was prominent in the 1980s and 1990s, has been mainly revised or modified in the new millennium, because it was not supported by empirical results (Kohli 2007). Destandardization is still mainly assumed to affect family related events more than other areas of the life course, mainly not considering the fact, that there may be different developments with regards to fertility and partnerships, and that indications of a new phase of restandardization have been found. Comparative analyses on the question from life course research using sequence analysis is scarce, despite this methodology is often regarded as being superior for the analysis of hypotheses like the one on (de)standardization requiring a holistic approach to life courses ‘considering events in context’ (Elder 1985, Aisenbrey & Fasang 2010).

To close this research gap, this paper tests some modifications and restrictions of the hypothesis of destandardization (destandardization as a temporary phenomenon followed by restandardization, affecting only selected aspects within family related life courses, affecting genders differently) suggested by prior research, but not yet systematically tested with methods of sequence analysis comparing different European countries. Family formation in countries from different European regions (except Eastern Europe) is therefore evaluated based on the data of the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey using simple versions of Optimal Matching Analysis to calculate average dissimilarities for cohorts born between 1935 and 1969. Because of existing doubts with regards to the methodology, intensive reflections are necessary before deciding on the measures to be used and several measures based on different configurations of Optimal Matching are compared. One major doubt towards Optimal Matching analysis is the question of the combination of operations, which are used to overcome differences between life courses and therewith represent the importance attributed to these differences. Different operations overcome different dissimilarities, the relation of the costs for different operations therewith requires (subjective) decisions with regards to the importance of theses dissimilarities. It was therefore decided to use two simple versions of Optimal Matching (Hamming Distance and Longest Common Subsequence), which are based on only one operation and use stable costs, regardless of the type of state exchanged, inserted or deleted. 90% bootstrap confidence intervals were applied to assess the reliability of the changes between cohorts and differences between genders.

**Hypotheses**

Following a reflection of prior results and theoretical discussions around (de)standardisation of family formation, the following hypothesis were formulated and tested for France, Norway and Italy:

(1) Destandardization of family formation among older cohorts investigated is followed by a period of restandardization among younger cohorts.

(2) Fertility related life courses standardize in Europe.

(3) Partnership related life courses destandardize due to the loosening connection between cohabitation and marriage.
(4) Destandardization is found with regards to two-dimensional life courses combining marriage or cohabitation with fertility.

(5) Life courses of women are more destandardized than those of men, especially with regards to fertility and to a lesser extend with regards to partnership.

Results & Conclusions

Hypothesis (1), (2), (3) and (5) were mainly supported by the results, indicating that results of prior research based on national data can be generalized. Hypothesis (4) was not supported by the results; standardisation of fertility lead to standardisation of the twodimensional life courses including one partnership dimension.

The most general hypothesis (1) was supported by data for three-dimensional family-related life courses (including cohabitation, marriage and fertility). France and Norway follow a similar pattern of phases of destandardization and restandardization; In Italy, only female life courses initially destandardize. Destandardization is mainly moderate and not significant, supporting prior findings, that standardising effects remain dominant (Kohli 2007). Despite the general support of hypothesis (1), the underlying assumption of alternating phases of destandardization and restandardization is not plausible, because the phases the result of the combination of two dimensions in which unidirectional developments are identified.

Significant destandardization is found only with regards to the two-dimensional partnership related life courses for respondents born between 1945 and 1959, experiencing their partnership formation mainly in the 70s and 80s. Destandardization therewith seems to have been a temporal phenomenon mainly caused by the loosening connection between marriage and cohabitation. The data showed no restandardization, but a stabilization of dissimilarity with regards to partnership formation, the connection between marriage and cohabitation remains loose. Young men still have more standardized life courses than young women with regards to family formation, presumably due to some events occurring at later stages of their lives. The consistent standardization of fertility (alone or in combination with marriage or cohabitation) as well as the restandardization of one-dimensional life courses of marriage and cohabitation suggest to specify the destandardization hypothesis as follows: Standardising effects of fertility reductions remain highly influential with regards to family formation in Europe, interrupted by a phase of destandardization due to a loosening connection of marriage and cohabitation in the 70s and 80s. In Southern Europe, only women are affected by temporary destandardization, male family-related life courses continuously standardize.

Conclusions are only based on the analyses of three countries, for which reliable data of the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey was available at the time of performing the analyses. Because these countries represent different European regions, with difference within the regions shown to be small by prior research, the results are assumed to represent a general trend. Results are contradicting some conclusions of previous research, which was based on different definitions of life course states, different measures of life course dissimilarity and partly different life course sections (starting with age 15 or 18, ending with age 30 or 35). Destandardization was in these analyses sometimes found to be more influential (for example Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007), other researchers found differing developments with no clear support for the destandardization nor the standardization hypothesis (Schizzoretto and Lucchini 2002). The main cause for the differences between the results is the different way of incorporating fertility in the analysis. The total number of own children living in the household of the respondent was used in the analyses of this paper, there with distinguishing up to ten different states with regards to fertility. Other researchers only distinguished between respondents with or without children (Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007) or between four states (without, with one, with two, with three and more children; Robette 2010). The latter (resembling more the approach of this paper) also reported standardization of fertility-related life courses for French men and women. Older cohorts were diagnosed to be even more destandardized with regards to fertility than in previous research, because the differences between
families (with more than 3 children) was also considered. More destandardization is sometimes also due to different life course sections analysed; for example Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007 analysed life courses until the age of 30, therefore the destandardization of partnership formation is assumed to more influential.

The influence of standardising fertility was therefore more influential in the analysis presented in this paper than in previous research; which is considered to be valuable, because the postponement and reduction of fertility is reflected better. The conclusions are in line with summaries of previous research (most prominently in Kohli 2007) but add value with regards to the sources of standardization, restandardization and temporal destandardization within the field of family formation as well as by analysing the phenomenon holistically with different configurations of sequence analysis and with comparative international data.

References

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ANCHORED IN TRADITION? EXPLAINING EUROPEANS GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES: A MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

Keywords: gender roles; gender culture; multilevel analysis; change.

Introduction
Assuming gender as a multilayered concept (Wharton, 2005; Risman, 2004), this paper aims to investigate gender cultures across European countries adopting a multilevel approach. This proposal is an extract from my PhD thesis. I am at 2/3 of my work and will dissert it on March 2015. The thesis is entitled “Gender cultures and female socio-political participation. Italy in the European context: results from the European Values Study”. Briefly, I analyze the female socio-political participation considering the gender culture context where women live (still a context of iniquity), assuming that gender dynamics –at each level- are really linked to effective access to participation, because of cultural ties. I adopt a multidimensional approach to explore gender dynamics. It means that process at each level (individual, relational, institutional) are involved in what we call and live as gender. Methodologically, I use multivariate analysis, in particular multilevel analysis, to test my hypothesis. The main source of data is the European Values Study. At the present moment I reviewed literature, defined my hypothesis and I am starting to run my analysis. For this meeting I will propose one of my questions of research explored in my PhD thesis.

In the last decades Western societies moved toward a more egalitarian gender culture even if with different rhythm and speed. Although women’s public roles are increasing, family and private
contexts still remain the places where gender interactions are more intense and where both women and men play roles keeping old models or transforming them. Attitudes toward gender roles are changing in all European countries from a more traditional pattern (referred to the male-breadwinner model) toward more negotiable models where women and men tend to share economic and care responsibilities.

Literature explains this change as a part of a wider cultural process of modernization and secularization (Voicu & Voicu, 2009; Kalmijn, 2003; Inglehart & Norris, 2003). There is also an economic explanation (Van der Lippe & Van Dijk, 2001): technologies and new ways of working changed our behaviors and this affects our attitudes. In this direction, the increasing female labor force has a huge impact on legitimating the economic role of women.

These processes developed in heterogeneous way across European countries and also the pathways of relationship between men and women are historically different (Pfau-Effinger, 2004). For these reasons we should considerer the individual gender role attitudes in their national gender cultures (Aboim, 2010) in order to understand better how to extend the impact of the country level on the individual values and attitudes. Variables that could explains gender roles patterns from an individual point of view are for example gender, age, employment status, educational level, marital status, number of children etc. At a country level, explicative variables could be indicators of the family policy, of the welfare regime, of the female labor force and so on. This level is really important because individual values can be implicitly influenced by gendered institutions and the leaning of men and women are forced by opportunities actually permitted by norms and, in general, by the system. As instance one could be very supportive to the economic role of women, but if his (or her) country doesn’t support it with family services, or other benefits, and families have to face huge difficulties for caring, this could reinforce traditional breadwinning model reversing all care responsibilities on family and, of course, on mothers.

But to what extend individual and country level variables can explain differences in supporting negotiable gender roles? In order to answer to this question, I will test these hypotheses:

H1. According to the cultural perspective about change, supporting less traditional gender roles is connected to the secularization process. I expect that the decrease in religiosity corresponds to more support in negotiable roles.

H2. Through their policies states transmit their family cultures, wherein gender roles are involved. I will test if policies more supportive toward a shared caring responsibility have a positive effect on supporting gender equality.

H3. According with the economic perspective, I will test the positive effect of the rate of female employment on negotiable gender roles attitudes.

H4. A large literature affirms that marital status, educational level and age positively affect support to egalitarian attitudes. I will verify these impacts and in particular I will test a cohort effect.

Data & Methods
The analysis uses data from the European Values Study (EVS): 1990, 1999, 2008. This permits to compare countries considering also their internal change. In addition I will use country information from the OECD Family Dataset, ILO Kilm Database, Eurostat Social Protection Database.

The sample is obtained selecting those 26 countries that participated to three waves considerate (totally 102.436 individuals).

Depending variable. The gender roles scale included in the EVS questionnaire allows identifying an index of support to negotiable gender roles. It is composed by 8 items:

1. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work
2. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works
3. A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children
4. Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay
5. Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person
6. Both husband and wife should contribute to household income
7. In general, fathers are as well suited to look after their children as mothers (added in the 1999)
8. Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children (added in the 2008)

Factor analysis shows three dimensions. Item 2 and 3 summarize the gender ideology; item 4, 5 and 6 indicate the economic dimension (female economic role); items 7 and 8 are for the share caring responsibility dimension (not available for all waves and so not included in the further analyses). The first item was omitted in order to make the scale more tenable in comparative analysis.

Some variables were reversed in order to have all the same direction. Scores go from 1 to 4 where 1 indicates support to traditional gender roles (with women home-centered and men as breadwinners), 4 indicates support to negotiable gender roles (where the female economic role is supported and the place of women is not “only home”).

Independent variables. At a country level I will consider variables as religiosity, public expenditure for benefit for family with children, paternal paid leave, rate of female employment. All these variables can give information about the gender culture of a country. At an individual level I will include in my analysis variables as: sex, marital status, employment status, educational level, cohort, religiosity.

The index of support to negotiable roles across countries and waves shows a plurality of situations. Table 1 illustrates index for each country in 1990, 1999 and 2008. Even if in all countries we can note an increase of support, the starting points and the developments seem to be very different between countries.

Multilevel modeling permits to identify the variables contribute for each level and to understand to what extend the country level explains supporting more negotiable gender roles. Then we could discuss whether (and why) Europeans are still anchored in tradition or already moved toward negotiable models.

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IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER: FATHERHOOD AND MASCULINITY IN NEW FAMILY FORMS

Keywords: Fatherhood, Masculinity, New Family Forms, Parenthood

The many shifts and changes that the family form has gone through in the course of the 20th century have led to a situation where the normative family, consisting of a married heterosexual man and woman and their biological children, sharing a household, is disassembling into different types of families (Dowd, 2000). This division creates diversity of options for postmodern new family forms (Fogel-Bejawui, 1999). The family is one of the most important parts of society due to its central role in the socialization of individuals. The traditional family form, and the gendered roles division embedded in it, constitutes a central issue in feminist theory, due to the fact that it is one of society's cornerstones in the conservation of patriarchy (Okin, 1989). Thus, changes in family forms can lead to social and cultural change.
In this paper I will present some of my findings which concern cultural models of fatherhood in Israel, drawing from fatherhood experiences of fathers in new family forms. The fathers in the current study translate the existing parental and paternal models in order to create a model for themselves which will reflect their parenthood, in a society lacking these models. In order to do so, they take apart the existing constructs of family, parenthood and fatherhood. I will examine the way in which they translate the existing parental models, focusing on both change and continuity.

I wish to explore the phenomenon of fatherhood through a folk model which I refer to as "fatherhood engineering" – meaning, what definitions do the men, as fathers, formulate and act upon? What are the existing models of fatherhood that fathers use, and how do they produce a fatherly model for themselves? In addition, how do they understand, construct and interpret their role when facing society and themselves?

Whilst the connection between femininity and motherhood is perceived as obvious, and almost undetachable, a similar connection between masculinity and fatherhood is almost absent (Miller, 2011; Rich, 1979). Masculinity research literature rarely deals with the phenomenon of fatherhood, and the little research that does, examines the father role as provider, and not the father as the main caregiver for the child.

Since women have started to participate in paid work outside the domestic sphere, we have witnessed changes in the perception of fatherhood and in the father role. The "new" involved father has become a normative phenomenon: fathers are becoming more involved in their children's lives not only as providers, but also as caregivers (Coltrane, 2004). As such, fathers are trying to share the caring with the mothers, and take on themselves tasks that are traditionally considered motherly or feminine (Dowd, 2000; Doucet, 2006; Fogel-Bejawui, 1999; Miller, 2011). Nevertheless, these changes and their motivations remain unclear (Messner, 1993).

However, research still assumes that the mother is the best primary caregiver for the child. Fatherhood as a male act by itself is still missing from the research. Accordingly, my research assumes that the fatherhood phenomenon cannot be taken for granted.

In light of these changes in the family form, a new focal point for research in the fatherhood field studies fathers as main caregivers (stay at home dads) (Doucet, 2006; Miller, 2011 (, divorced fathers, joint custody fathers and homosexual fatherhood (Marsiglio and Pleck, 2005). While this research offers us a lot of important data about the fathers' experiences, it does not necessarily provide us with an insight about the parenting models that parents, especially fathers, act upon. As Ramaekers and Suissa mention (2011), nowadays the word 'parent', and specifically 'mother' or 'father' relates to a practice or 'job' and not only to an ascribed relationship. Therefore, the way in which men "do" fatherhood, follows the existing models of fatherhood. Fathers in new family forms can help us understand these models.

Even today, the answer to the question "is fatherhood changing"? is neither "yes" nor "no" but rather "it depends" (Williams, 2008). While research gives us extensive data on the experiences of fathers, it lacks an explanation of the parenting models that fathers act upon. We do not know enough about the ways in which men understand fatherhood in general and their own fatherhood in particular; that is to say, how do fathers engineer fatherhood?

My theoretical and methodological starting point is that parenthood and fatherhood are social constructions, meaning that all fathers engineer fatherhood in one way or another. However, in hetero-normative families the engineered fatherhood seems to be part of the cultural convention. The marginal position of the informants in the field of fatherhood provides them with a unique point of view, which exposes hidden components of fatherhood perception. Through their experiences, we can study the parenthood models and fatherhood components as they are reflected in the hetero-normative family form. The fathers' complex planning of new family forms makes them ask questions and perform internal investigation and self-reflection. This position offers us a new view.
on fatherhood: the informants provide testimony from the field as fathers, as well as an outside
perspective, as "researchers" of the fatherhood phenomenon as a whole.

In my work I have interviewed 31 Israeli fathers from new and diverse family forms, using
Narrative Analysis.

My guideline is fatherhood engineering, a complex planning of children upbringing and family
engineering in its wider sense, which introduces the fatherly choice into new family forms. By
fatherhood engineering I refer not only to the new options of bringing a child into the world from
the technological aspects (i.e. new fertility treatments, surrogacy or adoption) but also and mainly to
the complex planning ahead of a new family form, encapsulating numerous options of treating and
raising children.

The positioning of the new family in the wider context of Israeli society is particularly interesting;
on the one hand the Israeli society encourages birth, while on the other hand it perceives fatherhood
in new family forms as a threat to the social order. In my research I explore fatherhood in Israel
through the fatherhood experiences of fathers in new family forms, as they are manifested in Israel
today: single fathers, same-sex couples, co-parenting and divorce.

In this paper, I will demonstrate initial findings from my research that examine the way in which
these fathers establish and define the new family forms whilst negotiating with existing social
perceptions and boundaries of family. I will discuss the changes that they create and accept as well
as the boundaries they wish to preserve. On the one hand, they are trying to create a new hybrid
parental model of a "father who is also a mother" due to the following factors. They are not
mothers, although they are the main caregivers of their children. They are also not just traditional or
"new" fathers – since these definitions are too narrow for them. As the main caregivers, they
assume full responsibility for raising their children. In the new model suggested by fathers in new
family forms, they not only undermine the centrality of the mother, but also dispute accepted
perceptions of fatherhood. Therefore, they wish to change basic perceptions of fatherhood,
parenthood and family. On the other hand, alongside the changes, certain aspects remain untouched.
One of the main questions in the study of fatherhood is how much has fatherhood changed?
Although there are some considerable changes in fatherly perceptions and roles, we should also
consider that which has not changed.

By Observing fatherhood as a male act we can recognize which boundaries can be broken and
which ones must be kept. I suggest that in the meeting points between fatherhood and masculinity,
the boundaries that will be kept are those in which masculinity is most preserved. By shedding light
on the untouched boundaries we can understand the phenomena of fatherhood not only as a parental
role but also as an act of masculinity.

The uniqueness of my research stems from the fact that it deals not only with fathers in new family
forms, but also with fatherhood perception and the cultural models. The study of fatherhood in new
family forms provides an opportunity to explore the existing parental and paternal models and their
transformation through time.

The current study seeks to trace the cultural models of parenting, motherhood and fatherhood.
Fathers that are primary caregivers are a relatively new social phenomenon, of a first-rate
theoretical importance. Fathers in new family forms implement a separation between gender and
parenting, and as such are pioneers at the forefront of social change. Therefore, such a research
would shed light on the processes involved in the separation of fatherhood from gender. Its findings
are expected to have innovative implications on both parenthood and family research, promote
gender equality and influence the field both theoretically and practically.

This paper is based on my PhD thesis, which should be submitted during December 2014.
References


#### Saturday, September 27, 2014

**SESSION V: FAMILY VALUE AS AN INSTITUTION**

**Chairs:** Vida Kanопиенё & Pedro Romero-Balsas

Sara MAZZUCHELLELI, *The Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan, Italy*

Miriam PARISE, *The Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan, Italy*

Giovanna ROSSI, *The Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan, Italy*

**THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY AS INSTITUTION. FINDINGS FROM AN ITALIAN SURVEY**

**Keywords:** Family, Marriage, Institution

The concept of institution, one of the main issues in the social sciences, has been developed in a number of anthropological, economic, juridical, political, and sociological institutional theories. There is no overarching theory, however, to explain what institutions are for, how they are formed and why they change. These multiple theories can actually be divided into two groups according to their individualistic or holistic approach. Individualists regard institutions as tools or mechanisms to solve problems of social order and cooperation: they originate in the interplay between agents in the form of projects, or as unforeseen effects of certain types of interactions, such as agreements binding individual behaviour by precluding some choices and some ways of allocating resources, and are modified when proved no longer able to efficiently comply with the tasks for which they were created. Holists also believe that institutions exist in order to respond to the above problems but, once consolidated, they tend to become autonomous and turn into organisms developing on the
basis of their own logic, which is then imposed onto individuals. Thus institutions show great resistance to change: this can only take place under particular conditions, and is usually traumatic. Nevertheless, even scholars using the same approach can differ sharply from one another, to the extent that the institutional issue has been defined a “Tower of Babel”. Despite the different approaches and their many contentious aspects, at least two points in the debate on institutions have attracted wide consensus:

1. the modernisation of society coincides with the progressive decline of its institutions;
2. increasingly sharp differentiation processes in modern/contemporary society cause conflict between institutions which, instead of producing integration, contribute to accelerating social disruption.

By using a historical and sociological analysis, relational sociology (Donati 2011) has entered this debate, with the proviso that assessing the extent of the institutional crisis can have different applications according to the institutions considered. This set, the following conclusions have been reached:

1. the mutual distancing of reference values and ensuing norms produces fragmentation on the one hand and new relationships on the other;
2. societies cannot eliminate institutions, not only because social order and cooperation would become impossible or at least difficult and extremely costly but also because human beings could not develop to their full potential and individuality.

Relational sociology, in fact, defines social institutions as social relationships developing structurally, as restraints to action or regular patterns of behaviour: culturally, as cognitive conventions, and as value-related behavioural norms. Thus institutions are the main focal points in social organisation, as they exist in all societies and relate to the universal issues upon which social life is ordered. As to the peculiar institution represented by the family, the need for a comprehensive approach to it is acutely felt in the contemporary, globalised scenario, characterised by heterogeneous cultural models and diverse family forms. Such pluralism stems from two sets of reasons: a growing differentiation in the dimensions that make up the family (inter-gender and inter-generational relationships) and an increasing complexity in the underlying relational networks.

In the last few years, some major sociology scholars have stressed different aspects of the fact that, with the weakening of a shared value system on which to base one’s life, individuals are forced to rely on themselves in directing their choices: even family bonds lose their reference to tradition and the forms they assume find their sole justification in the individual: self-fulfilment becomes the individual’s primary goal, to which all relationships are instrumental. Thus family bonds are notably weakened, in the conviction that they belong to an obsolete past. This cultural model is the so-called “individualisation”.

Growing numbers of scholars, however, have expressed their scepticism about individualisation as an interpretative criterion. The need for a change of perspective seems justified by empirical longitudinal studies showing the persistence of marriage and the family.

On the basis of these empirical data, some contemporary family sociologists (in particular Smart, Widmer, Jallinoja) have attempted to outline a more thorough and sophisticated way of conceptualising and representing family life, whilst seeking new ways of identifying the multidimensionality of relationships; this has led them to use the concept of relationality as a basis for developing a theoretical approach to counter the dominant individualisation hypothesis.

From this theoretical framework, the research questions we want to address are:
1. Is the family still considered a valid institution by Italians?

2. Is it possible to identify specific elements linked to a strong idea of the family? Which elements?

The research hypotheses prompted by these questions are the following:

1. We expect the (marriage-based) family to be still considered a valid institution by Italians;

2. We can identify specific structural and cultural elements associated with a strong idea of the family.

The data used for this study were derived from a recent quantitative study on “The Family, a Resource for Society” (Donati 2012), a large population-survey on family relationships in Italy. It was a telephone survey by randomly digiting landline and mobile telephone numbers. All data were collected by trained interviewers through a computer-assisted telephone interviewing system (CATI). The study is based on a sample of 3,527 individuals, of whom 49.6% males and 50.4% females, aged 30 to 55, of an average age of 42, living in highly urbanised areas of Italy and distributed as follows: 46.8% in the North, 19.7% in the Centre and 33.5% in the South.

All the interviewees were in couple relationships: most of the married couples were on their first marriage (58.5%), others were unmarried (24.9%). Most married couples had one (24.8%) or more children (27.3%), or no children at all (11.7%); otherwise they were childless unmarried couples (13.4%). The number of family members was on average under 3 (2.92). Most of the respondents held a higher education diploma (52.2%). They were employed in the private sector (35.0%), selfemployed (21.0%), and employed in the public sector (18.0%); there were also some housewives (12.0%).

Participants answered a series of questions tapping the following areas: socio-demographic variables, solidarity and openness to the social context, social capital, trust in institutions, couple relationship, parent-child relationship (if they had children), work-family balance, representation of their social context and of institutions. Depending on the answer given to the question: “Do you think the family is a social institution with public value or just a matter of private choices?”, two groups were created: the people claiming that “the family is just a matter of private choices” (59.1%) vs. those claiming that “the family is a social institution with public value” (39.9%). A cluster analysis has been used in order to highlight the factors discriminating between the two groups.

Preliminary findings showed that the two groups differed in terms of socio-demographic variables. The first group (“the family is just a matter of private choices”) was composed of younger people (aged 30-35), people living in the North-West and in very large cities, cohabiting or separate/divorced people in a new relationships, childless people, people with a medium-low socioeconomic status, and people with a medium-low degree of religiosity. The second group (the family is a social institution with public value) was composed of older people (aged 50-55), people living in the South and in the North-East and in smaller towns, married people with children, people with a medium-high socioeconomic status, people with a high degree of religiosity.

Significant differences between the groups emerged also in other areas. People considering their family a social institution showed high levels of social trust, openness to the social context and solidarity (narrow, broad, generalised). In particular, they reported to be more prepared to help other family members and people outside the family boundaries and to rely on other family members in case of need. They also showed high levels of trust in other important institutions.

Moreover, they reported high levels of couple satisfaction, parental alliance, and parental selfefficacy, and low levels of perceived parental stress. As for the work-family balance, they declared that, when confronted with choices, they had privileged family rather than career. In addition, they seemed relationship-oriented, believing in the importance of finding a good reconciliation between family and work in order to give their children a better upbringing and
dedicate time and energy to relationships (with partner/parents-in-law/relatives/other families/associations).

References

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IS THE ITALIAN FAMILY STILL AN INSTITUTION? FINDINGS FROM THE EUROPEAN VALUES STUDY

Keywords: Family, Marriage, Institution, European Values Study

Description of the theoretical framework
The concept of institution, one of the main issues in the social sciences, has been developed in a number of anthropological, economic, juridical, political, and sociological institutional theories. There is no overarching theory, however, to explain what institutions are for, how they are formed and why they change. These multiple theories can actually be divided into two groups according to their individualistic or holistic approach. Nevertheless, even scholars using the same approach can differ sharply from one another, to the extent that the institutional issue has been defined a “Tower of Babel”. Despite the different approaches and their many contentious aspects, at least two points in the debate on institutions have attracted wide consensus:

1. the modernisation of society coincides with the progressive decline of its institutions;
2. increasingly sharp differentiation processes in modern/contemporary society cause conflict between institutions which, instead of producing integration, contribute to accelerating social disruption (Baumann, 2003).

By using a historical and sociological analysis, relational sociology (Donati 2011) has entered this debate, with the proviso that assessing the extent of the institutional crisis can have different applications according to the institutions considered. This set, the following conclusions have been reached:

1. the mutual distancing of reference values and ensuing norms produces fragmentation on the one hand and new relationships on the other;
2. societies cannot eliminate institutions, not only because social order and cooperation would become impossible or at least difficult and extremely costly but also because human beings could not develop to their full potential and individuality.

Relational sociology, in fact, defines social institutions as social relationships developing structurally, as restraints to action or regular patterns of behaviour, culturally, as cognitive conventions, and as value-related behavioural norms. Thus institutions are the main focal points in
social organisation, as they exist in all societies and relate to the universal issues upon which social
life is ordered.

As to the peculiar institution represented by the family, the need for a comprehensive approach to it
is acutely felt in the contemporary, globalised scenario, characterised by heterogeneous cultural
models and diverse family forms. Such pluralism stems from two sets of reasons: a progressive
differentiation in the dimensions that make up the family (intergender and intergenerational
relationships) and an increasing complexity in the underlying relational networks.

In the last few years, some major sociology scholars have stressed different aspects of the fact that,
with the weakening of a shared value system on which to base one’s life, individuals are forced to
rely on themselves in directing their choices: even family bonds lose their reference to tradition and
the forms they assume find their sole justification in the individual: selffulfilment becomes the
individual’s primary goal, to which all relationships are instrumental. Thus family bonds are
notably weakened, in the conviction that they belong to an obsolete past. This cultural model is the
so-called “individualisation”.

Growing numbers of scholars, however, have expressed scepticism about individualisation as an
interpretative criterion. The need for a change of perspective seems justified by empirical
longitudinal studies showing the persistence of marriage and the family (Widmer, Jallinoia 2011).
On the basis of these empirical data, some contemporary family sociologists (Smart, Widmer,
Jallinoja) have attempted to outline a more thorough and sophisticated way of conceptualising and
representing family life, whilst seeking new ways of identifying the multidimensionality of
relationships; this has led them to use the concept of relationality as a basis for developing a
theoretical approach to counter the dominant individualisation hypothesis.

Research hypotheses

The research questions we want to address are:

1. Is the (marriage-based) family still considered a valid institution by Italians and Europeans?
2. Is it possible to identify specific elements linked to a strong idea of the family? Which elements?

The research hypotheses prompted by these questions are the following:

1. we expect the (marriage-based) family to be still considered a valid institution by Italians and
Europeans;
2. we can identify specific structural and cultural elements associated with a strong idea of the
family. In particular, we expect the presence of children and the stability of the marriage bond
experienced in the family of origin to be the decisive structural elements, with strong religiosity and
value attributed to the couple relationship (as oppose to individual satisfaction) as the crucial
cultural elements.

Description of the data and the research methods

This contribution is based on data from the European Values Study (EVS), a transnational,
longitudinal research program on human values in Europe, conducted in 1981, 1990, 1999 and 2008
to investigates the moral, religious, societal, political, occupational and family values of Europeans.

The EVS considers value orientations, i.e., the deep-seated criteria underlying individual and
collective actions and referring to what is ultimately regarded as true and fair, good or bad,
desirable or undesirable, rather than considering prejudices, stereotypes and unconscious beliefs.
The EVS’ fourth wave (2008), considered here, covers 47 European Countries/Regions. It is based
on representative multi-stage or stratified random samples of the over-18population of each
country, totalling 67,492 interviewees. The Italian sample includes 1,519 people (for further details
We have adopted a European perspective, focusing on the 28 members of the EU (1 July 2013): Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Finland, Cyprus, Malta, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia.

Moreover, an index to measure (as high, medium, low) the importance attributed to the family as a social institution was devised together with clusters correlated to it, in order to check the importance of the family as a social institution and its structural and cultural characteristics in both Italy and Europe 28. The index was devised according to the following variables:

- **How important is the Family?** (mode: very important)
- **Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:** “marriage is an out-dated institution?” (mode: disagree)
- **Do you agree or disagree with those who say that, in order to grow into a happy adult a child needs a family with both parents?** (mode: tend to agree).

**Most important findings**

**Family Values between Persistence and Change**

The survey in question (EVS 2009) follows those carried out in 1981, 1990 and 1999, thus allowing a diachronic comparison in order to identify the transformation in time of value orientations affecting the family, work, friends networks and the religious sphere.

**The Importance of the Family**

To Italians, the family represents the fundamental value: 91% of them give it great importance, a trend unchanged since 1999 and slightly above the ratio recorded in 1990. Moreover, compared to the other European Countries, Italy stands above average (84%) in attributing “great importance” to the family (Pollini G., Pretto A., Rovati G. 2012).

**The Validity of Marriage as an Institution**

In 2009, 76% of Italians (one percentage point above the European average of 75%) considered marriage still valid as an institution, an opinion shared especially by women and the oldest section of the population. Conversely, in Europe, particularly in France (35%), Luxembourg (34%) and Belgium (33.5), marriage was often considered an out-dated institution. Besides, 62% of Italians generally agreed on marriage, or a stable relationship, as essential to happiness.

**Importance of the Family as an Institution**

The index measuring the importance of the family as an institution shows that 65.6% (i.e., more than half the number) of Italians are set on a high value, 26.1% on a low value and the remaining 8.3% on a medium value. Compared with Italy, Europe has a higher percentage of people in the lower index (37.8%), fewer in the higher (51.6%), and slightly more (10.6%) in the medium. Through the analysis of clusters correlated to the HIGH and the LOW values of the index, it is possible to detect the structural and cultural characteristics defining the two groups.

Those acknowledging the importance of the family as an institution (HIGH index) tend to be very religious people, married, with children, convinced of the importance and the resilience of the marriage pact (they do not justify divorce), pensioners aged 66+ and, especially, women. Their counterparts (LOW index) tend to be men, non-religious persons, inclined towards cohabitation, justifying abortion and separation, homosexual behaviours, considering the presence of children irrelevant to the couple relationship; besides, this group is characterised by a larger number of separated/divorced and unmarried people who usually work. No particular differences have emerged between Italy and Europe.
Conclusions / discussion

To conclude, the results of the analysis confirm the initial hypothesis, in line with some sociological theories (Halman, 1995; Pollini, 2012). The marriage-based family is still considered a relevant institution by Europeans and especially Italians. The presence of children, the institutionalisation of the marriage bond (matrimony) and a strong religiosity define the great importance attributed to the family as an institution.

References


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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES ON THE FAMILY IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA BASED ON THE RESEARCH "SUNDAY WORKING AND QUALITY OF LIFE"

Keywords: modernization, quality of life, family well-being, working conditions, Sunday working

A description of the theoretical framework

Croatia is the youngest member state of the European Union, which was marked by the transition from a self-management socialist economic model to market neoliberalism and a long process of accession to the European Union. Since the processes of modernization and neoliberalism, which are visible through a change in the form of flexible and atypical working hours, are affecting family relationships (Lyonette and Clark, 2009) and following the existing research on the quality of life conducted in order to plan better social policies in the European Union (Eurofound, 2012; Lyonette and Clark, 2009), we decided to conduct a study ("Sunday Working and Quality of Life") about
how such work in a store affects the quality of life. The research was conducted based on several theoretical assumptions related to the process of modernization and social importance of the family. Some authors, mostly sociologists, through the processes of modernization and transition reflect on Croatia’s position after leaving communism which can serve as a broader social and political framework for understanding the contemporary position of the family. In his book titled *From Communist Hell to Wild Capitalism* Županov (2002) analyzing the three stages of Croatian modernization through the process of industrialization, particularly emphasizes the emergence of urban capitalism with its (semi)peripheral shape in the second stage, which is, inter alia, in Yugoslavia marked by the absurd of higher consumption than production. In the third stage or post-war period, Županov outlines half-modernization as a hybrid Croatian particularity, which is more of a cosmetic than a real structural change. What occurs instead of entrepreneurship and economic renaissance is an uncritical appropriation of Western economic policies and import of market for services shaped as the American way of life (Županov, 2001).

These processes characterize the social and economic development of the Croatian state which brings changes in values and lifestyle, for which the family as a fundamental social institution can be a good indicator (Nimac, 2010).

For our study it is important that the family is a very complex and dynamic system in which what happens to one member of the family has an influence on all the other members and the family dynamics as a whole. In recent literature it is referred to as family well-being. It is no longer possible to completely separate work and family life domain which is referred to as the *spillover model*. Problems and dissatisfaction at work of one partner spill over into family relationships; reduce satisfaction in marriage and family as well as quality of life and satisfaction on a general level. Tiring and overtime work eventually takes its toll. Some of the possible, frequent consequences are fatigue, lack of sleep, stress, negative impact on the health and lack of energy to meet the marital and parental responsibilities (Fursman, 2009). Generally speaking, a work schedule that is less in line with the obligations of family life is more associated with stress about reconciliation of work and family (Barnett, 1998 to Alexander and Baxter, 2005).

In the context of Croatia, family is an institution that citizens consider very important (Rimac, 2010). In the conducted research, results were obtained that are related to changes in family relations and the continued understanding of the family as an important social value.

**The research hypotheses and a description of the data and the research methods**

Franciscan Institute for the Culture of Peace and the Catholic University of Croatia conducted a study with the aim of public actualization of working Sundays and its repercussions on workers and their families. Using focus groups as qualitative methodology with in-depth approach we collected 45 participants in four major Croatian cities who we guaranteed anonymity and who had experience working Sunday’s in shopping malls, bakeries or small shops.

**The most important findings**

With research participants we discussed several main themes, namely working hours, overtime hours, work on Sundays and the importance of Sunday and free time. Almost all participants in our focus groups stated that their work week is not official 40 hours because of unpaid overtime as regular practice what reflects on their (low) quality time left for their family. Most of the negative impact on the family is very little time left for their partners and children. Working Sunday is especially hard for them because then many of their family members and friends have time to socialize, while they spend their Sunday at work. Since most participants where women who are employed in the commercial sector, we got a good insight into the conflict between their work and family roles, which are many and varied. Women generally, after completing the day's work, have the 'second shift' at home or, in other words, unpaid household and family chores. Many of them expressed a feeling of inferiority and powerlessness when they have to work on Sundays, and it is especially hard for parents. Using the words of our participants, when parents have to work on
Sundays, "the children are left to themselves", they are almost "burnt out" after work for any talk or socializing so to work on Sundays is "the worst" for them. Therefore, the findings of focus groups suggest that leisure time, primarily weekends, are extremely important to employees, especially those who are parents, in order to maintain quality and satisfying relationships with their family members.

The research also indicates that Croatia produces and promotes consumer society and consumerism as a lifestyle. Participants employed in shopping centers mention a number of situations when during the organized evening purchases (the so called “shopping nights”) mothers walks through shopping centers in the late hours with small children and comment on how it seems that for most visitors a shopping mall is a place for going out, encouraging what one participant commented on with regret “the creation of shopping habits”.

In the end, it is important to note that some potential participants refused to participate in this study mainly because of the fear of talking about this obviously sensitive subject, which is an important sociological finding that goes beyond the methodology note. It is the social context in which consumer culture encourages another one - and it is a culture of fear. These and other identifiable sections of neoliberal regimes we largely attribute to the inherited communist legacy of semi-modernization process and aggressive transition that took place under external pressures and not domestic conditions (Županov; 2002). These are the broader social circumstance which affect Croatian families and need to be monitored for the purpose of further social development (Neumayer, 2010) and properly oriented economic and social policies that are the foundation for the realization of the common good and human development.

Conclusions / discussion

Although the data from the latest wave of the European Values Study show that 98.2 % of the Croatian citizens said that their family is (very) important (Rimac, 2010), it seems that Croatia is joining the trend of high rates of divorce in which every third marriage ends (State Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Increased divorce rate indicates that today's family is facing many challenges with which it obviously cannot deal adequately and which could indicate the redefinition of the traditional values of Croatian citizens. To nurture a new generation, stable and functional family relations are necessary.

It seems legitimate to ask whether neoliberalism affects in the broader sense the changes in family relations or the situation should be viewed more focused as a part of the economic crisis. How these patterns affect children as members of society? If members of society, especially women, are exposed to poor quality of life that is reflected in the family, how will this affect the family and the society in the future? Will we have a "healthy" family and "healthy / sustainable" society if children are deprived of harmonious and maintained family relations?

In the social circumstances of encouraging consumer choice and lifestyle where the time of consumption merges with private leisure time, Croatian families are also a part of a vicious consumer circle. Thus, the family becomes another social institution from which something is expected but which is not invested in (Črpić and Baloban, 2005).

References


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ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET PROGRAMMES FOR WOMEN WITH A PARTNER: CHALLENGE OR REPLICATION OF TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

Keywords: households, adult worker family model, couples’ division of labour, active labour market programmes

Germany traditionally is a country with an attachment to the male breadwinner model of the family (Lewis et al. 2008). However, the country has experienced radical policy changes during the last decade. One current example is the entitlement to a childcare slot for young children aged one year or above, effective from August 2013. This policy reform evidently encourages female employment. On the other hand, a care allowance for families who care for their children at home and forgo their right to a childcare slot was introduced simultaneously, conversely impeding female employment. Family policy reforms in Germany are thus a case in point of policies developing in a complex, partially inconsistent manner and conveying mixed messages (Daly 2011). A major labour market reform in 2005, called Hartz IV, likewise had implications for family lives and female employment. This reform changed the conditions for receiving welfare benefits, while at the same time encouraging an adult worker model of the family for the group of welfare recipients. ‘Adult worker model’ is a term used to describe a family model where each adult member is employed and is able to be economically self-sufficient, as opposed to the male breadwinner model of the family, characterised by a specialization of spouses to market or non-market work (Lewis 2001).

Case managers can assign benefit recipients to active labour market programmes (ALMPs), such as training or workfare, to improve their employment chances. However, they have wide discretion in doing so. In principle, all adult household members who are capable of working can be requested to participate, even those who were not employed before the household entered benefit receipt and saw their role as that of the homemaker. While the formal policy guidelines thus open the opportunity for case managers to challenge established divisions of labour in the household, it is unclear to what extent they make use of this possibility.

Therefore, we investigate whether couples’ former division of labour is in fact contested, or whether it is replicated in assignments to active labour market programmes after all.

Moreover, we are interested in the effects of the participation. Secondly, we assess who profits from participation in ALMPs. The literature emphasises that women, especially in economies with low female labour market participation, in general profit more from participation (Bergemann and van den Berg 2008). They mention various explanations for this, such as more options for women or longer labour market distances where ALMP participation may improve potential wages. Lechner and Wiehler (2011) test such an explanation and look at pregnancies for participants and non-participants. They find that nonparticipants have a higher fertility rate than participants.
We, for the first time, analyse the division of work in the household and therefore focus on the hypothesis of the greater labour market distance (Bergemann and van den Berg 2008), and analyse if women from former male breadwinner households profit in a different way than women from former dual earner households. We differentiate four household types: households with a male breadwinner, a female breadwinner, with dual breadwinners or with no breadwinner for the analyses.

We have the following hypotheses:

- As ALMPs should help participants to find a regular job, we expect that female participants will find regular employment to a higher extent than female nonparticipants.
- We expect women with a greater distance to the labour market and therefore lower labour incomes to have more pronounced effects. Therefore, we anticipate higher effects for women in former no breadwinner or former male breadwinner households compared to women in former female breadwinner or former dual breadwinner households.
- The female employment and unemployment rates differ between eastern and western Germany. Therefore, we expect smaller effects for women in eastern Germany.

We make use of extensive administrative data, allowing us to analyse very large sample sizes and obtain representative results. We also have the possibility to take data on individuals’ long-term employment history into account. This enables us to incorporate information on couples’ actual division of paid work in the past. Our analyses look into the question of whether their history of dividing paid work is reflected in assignments to ALMPs and who profits more from participation.

Moreover, we distinguish between households in eastern and western Germany. Due to historically different political and societal trajectories, the two parts of Germany have diverging traditions concerning attitudes towards female employment as well as actual female employment rates. To carry out these analyses, we employ a timing-of events approach (Abbring and van den Berg 2003). We calculate the entries into regular, unsubsidized employment of workfare or short-term training programmes.

Findings for the selectivity show that in western Germany, assignments to activation programmes do replicate couples’ prior division of labour in the household. In eastern Germany, by contrast, women in former male breadwinner households are actually allocated to several programmes at higher rates than women in households without a clear former division of labour. First findings of effects of short-term training programmes show that there are insignificant effects for both women in former female and dual breadwinner households.

On the other hand, the effects for women in former male breadwinner or no breadwinner households are significantly positive. Moreover, there are no initial locking- in effects. These first results are in line with theoretical considerations that programme effects are higher for women with a greater labour market distance (Bergemann and van den Berg 2008). These are only the first estimation results of the timing-of-events approach on ALMP effects. The effects for eastern Germany and for other programmes will follow in the next version of the paper.

Our paper shows that the household context, indeed, plays a role for programme effectiveness. Therefore, not all women profit in the same way from ALMP participations.

**References**


SESSION VI: ROLES AND BIOGRAPHIES
Chairs: Eric D. Widmer & Vida Česnukytė

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FAMILY SECRETS

Keywords: secrets, skeletons, symbolic interactionism, interviews, metaphors

Secrets change by time. What was once a secret might become a non-secret and a non-secrect might become a secret. As an example: Recently we have seen legislation pro and against homosexuality. Some societies have changed from being conservative toward more liberal and some are acting in opposite directions. Changes of family secrets is likely going in the same way as do societal changes, or more correctly: they go hand in hand, with more or less of a lag connected to other family values.

My theoretical perspective is what usually is called symbolic interactionism (e.g., Addams, 1902, Simmel, 1908, Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918-1920, Mead, 1934, Blumer, 1969) which i. a. means an emphasis on defining the situation, social interaction, symbols, activity, and present time for the individual. Data on which the theoretical perspective is used are based on qualitative interviews and literature studies.

Some of the family secrets are based upon conflict in the family and some upon conflicts or occurrences outside of the family, but still can be family secrets. Family is here looked upon how the informant him or herself, or the one referred to, more or less clearly defines family, what is looked upon to be family at the specific event or occurrence.

An old Swedish saying is “what two know, everyone knows”. There is a lot of truths in that saying, but it is not the truth – there are varieties. For example, in a family unit a secret might be known to all, but not known by outsiders. When time goes the secret might be forgotten to some and some new members might not have any knowledge about the secret at all.

An example of a case in my data set: some years ago a son and his wife had a baby. When the baby was a couple of months old they visited the son’s parents for some days. One day just before dinner the baby was cranky. The grandfather was very strict as to dinner attendance. The baby didn’t sleep. A hard word gave another hard word as an answer and eventually the grandfather told the baby’s mother to leave the next morning. The father of the baby was loyal to his wife. The father told all three to leave for ever. He had no son anymore. Early next morning they left and were non-existent for the old man and his loyal wife. Present at this occasion was a daughter/sister. Some years later I asked the daughter/sister about the tragic event. She denied that it had ever happened. A family secret where the skeleton is safely hidden – all the others have died.


Data from various cases dealing with suicide, denial of mental illness as well as unfaithfulness will be analyzed and interpreted with the theoretical perspective used.

References

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**GENDER AND AGENCY IN TRANSITION TO FAMILY**

*Keywords:* family surname, gender, agency, patrilineal naming practices, gender equality

The paper presents findings from an ongoing Finnish study on young couples in transition to family. The analytical focus is on the gender specific expectations regarding family roles that determine the “agentic work” (Archer 2008) of women and men in negotiations on family surname. In this process the Nordic ideal of gender equality, effectuated by the name law that treats women and men equally, collides with the cultural practices of patrilineal surnaming.

The Finnish law on surnames at marriage assumes a gender neutral perspective in a sense that both partners can keep their original names at marriage. Partners can also choose a common surname, which can be her or his original name or some other name, or one partner can use a double-barrelled surname in which other partner’s name is attached to the original name with a hyphen. Couples have to inform the marrying authority before the ceremony about the change of names, otherwise both partners are assumed to keep their original names.

The possible children can have the name of either mother or father (in the case where partners have kept their original names) or the name that the partners share. Children cannot have a double-barrelled name and all children born to the same couple must have same surname.

The present name law took effect in 1986 (Nimilaki 694/1985). Before that, from 1930 to 1985, it was mandatory for women to change their name at marriage and either to take the husband’s name as the only name or to use his name after her own surname with a hyphen (Paikkala 2012). During the first year of the new law 85 percent of couples conformed to the traditional pattern and had the man’s name as the common and the only surname for the family, whereas in less than 8 percent of cases partners kept their original surnames. In 2012, the respective percentages were 66 and 26. These statistics, however, do not differentiate the first marriages from the second or third, which may make a difference in whether or not to change name at marriage. Nevertheless, there seems to be a considerable appeal in the man’s name to be chosen as the common and the only surname for the couple and their future children.

In trying to make sense about contemporary marriage as a deliberate choice rather than a social convention followed by everyone, I draw from a conceptual distinction between regulative traditions and meaning-constitutive traditions presented by Neil Gross (2005). Regulative traditions refer to traditions that involve the threatened and actual exclusion of an individual from a moral community, and they shape action by constraining it from the outside. Meaning-constitutive traditions, on the other hand, involve “patterns of sense-making” passed down from one generation
to the next, and shape action by enabling it from the inside. The persistence of patrilineal naming practices in societies that are otherwise considered to be advanced in gender equality (Noack & Aaskaug Wiik, 2008), seems to respond to the idea of meaning constitutive tradition that constitute the actor as a being who understands and is oriented to the world in a particular way.

The paper looks at the couples’ negotiations on names from the perspective of agency. Deciding on marital names illustrates a situation in which partners make a choice in the face of pressures exerted by social and cultural structures to foster relationships they believe constitute a desirable family life (Connidis 2012). As in the negotiations on family care (Connidis & McMullin 2002a), those who are privileged by existing structural arrangements and cultural models, are motivated to reproduce them. They face fewer constraints in exercising agency. In contrast, those in a position of disadvantage may desire change, but will experience greater constraints in their ability to exercise agency. (Ibid.) Couples’ negotiations incorporate the different temporal dimensions of agentic orientation described by Emirbayer & Mische (1997), who see agency as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past but also oriented toward the future and the present. The choice on marital name is influenced by the tradition that prioritizes man’s surname as the shared family name. In this sense, the question is very much about whether or not to reproduce certain cultural model (and structured inequality). In addition, however, the future plays an important role in partners’ reflections about the influence of the decision on the lives of their future children.

A qualitative analysis is carried out from a dataset that includes thematic couple interviews of 19 heterosexual Finnish couples soon to be married for the first time (20-36 years, no children). The focus of analysis is on the agentic work demanded from women and men in reaching a satisfactory resolution and on the interaction between partners.

The preliminary findings highlight an unequal division of agentic work in negotiations about the family surname. Men are privileged by existing structures and cultural models, and they are mostly motivated to reproduce them (cf Connidis & McMullin 2002). They act in a straightforward manner, and “exit” from the negotiations at will after offering a legitimate reason for why they cannot change their name. Most men do not try to influence the their future wife’s decision and thus follow the accepted code of gender equality prevalent in Finnish society saying that everyone has a right to decide for herself. However, this leaves women to balance between their individual preferences and the powerful cultural model saying that family has only one name (Nugent 2010). As Nugent (2010) has pointed out, women are faced with a choice between the self vs. the family, whereas the hegemony of male privilege ensures that men’s name-keeping is never judged to be in conflict with family. Thus creation of ‘family identity’, of which the shared name is considered to be the most important symbol, is shouldered by women alone. Women start from a position of disadvantage; they may desire a change in the prevailing cultural model that prioritizes male lineage and patrilineal surnaming, but face more constraints in exercising agency.

References


The demographic projections in the OECD countries are prompting a re-envisioning of how to meet the needs of aging populations. A simple solution has been proposed by OECD, that of “live longer – work longer” (Keese 2006). This solution, however, does not take into account the diversity of the older population in terms of the risks posed by these changes, especially for those with disabilities or low education. Furthermore, it is “gender neutral” and does not take into account the diverse experience in work and family life trajectories among men and women (Elder & Giele 2009).

Raising the retirement age as well as reducing benefits, such as long-term unemployment benefits (which currently support men and women before they reach the age of pension eligibility) could make many older adults even more vulnerable (Cf. Litwin & Sapir 2009). Social inclusion requires that there be an in depth understanding of their current vulnerabilities as well as the life-course trajectories which put them at risk.

The issue of economic independence for older men and women at later ages rests largely on the security of the income received after leaving one’s regular job or if the person never worked at a regular job, after reaching age 50. And the security of this income is the cumulative result of different life trajectories. For men the most important trajectory is their career. Nevertheless, other factors such as late life re-marriage may have an impact (Damman, Henkens and Kalmijn 2011). For women, however, the pathway towards economic security or insecurity in retirement is much more complex (George 2009). Proposed changes may put older women at even greater risk (Bould, Longino & Worley 1997). This research will focus on parenthood only for women. Studies show that for married men parenthood typically has a positive impact on their careers (Browning 1992) or delays their retirement (Damman, Henkens and Kalmijn 2011). The interpretation is that when faced with greater economic responsibilities of minor children a man will increase his work effort. The situation of women who become mothers, however, is much more complex but essential in understanding the long term risk—the risk of vulnerability in the older adult years. There is a significant lifetime earnings gap between men and women. The demands of young children, even when they are in day care, can be considerable. The motherhood variable will be conceptualized and constructed as independent from her experience in the world of work as well as her marital history.

It is expected, of course, that motherhood would interact with her career, as well as her marital history, but in this research motherhood will be conceptualized as an independent trajectory impacting financial security in the retirement years for women. Of course one predictor of low income as an older adult is low income in the family of origin (Preliminary results from SHARELIFE: Garrouste & Paccagnella 2011).

The history and implementation of polices to reconcile work and family life during the childrearing years of this cohort is very limited in Italy (Crespi 2007). Family policy, including family allowances, provision of child care and maternity leave, divorce and support payments, other welfare state provision and labour market structure behave jointly to determine different models of work-family balance and the financial consequences associated with them (Cf. McGinnity and McManus 2007; Le Feuvre & Lemarchant 2007; Misra Bulig and Moller 2007; Lewis 2009). While there has been much research on the potential outcomes of these policies on women’s wages during
their childbearing years (Cf. Waldfogel 1997; Budig and England 2001; Rossi 2006), this research will address retirement outcomes of these policies for older couples and one person household.

**The research hypotheses**

The key research question is “How the amounts of women’s pensions (private and public) are affected by family factors in the Italian Mediterranean and family oriented welfare regime?” Much of the discussion surrounding women’s pensions has focused on their work histories. This focus reflects a male model of understanding pensions. The amount of the pension for men is largely determined by their work histories. For women, however, family factors play a large role. If she is widowed does she get a survivors pension, a pension derived from rights acquired by her deceased spouse? Does the system disadvantage those who are never-married or divorced? What about number of children and length of working career? Any difference about generations?

**Description of the data and the research methods**

This paper reports on an analysis of the data in the Survey of Health and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) for Italy. The Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) provides the ability to analyze the impact of diverse experiences of motherhood as well as marriage and career on women’s economic well being during the retirement years. SHARELIFE contains standard questions concerning an “orderly career” so that motherhood can be analyzed independently from a woman’s career in the workforce. These samples will provide adequate cases for a detailed analysis of the financial situation of older adults, men and women, including those who live alone.

**Preliminary findings and discussion**

Our outcome measure of gender economic equality in the retirement years is different from other measures because it is the result of both employment policies and family policies in the countries studied. Work/ family policy needs to be understood in terms of broader domestic policies. For example, economic policies impact jobs and unemployment. While gender specific policies concerning equal pay and non-discrimination are important, families are impacted by board social and economic policies, i.e., policies relating to the level of inequality and the degree of poverty. Family policy, including family allowances, provision of child care and maternity leave, divorce and support payments, other welfare state provision and labour market structure behave jointly to determine different models of work-family balance and the financial consequences associated with them (Cf. McGinnity and McManus 2007). The family factor studied is motherhood and its impact on income pensions for women and men. Our study shows that derived benefits are not very important in Italy and that informal/familiar support is still evident. Further, education, number of children and marital status could have a strong effect.

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Leave for caring children has a long tradition in Spain, beginning in 1931 when a specific social insurance to protect working mothers was introduced. Initially conceived only for women, in 1989 the right to take leave for caring children was also extended to men, who can take up to 10 weeks of the fully paid maternity leave and up to 36 weeks without any pay parental leave. In 2007 a specific leave for fathers only (paternity leave) was introduced, lasting only 2 weeks fully paid. This period was supposed to be extended to 4 weeks, but till the present this has not happened.

The body of research literature on the use of parental leaves in Spain has grown, especially in the last decade. Although there are not many studies about the use of parental leave by fathers, there is an increasing interest in analyzing how fathers are using Spanish childcare leaves. Currently, there is very little research about the specific experiences of fathers who carry out childcare alone and have also used some kind of childcare leave (Haas & O'Brien, 2010). Thus, there is a great opportunity to research different dimensions of fathers who use childcare leaves while the mother is working.

Knowledge of the experience of these fathers, the added value they represent from a sociological perspective of family, the use of time, gender equality, and balance of work and family life, will widen our understanding of the emerging changes affecting paternity roles. Previous studies have shown that fathers who use parental leaves devoted more time to childcare (Meil, 2013). Others studies have found relevant the length of the leave used to obtain higher implication on childcare by fathers (Haas & Hwank, 2008; Duvander & Jans, 2009). Concerning Spanish fathers who use parental leaves, they have a discourse that considers childcare not as a right but as a duty (Romero-Balsas, Muntanyola-Saura & Rogero-García, 2013). However, we still do not know if there is deeper involvement in childcare and changes on gender roles in those fathers who use parental leaves while their partners are working.

Likewise, there is a lack of information about how the different social actors evaluate the impact and cost of paternity incentives. Another line of research about fathers who use leave alone is their preference in terms of welfare, balance of work and family life. Similarly, it would be worthwhile to inquire into the process of negotiation/decision-making involved in carrying out childcare alone while on leave, what defines couple dynamics, and the strategies they have followed in the past to balance work and family life. As it has been pointed out, workplace characteristics have a paramount importance to how the parental leave is used (Brandth and Kvande, 2002, Hass et al, 2002, Meil et al, 2007). Therefore, other elements of interest are the consequences of the use of leave alone in gender role distribution, the links with children, and the effects on an individual’s professional career.
Our object of study are fathers who take at least four weeks of any kind of childcare leave (e.g. maternity leave, parental leave, and lactation break) during at least four weeks while the mother is working. The main aim is to understand their strategies and which are the discourses of this group of fathers about the impact and consequences of taking a solo leave: decision-making process, masculinities and gender ideology, and work and family balance policies.

Our methodological approach is qualitative and our research technique is based on in-depth interviews by phone. We carried out a discourse analysis approach and we have created families, codes and categories in order to systematize discursive elements. We used the software atlas.ti. To analyze the experience of fathers who have taken a leave for caring children while mothers go back to paid work, we have selected (till the present) a snowball sample of 11 fathers who have taken one or more of these leaves for at least 4 weeks. Most of them have take paternity leave at the same time as their partners have taken maternity leave, but used part of the (fully paid) maternity leave; only in 3 cases men took an unpaid parental leave. About half of the interviewed men worked in the private sector (6), while the rest worked in the public sector (5) in very different professions: laboratory technician, mechanic, secondary education teacher, engineer, clerk, nurse, policeman, self-employed manager and concierge. Geographically they live in big, middle and small cities, all around the country.

The very preliminary analysis suggests that there are two main strategies or reasons to take the leave alone. One is instrumental, either because the partner is self-employed or earns more money, or because they are involved in an international adoption, which requires to be at least one month in the home country of the child before returning to Spain. Economic or procedural reasons are the main logic to explain why they decided to take the leave, given the preference for non paid childcare at least during some time. The second group of reasons is fundamentally expressive and ideologically driven by a new model of caring fatherhood, intertwined with egalitarian gender role models. However, in nearly all the cases, grandparents are not easily available to take care of the children, so additional considerations on available resources for balancing working and family lives play a role. Duration of the leave is in most cases rather short, not involving more than the four weeks threshold, what implies that fathers on leave alone are not against paid childcare. Time use during leave is centered on caring the new born child, with some interruptions coming from demands from the working sphere and not changing fundamentally previous division of housework among the partners. The reaction of the social network in which they are embedded was in most, but not all cases, positive and supportive, while none of them report important negative reactions from side of the employer. These results suggest that only men who know in advance that they will not suffer discrimination after returning to the workplace take such a leave.

References


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FA RMING FATHERS AN D THEIR FATH ERS: CHANGING MEANINGS OF THE COL-LOCATION OF HOME AND WORK

Introduction and hypothesis

This paper deals with Norwegian farmers and their practices as fathers. Focus is on how their care practices have changed over the last generation, and whether they have been part of the general change in fatherhood and fathering. There is an abundance of literature on fathers and a growing international research interest in men’s combination of work and family, but there has been little research on how rurality and agricultural work influence men’s fathering practices.

Co-location of work and family is an important characteristic of family farming and the point of departure of this paper. As a result it is a common perception that farmers are present and available to their children during the working day. I am interested in exploring how this affects fathering practices in two generations. The hypothesis is that the effect of such work/family integration will have different meanings in the 1960s/70s, when the first generation of fathers had small children, and today when the second generation are active fathers. The reason for this anticipation is the general change in family and childhood coupled with industrial change in agriculture.

Theoretical framework

Theoretically, the paper will draw on literature on individualization, fathering and childhood. The changing nature of fatherhood and fathering has been the subject of much research during the last few decades (Hobson, 2002; Brandth and Kvande, 2003, 2013; Doucet, 2006; Aarseth, 2008; Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011). This research has shown that the transformation of the traditional gender division of labour has provided opportunities for more nurturing relationships between fathers and children – a positive potential that has brought the term ‘new’ fathers. In addition to caring about their children through economic provision, fathers are now also expected to care for their children.

The paper regards fathering as open and dynamic. Brandth and Kvande (2003) describe contemporary fathers as ‘the flexible fathers’ and stress that there is no standard model of fatherhood that is generally adopted and practised. Fathering is done in various ways, and there are many practices that are considered acceptable depending on the context or situation (Marsiglio et.al, 2005). In their study of British parents over three generations, Brannen, Moss and Mooney (2004) find that the change in fathering practices is not linear. There are considerable variations within generations. Fathers may be work-oriented or care-oriented regardless of whether they belong to the current or earlier generations of fathers of small children. One change that Mosegaard (2007) finds in her study of three generations is that ‘presence’ has entered the debate as a norm for the father-child relationship. To be ‘present’ fathers has become a primary aim for fathers today, while older generations rarely use ‘presence’ to describe their relationship with their children.

Processes of individualization have been claimed to result in fragile family relations (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). An increased likelihood for divorce makes it difficult to take it for granted that marriage will last. Consequently, the relationships between parents and children, and
particularly fathers and children, have assumed greater importance as stable relationships (Aarseth, 2008). The relationships between fathers and their children may have become more central when fathers are no longer guaranteed access to their children through the marriage relationship. Fathers, being in a different position to their children than the mothers, need to invest in the relationship in terms of time and care, not only breadwinning. Generally speaking, children may have assumed a new value for parents, more emotional than economic value.

The ways in which adults construe the meaning of children and childhood are also variable and different. Several authors (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Hays, 1996) describe how children have turned into an important project for parents, and to follow up on their children has assumed the character of a contemporary imperative. The term ‘intensive parenting’ describes a high degree of parental involvement and child-centeredness today. The expectation is that the parents should give of themselves and their resources unconditionally, including, but not limited to, time, money, emotional support and love, in order to optimize their child’s future life chances. This intensive approach to childrearing – that children’s life prospects can always be improved by better parenting - is an international ideology. Both mothers and fathers are influenced by the dynamics of children and childhood (Brannen et.al, 2004). Moreover, parenting changes concurrently with the demands for competence in a society where children have to learn new skills in order to be fit for later life.

Data and research methods

The study is based on interviews with two generations of farming fathers in two agricultural districts in mid-Norway. The oldest generation in our study was born in the 1940s and the youngest (their sons) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Seven fathers in each generation were interviewed about their farm, their work, their family and their experiences as fathers. Men who had one or several children 10 years old or younger, who were active farmers on a full- or part-time basis, and who had fathers who had also been active farmers on the same farm, were sought out for interviewing. The sample was strategically constructed to capture how farming fathers formed their fathering project at two different time contexts, with our interest being in the relationship between farm work and child care for farmers. Their particular work situation, working hours, home/work interface, as well as the participation of family members in farm work, are all important aspects of the context.

Because of the small sample size, the two generations are compared with each other in this study, and the most central issue in the analysis is the ways in which the practices of the two generations differ and/or are similar. Both generations of fathers in this study are comparing themselves to the other generation, and sometimes to fathers in general. This co-construction of narratives resembles ‘othering’ in identity research, in that it sees identities, including masculinities, as constructed processually around senses of similarity and difference. In this analysis of fathering, their making reference to the other generation has been a useful methodological tool.

Most important findings

For the older generation of fathers the gendered segregation of work between the indoors (house and childcare) and outdoors (farm work) kept fathers from being involved in childcare the first years. Childcare was defined as indoor work, and indoor work was women’s work on the farm. Despite the co-location of work and home, gendered norms were a primary factor in defining fathering practices. When children became somewhat older, the closeness between the two areas facilitated their joining fathers at work. Children were also expected to participate in work on the fields and in the barn. This has been termed “apprenticeship fathering”. Father-child interaction happened on father’s activity area.

There is a distinct difference between how the fathers in the two generations practised childcare in the first few years. The younger generation involved themselves more directly in the daily care of the small children. They felt it was expected of them, something that is an indication that fathering among farmers has changed in content and meaning over the generations due to new moralities.
This new track for farming fathers is linked to the changes for women in agriculture, who, since the 1970s, have increasingly taken employment off the farm. Despite the closeness between work and home, the children no longer join their fathers at work, nor do they participate in farm work. The co-location of work and home is, however, important in that it facilitates fathers’ looking after their children, for instance before and after school or kindergarten. A clear difference from their fathers’ generation is that today there is another moral obligation where fathers are expected to be together with their children, not vice versa. The children do not ‘go out’ to their fathers whose main focus is on work, as it was with the older generation. Rather, it is the fathers who ‘go out’ to their children and their activities. Contemporary fathers join their children in the home and in other areas of activity (ski-, football, music practices). This has strong resemblances to ‘intensive fathering’.

Conclusion
The co-location of work and home is a constant characteristic of the farm setting, but it influences father practices in different ways in the two generations.

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THE SEQUENCES OF INVOLVEMENT STYLES AT THE TRANSITION TO FATHERHOOD

**Keywords:** parenthood, transition process, father involvement, child care, qualitative longitudinal study

Studies on father involvement show that a growing number of fathers opts for involvement in childcare. However, the transition to parenthood still goes along with a retraditionalisation of gender roles and division of labour. To understand this ambivalence, we argue that it is fruitful to take a closer look at the sequence of practices fathers are involved in during the transition to parenthood. The presented qualitative study focuses on fathering during pregnancy and after the first half-year post-birth. Based on qualitative interviews with men and women during pregnancy
and after delivery, it is shown that fathers’ involvement can comprise sequences of various involvement styles, each defined by a specific set of practices. Furthermore, we illustrate how fathers do not just adopt one of these involvement styles, but switch between several styles during the given period of time. The results extend previous findings and provide an in-depth analysis of fathers’ journey through several involvement styles during the transition to parenthood. This also allows to display a differentiated picture of retraditionalisation processes.

Theoretical Framework

The analysis is based on a practice theory approach (Morgan 2011; Hörning & Reuter 2004). Accordingly, the transition to parenthood is defined as a set of practices (Schadler 2013), and involvement styles are defined as a set of specific practices.

Previous research on father involvement draws on several factors to conceptualize different fathering practices. According to the influential concept provided by Lamb et al. (1985), father involvement consists of the following three components: (1) interaction, referring to the father’s direct contact with his child; (2) availability, concerning the father being available for the child for potential interaction; and (3) responsibility, meaning that the father feels accountable for the child’s needs, e.g. being in charge of childcare arrangements. Doucet (2009) emphasizes that childcare responsibility needs to be specified in greater detail, proposing a differentiation between emotional responsibility, community responsibility and moral responsibility. Palkovitz (1997) presents numerous practices of parenting in order to describe parental involvement. These practices are summarized into three main domains of involvement: cognitive involvement, affective involvement and behavioral involvement.

Data and Research Methods

The presented findings derive from a qualitative longitudinal study on processes at the transition to parenthood, conducted at the University of Vienna, Austria2. We conducted individual interviews with couples during their transition to parenthood. Women and men who were expecting their first child were interviewed during pregnancy and six to seven months after the birth of the child (40 interviews in total). The sample includes couples living in Vienna who are married, cohabiting or separated. Respondents’ age ranges from 25 to 42 years, and they have different educational levels.

Following an interview guide, pre- and post-birth data were gathered on the following topics: preparations for pregnancy and birth, preconditions for parenthood, announcement of pregnancy and birth, delivery, information procurement, medical attendance (mother and child), breast feeding, bodily transformations, communication with the unborn resp. the baby, purchases for the baby, bureaucracy after delivery, first days at home with the newborn, daily routine and time management after delivery, activities regarding the baby, housing situation, maternity protection, maternal and paternal leave, work, work-family-balance, division of labour, childcare arrangements, definition of family, as well as expectations and perceptions of fatherhood and motherhood.

Main Findings

We reconstructed the pre- and post-birth practices of fathers and were able to condensate sets of practices into involvement styles, which are comparable with involvement styles cited in the literature (e.g. Marsiglio et al. 2000; Doucet 2009; Rehel 2014). These styles are: the helper/supporter, the co-parent, and the main caretaker. Based on the longitudinal research design, it is shown that father involvement is a matter of concern not only post-birth, but also pre-birth. Different styles of father involvement already evolve during pregnancy and not only after the birth of the child. Hence, we identified sets of practices that signified an involvement style during a certain phase of the transition, e.g. specific main caretaker practices within the first months of pregnancy or specific main caretaker practices during parental leave.

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2 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.
Based on this in-depth analysis of the sequence of practices, it is shown that a father-to-be resp. a father does not match one involvement style exclusively, but can pass through several forms of involvement at the transition to fatherhood. This process of passing-through involvement styles is not homogeneous throughout the cases, but takes place in different ways, in interdependence with individual and structural determinants (e.g. attitudes toward gender equality, career plan, work structure, possibility to take parental leave like the so-called “daddy month”, public discourses etc.). The data also reveal turning points – like taking parental leave, returning to work, or unexpected sickness – that trigger transitions between involvement styles.

The following example illustrates the ways in which different involvement styles are interwoven over time: One male respondent was the main caretaker during early pregnancy, i.e. collecting information about pregnancy and birth, taking care of his pregnant partner and buying things for the baby, while his pregnant partner was too busy with work issues and therefore only got involved with these processes to a minimum extent. During the period of maternity protection, the respondent became a helper to his pregnant partner who used this time to prepare for delivery and for the post-birth period. The respondent supported his partner in housework etc., because bodily transformations prevented her from doing this by herself. After delivery, the father took his holiday and additionally took paternal leave in the framework of the “daddy month”, and was co-parenting with the mother. Both parents took care of the child on equal terms. After his return to full-time work, the respondent became the helper again, when he – coming home from work in the evening – supported his partner who was staying at home with the child. Taking paternal leave a few months later, the father returned to the main caretaker involvement style, whereas the mother returned to full-time work.

**Conclusion**

The styles of father involvement evolving from the presented analysis are comparable with those found in the literature. However, our findings advance existing studies by illuminating fathers’ journeys through several sets of fathering practices. Drawing on the transition process during pregnancy and after the birth of the first child, the factors that amplify or mitigate fathers’ involvement into caretaking become more visible and clear. For instance, it becomes evident how turning points can influence fathering practices. However, the direction of influence (an increase or decrease in father’s involvement leading to more or less gender equality) is related to a variety of determinants (values, discourses, structures at work, peer group etc.). This implies that it is fruitful to conceptualize father involvement as a process which is fluid in nature.

Furthermore, the focus on these processes indicates that policy efforts with the aim of promoting equality between mothers and fathers would be well advised to widen their focus on a) the transition process as a whole, starting at early pregnancy, b) the turning points during the transition process, and c) the complex interplay of a variety of determinants which amplify and mitigate retraditionalisation processes.

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POSTERS

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YOUTH’S SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY: CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF BASIC ATTRIBUTES

Keywords: family as social construct; cross-culture comparison

The aim of this paper is to continue analyzing the social representations of modern family forms. Earlier several approaches for defining a family were determined. They can be described in a number of dichotomies:

- Objective VS interpretative approach;
- Structural \ functional VS interactionist \ constructivist approach;
- Theoretical-operational VS phenomenology, empirically oriented;
- Natural/classical scientific, objectivist, positivist VS understanding, humanitarian, postclassical, modern;
- Deductive VS inductive.

The previous survey showed that the social perceptions of Russian and American students about family (“the norm”) are more harmonized (especially it concerns nuclear and extended family forms), the perceptions of non-families on the contrary are different. Therefore the Russians have a clearer representation of normative family (especially nuclear one) and other forms (for example different forms of social parenting), (quasi)familial structures and especially groups which can be described through family connotations, when family is interpreted metaphorically (a group of coworkers or office workers, police squad, or community group, etc.) (See more detail: Solodnikov, 2013).

The theoretical framework of the survey in general is actors’ social construction of the concept of family on everyday life. Now we are going to continue cross-cultural comparisons using the same empirical data.

Method: written formalized questionnaire filled in groups with Wiegel’s tool (2008) was presented to matching university student aimed non-representative sample.

Sample consisted of university students (№=101, including 17 young men) from three faculties (Sociology, Psychology and Social Anthropology) of Russian State University for Humanities. Average age was 20,9 years.

The sample of the American survey (2008): 148 people (90 females, one did not specify the gender), students of Development and Health course. The average age was 23.1 years (median = 22 years). 73% of sample were white people.

So the American students were two years older and there were more males among them.

Preliminary results and discussion.

Contrary to popular belief about Russians and Americans (in our case, university students of humanitarian profile) there are the following main tendencies in differentiation of basic attributes for social construct “family”:

- Americans relatively higher estimate its “romantic”, “psychological”, “fun” attributes (affection/hugs/kiss; acceptance; friendship; intimacy; fun; laughter etc.).
- Russians – on the contrary – stressed “business” parameters of family (sharing struggles, support, responsibility, safety, togetherness, respect, caring etc.).
- These results need more detailed analysis. Now there are several possible venues for interpreting the cross-cultural differences in social perception of the family among young people:
  - The differences in behavioral displays (and verbal descriptions) of love and affection in family (but first of all in couples’) relationships;
  - Another indicator of the aspiration to be loved (with less pronounced motivation to love and orientation for mutual affection) that was revealed earlier among young Russian married couples (Солодников, 2002).
  - Collecting more information on social context in terms of economic data on society well-being, the size and/or forms of social (incl. family) policy.

As a result it will be possible to define the main areas for research that will allow to deepen the understanding of the topic.

References


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BEING PARENTS: THE ADOPTIVE FAMILIES

Keywords: parenthood; international adoption; decision-making; family change; qualitative research

The family, in the last ten years, has been the subject of particular attention, from different angles: it has been considered as an institution in decline, its changes were analyzed, has been rediscovered its dimension of vitality and resource. What appears clear, analyzing the most recent studies on this topic, is the vision of the family as an entity diversified, both in structure and in its relations inside: talking about pluralization of forms, new families, new parents, changes and modification in the mode of doing and being family (Donati, 2001; Georgas, 2006; Liefbroer, 2008; De Rose et al., 2008; Di Nicola, 2008; Ruspini, 2010; Zanatta, 2011; Saraceno, 2012).
In the contemporary society, have occurred important changes in the context of family realities, in particular, the last ten years have experienced a substantial structural changes in the socio-demographic scenery, especially compared to the width of the number of members of the families and the pluralization of forms.

The major changes in the Italian scenery relate to the increase in separations and divorces, with the consequent growth of blended families, the decline of marriage and the rise of cohabitation, as well as a greater number of children born to unmarried parents, and again, the declining birth-rate, with a shift towards older motherhood, and finally, the number of the members of the family is certainly diminished.

These dynamics that have characterized the main demographic events seem to be interpretable as a result of the living conditions and environment of the individual, but also through the transformation of the economic and social situation, which seem to have led, or just favorite, behaviors often radically different from the past, especially in the area of reproductive choices and family.

The new family forms are characterized by a series of break with the past (Fruggeri, 2005; Ruspini, 2010; Saraceno, 2012): discontinuity that relate to the lack of coincidence between parenthood and conjugalty (single-parent families, unmarried couples with children), on the non-immediate overlap between first family and actual family (blended families), the absence of homogeneity between family culture and social culture of the community to which they belong (mixed families), the lack of blood ties (foster families or adoptive families) or split between sexuality and procreation (families "at any cost", with the Assisted fertilization) and finally, the lack of correspondence between family roles and gender roles (homosexual families).

The "family-reality " in every sense, is still closely tied to parenthood which has gone from being a must in the life of a couple, to be a precise and reasoned choice.

We’re talking about parenting choice: the choice of how (biological children, procreation techniques, adopted children or foster care, childfree), the choice of when and with whom (spouse, cohabitant, single parenthood, homosexual couple).

To be more precise, this research wants to focus on one of the forms of parenting, that is, on families who have adopted children in intercountry adoption: this choice of parenting is in fact one of the most radical forms of parenthood, since there isn’t the presence of blood ties. Adopt means in fact recognize and take the difference of the child, difference that it is given, mail from the outset and made visible by the lack of somatic similarity, which is often added, in cases of international adoption, a difference in ethnic, cultural and linguistic, where the challenge lies in being a parent having to build the family membership, which in biological parenthood is instead a matter of fact, hiring and valuing differences, the history and origins of the child (Rosnati, 2010).

Adopt means in fact recognize and take the difference of the child, difference that it is clear since the beginning and made visible by the lack of somatic similarity, which is often added, in cases of international adoption in fact, an ethnic, cultural and linguistic difference: the challenge of being a parent is to build the family identity, which in biological parenthood is a given, hiring and valuing differences, the history and origins of the child (Rosnati, 2010).

In adoption the construction of the parental bond is derived from a process of legitimation, since becoming a parent is not a role acquired as a result of a birth, but it is sanctioned by a court. In this sense, this type of parenting is split from the purely affective aspects, but involves the assumption of a role that must also be socially recognized.

The data of the Commission for International Adoptions, shows that from 2000 to 2013, couples who have applied for entry clearance for foreign minors in Italy, were 28,197, up to a maximum reached in 2010, with 3,241 adoptive couples.
In this sense, international adoption is an emerging phenomenon in Italy, and not only, as demonstrated by the many studies conducted recently (Grotevant, McDermott 2014; Rosnati, Ranieri, Barni, 2013; Weir, Broadzinsky, 2013; Rosnati, 2010; Palacios et. al., 2010; Chistolini, 2010; Juffer, van IJzendoorn, 2009; van IJzendoorn, & Juffer Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2007).

In addition to the relevance of the phenomenon in Italy, what drives to investigate this issue is the choice of these families to become parents of the child of someone else: we wonder what motivates a couple to prefer this type of parenting, beyond the problems related to infertility (over 90% of couples who have adopted declaring the inability to have biological children), rather than to employ procreation techniques or the choice to be “childfree”.

The central hypothesis is that there may be paths of life and social, institutional, economic conditions that contributing or less in the processes leading to a choice rather than another. The sample consisted of 15 families who have adopted with international adoption in the last three years (2010-2013) in the territory of the Veneto region, that is the fourth region in Italy for the number of couples adopting in 2013.

The methodology used is qualitative and involves the collection of life histories of selected subject, since through the narration, the person can explain the meaning of their own choices, to bring out their own self-identity, but also familiar, cultural and context elements, that surround and affect (Bruner, 1992).

The areas of investigation include: experiences of the families of origin, information on value models, on the experience of a couple and of first marriage, information about the school, business and economic environment. We also investigate the motivations that led to the choice of social parenthood. The current state of research does not allow to provide the results, since they are not yet collected data for the entire sample. It is assumed that for the month of September 2014, the collection and subsequent analysis will be completed.

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MIGRATION EFFECTS ON INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN LITHUANIA: PERSPECTIVE OF ELDERLY PARENTS

Keywords: transnational family, intergenerational relationships, elderly care

Even if Lithuania’s emigration rate is among the highest in the European Union, there was no research addressing the effects of adult children migration for elderly parents who stay behind. Lithuania represents a case where a system of formal social care for elderly is rather limited. At the same time, based on GGS survey results, the familial norms that adult children should provide care for elderly parents are rather strong. Within this context the paper aims to reveal the effects of international migration on intergenerational relationships from the perspective of elderly parents who stay behind. In this way the paper aims to reveal how extended family functions in transnational space and what are the networks of care providers for elderly parents when adult children live abroad.

Theoretical approach

Based on transnationalism approach, the family members who stay behind in origin country in various ways are being affected by emigration (Baldassar et al. 2007). From other point of view, family ties in origin country are being maintained across national borders (Antman 2012; Lewitt, Jarowsky 2007). It is often thought that international migration should enhance the financial welfare for migrants who may then remit more to parents at home. At the same time, due to geographical proximity the migrants may be restricted from travelling home and providing personal care for the elderly parent. This raises questions important for social policy: how does migration affect contributions and time assistance to aging parents?

Intergenerational solidarity approach (Bengston et al. 1991) gives some answers what are the conceptual elements which holds family members as a family unit. The model is used in the paper in order to identity what dimensions of intergenerational relationships are being affected by migrations. The effects on the following dimensions of intergenerational solidarity are being analysed:

Associational – frequency and patterns of interaction in various types of activities in which family members engage

Affectual – type and degree of positive sentiments held about family members,

Functional – degree of helping and exchanges of resources (Bengston et al. 1991).

At the same time, I take into consideration that intergenerational relationships include not only positive aspects but also conflict (Silverstein et al. 1996) or ambivalence (Lüscher, Pillemer 1998, 2004, Connidis, McMullin 2002). Thus the ideas of critical theories (conflict and ambivalence) are essential in the paper to explain the dynamics of intergenerational relationships within transnational space which may enhance various tensions between family members.

The research hypothesis: adult children migration has significant impact on the associational, affectual and functional dimensions of intergenerational solidarity.

Methodology

The paper is based on few surveys. The analysis of attitudes towards elderly care in Lithuania is based on results of first and second way of Gender and Generations Survey (GGS), conducted in year 2006 (N=10000) and 2009 (N=5748). The field research was conducted by the “Baltic Survey Ltd.”.
The effects of adult children migration are assessed by a national representative survey conducted in year 2013\(^3\). After the Omnibus Survey (N=1013) stratified quota sampling procedures were applied. The sampling unit was the household with elderly parents (60 years and older), who have at least one adult children living abroad at least six month prior to the survey. Sample size was 303 respondents. The field research was conducted by the “Baltic Survey Ltd.”.

The following variables are being used to assess the effects of migration for intergenerational relationships:

- Frequency of contacts (two variables: face to face contacts and via phone, skype)
- The means of communication,
- Financial assistance (provided and received),
- Evaluation of relationships,
- Evaluation of emotional support (provided and received),
- Network of personal care providers

These variables are being compared between the groups of migrant and non-migrant children (living in close and distant proximity in Lithuania). Binary logistic regression was applied to measure the effects of migration for frequent of contacts and good evaluation of relationships with children (dependent variables). The following independent variables were included into the model of logistic regression:

- Characteristics of children: gender partnership status, education, geographic proximity, financial status
- Characteristics of parents: gender, health status, education, financial situation, living arrangements

**Results**

**Cultural attitudes towards elderly care in Lithuania**

Based on the results of the Omnibus Survey (N=1013), the attitudes towards children migration when elderly parents in need of care stay behind are very positive. These results are exceptional in the context of other surveys done in Lithuania. For example, GGS revealed very high level of normative solidarity in terms of filial responsibilities. However, in these surveys the questions were not related to migration. It seems that migration is a legitimate excuse to justify lower levels of intergenerational solidarity.

Even if elderly parents also justify children’s migration (based on National representative survey with elderly parents), when we asked what type of personal care would be appropriate for them, the results were contradicting. Most of parents would like to receive personal care from their children in their house or their children’s house. The priorities of care are given for children or other relatives and institutional care is not perceived as desired model of care.

**The effects of migration on intergenerational relationships**

**Associational dimension of solidarity.** Frequency of contacts with the family is often used as an indicator of the strength of intergenerational exchange and of potential support for older people. The biggest proportions of parents have often (everyday or few times a week) face-to-face contacts with children living in Lithuania. Clearly, the distance is limiting the abilities to meet children living abroad and half of parents meet their children once per year or less often. The most popular way of non face-to-face communication is a phone conversation with children living in Lithuania and abroad. Conversations via Skype, however, is a more common practice with children living abroad.

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\(^3\) The survey conducted as part of Postdoctoral Fellowship, funded by Lithuanian Science Foundation
abroad. Even if some researches (Baldassar et al 2007) argue that modern technologies mean the death of distance, the results on logistic regression show that the odds to have frequent contacts are lower with children living abroad. Geographical proximity is the most important factor predicting the frequent contacts (at least one time per week or more often) with children. Only geographical proximity correctly classifies 70% of the model (while the other factors - only 7%). Gender of children does not have significant impact for contacts with father but significantly predicts communication with mother. Very good financial situation of children increases the odds of frequent communication with mothers.

Affectual dimension of solidarity. Based on the results of logistic regression, geographical proximity does not have any significant impact on evaluation of relationships. Contrarily, 22% of elderly parents have indicated that relationships with adult migrant children have even improved. Gender of children, financial situation of children and type of settlement of elderly parents are significant predictors of good evaluation of relationships with children. The time adult children spent abroad does not have a significant impact.

Functional dimension of solidarity. The differences on received / provided emotional support from/ for children in Lithuania and abroad are insignificant. Significant differences were found on financial support. A higher proportion of parents have asked for financial support from children living abroad and also significantly higher proportion of parents received financial support from children living abroad. One third of elderly parents received personal care from non-formal networks. Most of the respondents received personal care from neighbours, friends and grandchildren.

Conclusions

It seems that migration of adult children has negative effects for associational solidarity, but does not have any negative impact on associational solidarity. In contrarily, some elderly parents have indicated that relationships with adult migrant children have even improved. This finding raises another question – what are the social practices allowing to maintain close relationships across the borders?

The results on functional dimension of solidarity shows that lower level on associational solidarity with migrant children in a way are compensated with financial support provided for elderly parents.

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CHILDCARE NETWORK AND URBANIZATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FAMILY/COMMUNITY QUESTIONS

Family/Community Questions

Analyzing family/community questions involves organizing the allocation of network resources for individuals into the two analytical categories of “networks within the family” and “networks outside the family.” By dealing with these two kinds of networks, it becomes possible to discuss approaches to dealing with daily life problems from the perspective of family, and community issues.

In this report, I seek to address the following two questions in the context of the practice of childcare: 1) what types of resource mobilization take place from networks within the family, and 2) if there are shortcomings in these, what types of resources are supplemented from networks outside the family?

Urbanism and Personal Networks

Research on personal networks in urban studies has confirmed that the distribution patterns and quantity of personal network and urbanism are related. Many past studies have shown that, even excluding the influence of personal attributes, the quantity of relative/neighborhood networks tends to decrease as the degree of urbanism increases.(Fischer, 1982=2002; Tateyama, 1998; Matsumoto, 2004: 2005a: 2005b).

Furthermore, with respect to the spatial allocation of personal networks, it has been confirmed that urban residents tend to be dispersed over a broad area. (Wellman, 1979=2006)

In other words, differences in urbanism relate to the following two points in childcare networks outside the family: 1) quantity of networks and 2) spatial allocation of networks.

From these findings, we can hypothesize that urban residents possess childcare networks that are quantitatively limited and spatially dispersed compared with rural residents.

Household-Type Distribution Patterns

Meanwhile, household-type distribution patterns have been confirmed by research on urban spatial structures. According to this research, the ratio of nuclear family households in urban and suburban areas and the ratio of three or four-generation households in rural areas tends to increase compared with other regions. It has been confirmed that such household type distribution patterns are emerged in concentric circles in urban spaces. (Tateyama:2004)

From this, we can infer that nuclear family households comprise the overwhelming majority of families in the childcare stage in urban and suburban areas, and that childcare network resources within families consist solely of the wife and husband.

From the above, we can say that analysis concerning childcare networks should be discussed in relation to urbanism for both within the family and outside the family.

Method of Survey and Procedures for Analysis

The data employed in this report was derived from a survey carried out through a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C). The survey was conducted 2008 in urban, suburban, and rural areas of the Kanagawa Prefecture, next of Tokyo. The survey targeted mothers with children aged 3–5 years old.

Then I seek to address those following research processes on the networks within the family.

- connections between with household type & degree of urbanism
- connections between support from the husband or within the household and the childcare isolation index
Above all, we find the background factor that has given rise to such structural differences is the existence of differences in networks outside the household.

This suggests the possibility of daily life problems, which cannot be solved within the family, being solved through other channels in the form of mobilization of resources outside the family.

The following is an analysis of childcare networks outside the family.

**Spatial Distribution of Childcare Networks**

Here, mothers were asked about the temporal distance of five intimate networks, including biological parents, parents-in-law, relatives, friends, and mama-friends who also are mothers.

The relationship between the spatial distribution of each network and urbanism was confirmed with a statistical significance of 0.1% in all cases.

The allocation of networks among mothers in urban, suburban areas is characterized by spatially dispersed personal communities. Particularly, in the case of suburban areas, the spatial distribution of even parents is distant. In contrast, the allocation of networks among mothers in rural areas could be termed “condensed personal communities.”

**Who Supports Childcare?**

How much childcare support do the networks surrounding mothers provide? Figure * shows a test of the differences in average values for childcare support scores by degree of urbanism.

The support score is highest for biological parents, followed by mama-friends and parents-in-law. However, in urban and suburban areas, childcare support from mama-friends exceeds that of parents-in-law. As confirmed previously, for mothers in urban and suburban areas in which the spatial distribution of parents-in-law is distant, mama-friends are the second-most important childcare support resource after their biological parents.

When viewed by degree of urbanism, significant differences were confirmed for all, except mama-friends.

**Factors that Regulate Childcare Support**

This section employs the childcare support scores from each network as dependent variables to carry out multi-way analysis of variance and multiple classification analysis that sequentially inputs urbanism, attributes, husband support, and place of residence of parents as variables.

Interpretability of urbanism was confirmed with respect to childcare support from the biological parents, relatives, neighbors, friends, and mama-friends.

In particular, even when controlling the variables, the childcare support that mothers in suburban areas receive is most scant in terms of support from biological parents, relatives, and friends. On the other hand, they received the most support from neighbors and mama-friends, showing that child support tends to be at both extremes.

**Feelings of Childcare Isolation**

Lastly, childcare support within the household and from outside the household were input simultaneously to see which forms of childcare support have the effect of reducing the feelings of childcare isolation of mothers. Significant effects were demonstrated for husband support and biological parent support.

We see the existence of a clear negative correlation between support from the husband and feelings of childcare isolation as shown in figure *. This greatly influences the feelings of childcare isolation among mothers in urban areas and suburban areas. It would seem that support from husbands is extremely significant for mothers in suburban areas, who receive the least childcare support from outside the household.
The existence of mama-friends

The survey asked mothers about their relationships with mama-friends. In all residential areas, the tendency to consider socializing with mama-friends as “necessary” was over 80%. Mothers are aware that mama-friends is an extremely important resource.

In the case of mothers in suburban areas, who receive very little support from their biological parents/parents-in-law, the relationship between mothers and mama-friends appears to be sharing the joys and sorrows of childcare while providing childcare information and childcare support. Thus, mama-friends do not have unified significance for mothers; comparatively, we see that their significance and roles are relative to change within different childcare network environments.

Findings

About childcare networks within the family.
1) There are many nuclear family households in urban and suburban areas, and three- or four-generation households in rural areas.
2) Working style of husbands, which differs according to the degree of urbanism, is strongly related to childcare support from husbands.

About childcare networks outside the family.
3) In the first place, there are differences in the distribution of networks possessed by mothers according to their residence in urban, suburban, or rural areas.
4) While mothers in rural areas tend to acquire the most prolific childcare networks outside the family, these networks tend to be the most meager among mothers in suburban areas.
5) Support from the husband and biological parents reduces feelings of childcare isolation among mothers, with the effect of this differing according to the degree of urbanity.
6) However, there is a strong tendency for mothers in suburban areas to make up for this by actively utilizing mama-friends.

Conclusions / discussion

We witness complementary support for shortcomings in childcare support within the family, through the development of childcare networks outside the family, relating to the degree of urbanism, which we could call a “network strategy” for childcare.

For discussion, we are able to say that family try to continue the life of family with their personal network, at the same time, it might be said that family can not continue to be family without their personal network outside of family. I would like to give the discussing point, family is the nominal group or functional group from the viewpoint of personal network.

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DEVELOPMENT OF CONJUGAL INTERACTION

Keywords: conjugal interaction, couples, stability, Switzerland

Families and couples develop different facets of the organisation and construction of their conjugal life. Each couple develops its own structures and attitudes over time. Several studies already dealt with typologies of couples to show different ways how relationships are constructed and organised (see: Allen & Olson, 2001; Asai & Olson, 2004; Cohen, Geron, & Farchi, 2010; Fowers & Olson, 1992; Givertz, Segrin, & Hanzal, 2009; Olson & Fowers, 1993; Schmahl & Walper, 2012). Nevertheless, there is still a lack of longitudinal studies of conjugal interaction and its development over time. Therefore this presentation will show how and why patterns of conjugal interaction changed over time. The typology for this project is based on the theoretical framework of conjugal interaction developed by Kellerhals and Widmer (Kellerhals, Widmer, & Levy, 2004; Widmer, Kellerhals, & Levy, 2003) who focused their work on two main dimensions. Cohesion, as the first dimension describes the mutual connection of partners of a couple towards each other, as well as the degree of desired contact with the social environment. Men and women are fusional if they emphasise community and solidarity in their relationship. Autonomous men and women prefer a high degree of autonomy from their partner. Furthermore, men and women can be open towards the social environment when they see contacts and social participation as an enrichment for their relationship. Closure, in contrast, describes men and women who clearly prefer to stay within the relationship and who see social contact as a threat for the internal dynamic. The second main dimension is regulation and it describes how roles, competencies and power are differentiated among each couple, and furthermore how flexible or rigid couples are. Based on data of 1534 couples living in Switzerland, five styles of conjugal interaction have already been identified, considering the indicators of the dimensions cohesion and regulation. Companionship couples prefer similar values and beliefs as well as social exchange. The role differentiation is quite low. Bastion couples are the most traditional ones among the sample with a high role differentiation. Furthermore, they are very fusional but also closed towards the social environment. Cocoon couples show similarities to Bastion couples on the cohesion dimension, but role differentiation is lower. Associative couples are characterised by high autonomy and openness. The social life has a higher priority than the relationship, which is built around the social life. Parallel couples are autonomous but also closed. Partners of those couples do not interact with each other and neither with the social environment. Role differentiation is high among those couples (for further information see (Widmer et al., 2003).

The aim of this presentation is twofold. Firstly, it will be examined how the single dimensions and indicators of conjugal interaction changed over time. Secondly, it will be examined whether the typology of conjugal interaction can be replicated using the same indicators for the same couples, but for two waves instead of for only one wave. It is hypothesised that once couples have implemented attitudes and structures, that there is a low chance to change. In other words, once a couple is affiliated to a certain style of conjugal interaction there is a high possibility to stay within this style. Significant life transitions are supposed to foster changes in the dimensions or the affiliation to a style of conjugal interaction.

Data for this project comes from the study “Social stratification, cohesion and conflict in contemporary families”, a three wave survey about couples living in Switzerland. The first wave
was conducted in 1998 and 1534 couples participated. To be included in the sample, both partners had to participate. In 2004, the second wave took place, but only women participated. The third wave was conducted in 2011 with the aim to contact as many participants as possible who participated already in wave one. Finally, a sample of 721 couples who stayed with the same partner during the observation period, and for whom answers of both partners are available are included in the sample for this study. Most couples are in a relationship since 20 till 39 years. Most of them are married and have children, only eight percent are childless. About one third of men and women are already retired. Among those who are still active in the labour market, there are differences between men and women. Whereas men usually work full-time, many women only work part-time, which is a widely spread pattern in Switzerland.

The indicators of the single dimensions of the first and third wave are compared to each other in order to examine how stable they are over time. In general, there is a relatively high stability of cohesion and regulation over time. Interestingly, there are some gender differences in the cohesion dimension. There is a tendency for women to become more open over time, whereas men become more closed over time. Role differentiation becomes also lower for some couples over time, nevertheless, there is still a relatively high differentiation of roles. The indicator which shows the most significant changes is the master-status, which describes the domination of one specific life domain for men and women (either the labour market, or the household) (Krüger & Levy, 2001). Whereas there was a high affirmation of the master-status in wave one, many couples rejected it in wave three. Due to the transition to retirement, which was experienced by many couples in the sample, the focus on one specific life domain is no longer necessary. Routinisation, the preference to organise the daily conjugal and family life following strict rhythms, becomes higher over time. For the identification of the styles of conjugal interaction a cluster analysis, considering the indicators for both waves have been conducted. A six cluster solution was chosen, for which the five styles of conjugal interaction, already identified by Widmer et al. (Widmer et al., 2003) could have been recovered. Additionally, there is a sixth style, which is characterised by a transition on the cohesion dimension. These couples belonged to the Associative style in wave one, and were moving towards the Companionship style. Couples of this style became more fusional over time, without being as fusional as Companionship couples in the sample. The results show, that among the couples, who were childless in wave one, most of them who experienced the transition to parenthood belong to the transitional style.

The results obtained so far show that conjugal interaction stays relatively stable over time among couples who stayed together for a long period of time. During their common life course couples develop attitudes, structures and habits to construct their daily life together. Once they are implemented there is a low chance to change. Anyway, it could have been shown that life transition foster changes. The transition to parenthood promote a more fusional attitude. The experience of this important life transition brings couples closer together. Already the decision to have a child is not compatible with an autonomous attitude of one of the partners. The transition the retirement leads to less importance of a gendered master-status. Men and women do not longer need to focus on only one specific life domain. The styles of conjugal interaction are also characterised by high stability. In fact, once a couple is affiliated to a certain style of conjugal interaction, there is a low chance to change. Actually, this confirms once again the stability of conjugal interaction what was already shown in the analyses of the single dimensions. Even though there exist several typologies of couples and families in the research literature this study shows an unique approach due to the consideration of dimensions in two points of time.

References


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**CHANGING FAMILY FORMATIONS IN HUNGARIAN FAMILIES - NEW FATHER ROLES**

**Theoretical Framework**

In Hungary, recently there are an increasing number of studies dealing with gender roles within family, and its effects on the labour market. Although the father’s role and his participation in child-care tasks is not often mentioned in Hungarian literature.

The traditional type of family model is often said to be in connection with the traditional women and men roles within families (Dupcsik-Tóth 2007, Spéder 2011). So could we also say that following the traditional type of norms would be visible in fathers’ child bearing practices as well? According to Blaskó (Blaskó 2005) the division of home work within families in Hungary is very weak and comparing it with European data we are tail-enders in Europe regarding that. Child care allowance can be divided into GYES and GYED in Hungary. The second one is dependent upon on the basis of time worked and it is about the 70% of a normal wage the first one is about 25% of a normal wage in Hungary. (Thomson 2002, Adamik 1991)

**Research Hypotheses**

If we compare data regarding the hours that fathers spend with child bearing in Hungary is in the midfield. Can this forecast that the time spent with children is more and more important for both sexes and that there is a changing in the Hungarian family patterns?

Child care allowance for fathers is only available since some years ahead, in 2006 there were 9 000 fathers, while in 2012 there were 10 000 fathers who stayed at home and applied for child care allowance. We can also say that the number of fathers who took the child care allowance is not
increasing at all and they are only 5-6 % of the whole population of those who applied for such an allowance.

Child care allowance for fathers is only a rational decision analysing the net income of the family, is it the voluntary escaping of fathers from the labour market, or is it the signs of the change of Hungarian family patterns?

**Methods:** 100 pieces of questionnaires filled out with fathers who stayed at home with their child and applied for child-care allowance. I would ask about their attitude towards child bearing, labour market, and gender roles. With 40 interviewee I would conduct an in-depth interview as well. I would compare the result with international data from the European Social Survey.

**Most important findings:** To find new answers to changing family configuration and patterns in Hungary and have insights look to new fathers role in a changing society. Also look at the changing and precarious economic, labour market related and relationship targeted patterns through father’s biographies. The changing role of fathers and its prejudice of a post-socialist society can show interesting opportunities for further studies of families in Hungary and Europe.

**The stage of the research carried out:** The research is in an initial stage. I will conduct interviews in spring which will support my deeper insight of my research topic.

**Timeline**

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<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
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<tr>
<td>Processing relevant literature</td>
<td>2014. 04.01 – 2014. 06. 30.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reach possible interviewees</td>
<td>2014.07.01 – 2014.07.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conduct the interviews and questionnaires</td>
<td>2014.08.01 – 2014.10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysing data</td>
<td>2014.11.01 – 2014.11.30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare the paper</td>
<td>2014. 12.01. – 2015. 01. 31.</td>
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**The relevance of the issue discussed:** The changing role of fathers and its prejudice of a post-socialist society can show interesting opportunities for further studies of families in Hungary and Europe. The results can be compared with other European countries which can show a very actual picture of position of families in Post-Socialist, Western-European or Nordic countries.

Keywords: father-role, post-socialist families, changing family patterns, gender equality within families

**References**


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COMBINING LEADING AND SUPPORTING ROLES - FAMILY AND CAREER STRATEGIES AMONG ELITE COUPLES

Keywords: elite couples, family roles, career strategies, familism

In our study we explore what are the most important resources and types of capital related to marital relationship and family that help a spouse to enter the contemporary elite of Hungary. We identify typical successful routes and strategies followed by elite members and their spouses. We also seek to understand the influence of elite position on the relationship between the spouses. We identify supporting and leading roles in the sphere of career and family as an analytical tool in our qualitative research.

We start from the assumption that marital relationships play an important role in reaching, maintaining and transmitting elite positions. The spouse may serve as an additional resource for an elite member, whether they pursue a traditional two-person career or act as a modern ‘power couple’.

Theoretical framework

The career of an elite member is usually examined from a ‘teleological’ perspective: How was a person able to reach his or her current position that we categorize as ‘elite’? In that sense, a career means a person’s vertical movement in a particular professional field. Typically, an individual’s working career starts at the same stage of one’s life-cycle as starting a family. As the two spheres of life interact, a variety of career life-forms can develop. Elite researchers (Esseveld and Anderson 2000) constructed three typical career life-forms on a comparative empirical basis:

1. Traditional career life-form: a top leader with a non-working partner (this life-form is often referred to as a ‘two-person career’)

2. Mixed career life-form: a top leader with a partner who works but does not hold a leading position

3. Dual career life-form: both partners have careers and leading positions (often referred to as a ‘power couple’)

According to one author’s previous research (Kristóf 2013) that studied longitudinal changes in the Hungarian elite between 1988 and 2009, the dominant type of marital relationship is the mixed career life-form. For historical reasons (i.e. women’s wide inflow into the labour market in the socialist era), a traditional career life-form in Hungary (and, more generally, Eastern Europe) does not imply a non-working spouse. Usually, it takes the form of a dual-earner couple where the job of the non-elite member of the couple is far less demanding – and far less well-paid. The share of couples pursuing a dual career life-form in the elite has been constantly increasing during the last two decades and by 2009 reached one third of the elite members. (Although this share varies across segments: it is higher in the economic elite than in other segments.) In these cases, the partner of the elite member also pursues a career characterised by high professional standards, continuous progress through a hierarchy, and high degrees of challenge and commitment (Dribe – Stanfors 2010). It is likely that he or she also has an elite or sub-elite position. However, the choice of life-form is influenced by the gender of the elite member: chances of living in a power couple are higher for women (Coltrane 2004, Kristóf 2013).

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4 By marital ‘relationship’ or ‘marriage’, we do not refer to a legal form but also include cohabitation and other forms of long-term partnerships.
Research questions

The key questions of the research are the following:

1. What are the resources that marriage and family bring to the career advancement of elite members? These resources can be related to the home (the concept of ‘supportive background’, e.g. childrearing, arranging the practicalities of family life) or to work (advising, discussing, decision making, arranging professional/social networks)

2. What are the characteristics of gender roles in these families? Are there any ‘elite’ specialities? Do career/family balance problems occur less or more acutely in the elite?

3. Are the narratives of the elite member and his/her spouse different? Are differences in narratives position or gender related?

Methodology

In order to detect family strategies and resources that emerge from marital relationships, the units of our analysis are couples rather than individuals. We conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with elite members and their spouses. We interviewed both the wife and the husband of the chosen families. With the help of this method, we expect to identify the narrative of the elite member and also that of his or her spouse.

The criteria for selection were based on the established definition of elite (Higley et al. 1991) already used in previous quantitative research (Kristóf 2013): participation in decision-making that affects the whole society. This definition was carefully operationalised in different elite segments (see also Kristóf 2013). Sampling was based on the snowball method. We conducted 40 interviews with the members of the Hungarian political, cultural and economic elite (see Table 1).

Table1 In-depth interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elite member</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political elite</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic elite</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural elite</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
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Preliminary Findings

Leading and supporting family roles

Family roles and the related division of labour and decision-making in the family significantly depend on the type of the elite couple: whether they are a power couple or not. The latter is strongly determined by the woman’s career. The question of work-career balance arises in the life phase when the couple has small children. Strong traditional norms related to motherhood and familialism (Dupcsik – Tóth 2013) result in a traditional, gender-based family role-structure even for power couples. Maternity has central and symbolic values and the father has only a supporting role in family life.

Power couples and mixed couples begin to differ once the period is over in which internalised social norms prescribe that the woman’s most important task is to take care of her family. Mixed couples continue family and career life based on traditional roles, where the woman’s leading role in the family is being a mother. By contrast, power couples keep changing the leading and supporting family roles between themselves, depending on their career tasks. The result is a more equal division of labour and power structure in the family after a more traditional period.

Leading and supporting career roles

Among the advantages of the dual career life-form, one can emphasise the mutual understanding of the spouses through their own work experience: advising, discussing decisions and even competition
can be inspiring (Diem-Ville and Ziegler 2000). In a power couple, the network capital of the spouse can also be very useful in career advancement.

The importance of discussing decisions and professional dilemmas is also emphasised by mixed career couples. However, these couples profit mainly from specialisation. This life-form provides a supportive background for the elite member who can thereby afford more time and energy for work (Dribe – Stanfors 2010). In parallel with their partner’s elite position, the spouse with the supporting career role has a leading position in organizing family life.

Even in couples who originally had similar career expectations, the female partner lags behind in her career during the life phase of childbearing and early childrearing. In the meantime, fatherhood has no significant impact on the family-career life of elite couples. Though several interviewees emphasised the intensive father-children relationships, in most cases they do not influence the father’s work commitments. In some cases the career of the husband is already so advanced after the early childrearing years that it becomes a rational family strategy to continue concentrating on his career since he has, by this time, a much greater income. This may promise more profit even for the woman than investing in her own career. The other way is to make the careers sequential: when the children grow a bit older, it is the ‘women’s turn’ to find new ways in her professional advancement. Gender roles are altered depending on this choice of strategy.

Conclusions

Our results prove that among elite couples, supporting and leading roles are identified differently in family life and in professional life. In family life, roles are defined by parenthood and implemented under strong social norms in which maternity plays a central role, whether the mother was a power woman before childbearing or not.

By contrast, the leading and supporting roles of spouses in career life are defined by their actual work position and dependent on traditional gender roles. In the case of power couples the roles of wife and husband are based on a more or less equal partnership where the spouses support each other mutually. In the case of mixed career couples the relationship is more unequal: one spouse (usually the wife) has only a supporting career role. This defines a double leading role for women with children in power couples: usually they act as ‘leading women’ both in family and career life. Less commonly, they adopt a three-phase model to reconcile family and professional development phases (Rusconi – Solga 2008).

However, the script of this double role is under the control of strict social norms and our interviewees reported congruently that being a committed mother is no sacrifice at all. Our research proves that the ideology of familialism is deeply internalised by elite couples and determines parenthood-based family roles regardless of the type of career forms. At the same time, the relationship between wives and husbands concerning their career life is more a matter of individual choice.

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