

## **PRELIMINARY PROGRAM**

Conference on Carework, Inequality, and Advocacy  
University of California, Irvine  
Friday, August 17, 2001

## **CONFERENCE SCHEDULE**

8:30-9:00 Coffee, Tea, and Refreshments  
9:00-10:30 Plenary: Joan Tronto, Rhacel Parrenas, Sharon Hays  
10:30-10:45 Break  
10:45-12:15 Concurrent Paper Sessions  
12:15-1:30 Lunch (Table Topics)  
1:30-3:00 Concurrent Paper Sessions  
3:00-3:15 Break  
3:15-4:30 Plenary: Marcy Whitebook, Rose Ann DeMoro, and Karyl L. Draper  
4:30-4:45 Concluding Remarks: Joya Misra and Cameron Macdonald  
4:45 Informal Reception

## **MORNING PLENARY**

Plenary: Theorizing Care Inequalities  
Presider: Demie Kurz, University of Pennsylvania

### **Multicultural Care: Theories and Implications for Public Policy**

Joan Tronto, Hunter College, City University of New York

### **Colonialism and Care: Gender and Labor Migration in the New Global Economy**

Rhacel Parrenas, University of Wisconsin, Madison

### **Whose 'Family Values?': Carework, Citizenship, and Welfare Reform**

Sharon Hays, University of Virginia

## **MORNING CONCURRENT PAPER SESSIONS**

Session 1: Caregiving: Paid and Unpaid  
Organizers: Sally Gallagher, Oregon State University  
Naomi Gerstel, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Presider: Naomi Gerstel, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Discussant: Shelley Eriksen, California State University, Long Beach

### **Where Public and Private Meet: A Privileged Perspective**

Margaret K. Nelson, Middlebury College and Emily K. Abel, University of California, Los Angeles

In this paper we reflect on our own experiences as middle class, white women who hired a number of paid caregivers for our elderly father. We discuss how our experience was shaped by privilege and the gross inequality between ourselves and the caregivers we employed. We also consider the impact of such variables as gender, the presence of multiple decision makers, and the constraints that stemmed from the particular needs of our father. In the conclusion we argue that as the demands of caregiving mushroom we need a multidimensional understanding of the interests and concerns of all those involved in care -- employers, employees and care recipients themselves.

### **Family Caregivers and Health Care Professionals: A Deep But Unacknowledged Cultural Divide**

Carol Levine, Director, Families and Health Care Project, United Hospital Fund

Many difficulties family caregivers encounter in the health care system derive from the differences between family values and professional cultures. The primary values of Western medicine are: evidence-based data; legal or regulatory oversight; efficiency; consistency; confidentiality of medical information; technological solutions; hierarchical organizations; and individual patient autonomy. Whatever their differences, most families have common core values: the importance of relationships established by blood, marriage, or commitment; the absence of public oversight; emotional rather than professional or financial rewards; moral rather than legal obligations; privacy of decision making; and family rather than individual autonomy. This paper summarizes the findings of a United Hospital Fund-Hastings Center multidisciplinary working group that examined these cultural differences.

**Emotion at Work: Hospice Employees' Strategies in Working with the Terminally Ill**  
Molly B. Monahan, North Carolina State University, Raleigh

Hospice employees are paid caregivers for the dying and their families. However, the sociological processes by which people are able to perform work with the dying are not well understood. Based on ongoing observations at a Hospice organization in the Southeast, this paper concerns the strategies that Hospice nurses and social workers pursue in order to work with the terminally ill. These workers actively, if not consciously, pursue strategies that help them to do their jobs in ways they can feel good about, despite capitalistic and bureaucratic constraints. In this paper I discuss some of these strategies, and what they accomplish for Hospice workers.

**Concepts and Practices of Personal Care: The Fragile Self in Alzheimer's Disease**  
Chris Wellin, University of California, Berkeley

Critiques of paid caregiving acknowledge the tension between particularism and equity (or, in Deborah Stone's terms, "specialness versus fairness") as competing ethical and practical goals. Particularism in care connotes the extent to which it is conceived and carried out in response to distinctive, individual needs. A folk term for this quality of care, "personal care," is often invoked in contrast to the "impersonal care" we associate with large, bureaucratic institutions. But how are we to conceptualize and translate "personal care" in the public realm? This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in residential care settings for the aged diagnosed with Alzheimer's Disease. I clarify both the varied meanings and goals of providing personal care, in a context in which the subjective and social identity of the recipient is, at once, threatened and discredited. I document practical tensions between the demands for such care, and the labor market and regulatory language that equates "personal" with "bodily" care.

Session 2: The Meaning and Value of Carework Across the Life Span

Organizer: Nancy Marshall, Wellesley College

Presider: Nancy Marshall, Wellesley College

### **Carework in Early Child Care**

Nancy L. Marshall, Wellesley College

This presentation will focus on the experiences of licensed family child care providers, who care for unrelated children in their homes. Nancy Marshall will draw on a current study of 200 family child care providers to discuss the structural context of family child care; the working conditions of providers; the role of relationships between providers and children; the value ascribed to this type of work, and providers' motivations to provide care; social class differences between providers and families; variations in experiences for providers from different social class or race-ethnic groups; and key advocacy issues for family child care providers. For example, family child care providers generally work in isolation from other adults. Their primary relationships are with the children they care for, and their families. However, these relationships are a mixture of client-provider, friendship, partner in caregiving, and family-like models – and these different models of relationship can contribute to confusion.

### **Carework in School-Age Care and Youth Work**

Ellen Gannett, Wellesley College

Ellen Gannett will describe the context of carework in this field, including structural issues and working conditions; the role of relationships between workers and children; the value ascribed to this type of work; and key advocacy issues for workers in this field. For example, staff in after-school programs have traditionally worked part-time, in programs that operated from 3 pm to 6 pm. Staff whose primary work hours are part-time, are then expected to work full-days on holidays and vacation weeks – an irregular schedule that could be incompatible with other family responsibilities of the caregiver.

### **Carework in Elder Care**

Nancy Emerson Lombardo, Wellesley College

This presentation will draw on my experiences working on the Boston Minority Dementia Outreach and Caregiver Skills Training project, and with the Boston Chinese community to develop an in-home skills building intervention for Chinese speaking family caregivers of persons with dementia, as well as my experiences as a policy advocate in elder care. I will discuss the structure of informal caregiving in different ethnic communities; the role of relationships between caregivers and the elderly; the value ascribed to this type of work and the meaning that caregivers make; and key advocacy issues for informal caregivers.

### **Two Faces of Meaning in Elder Care**

Anne Noonan, Wellesley College

This presentation will address the "meaning in caregiving" construct as examined through qualitative and quantitative research approaches in a study of informal caregivers of the elderly. Anne Noonan will address what she has called the "two faces of meaning" -- the cognitive dimension of meaning (beliefs one holds about caregiving) and the emotional dimension (satisfaction with providing care and its benefits and rewards). These two faces can also be seen as two dynamics -- searching for meaning and finding meaning.

Session 3: Caring and Activism  
Organizer: David Merrill, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Presenter: David Merrill, University of Wisconsin, Madison

**Our Voices are Coming Out: Organizing and Activism among Family Childcare Providers**

Mary Tuominen, Denison University

The Family Child Care Initiative discussed in this paper is a vehicle for family child care providers “to identify our concerns, develop our leadership and organizing skills, and effectively address our concerns through community education, organizing and legislative advocacy.” Through participatory action research and semi-structured interviews with 47 family child care providers in Seattle's low income communities of color, Tuominen and members of Seattle Worthy Wages explore the political claims made by paid child care providers regarding the public value of their work and of themselves as paid care workers.

**Transforming Informal Child Care into Certified Family Child Care in the Latino Community**

Lynet Uttal, University of Wisconsin, Madison

This paper focuses on how a university-community research group (one professor, two graduate students and two undergraduate students collaborated with the Latino Outreach Specialist from a local resource and referral agency) worked together to transform informal care work into a formalized and certified practice in the Latino community in Madison, Wisconsin. This paper documents the efforts that were made to expand the number of certified Spanish speaking family childcare providers, innovations made to the certification process, and obstacles encountered.

## **The Connection Between Work and Care: The Possibility of Political Action in a Sample of Nurses, Nurses Aides, and Lay Caregivers**

Rishona Teres, Brandeis University

A small number of nurses, nurses aides, and lay caregivers will be interviewed using qualitative research methods as a pilot study for a doctoral dissertation. This study will examine the meaning of caregiving work, barriers to provision of care, connections between the barriers and care provided, connections among these different groups of caregivers, and routes to change, or political action. If possible, caregivers involved in a group in Massachusetts organizing a living wage and concomitant philosophy of care campaign, MASS SERVE, will also be interviewed. This group will serve as a comparison group as they are involved in a movement that bridges different groups of caregivers and through political action, makes the connection between work and the ability to provide care.

## **Raising Good Citizens in a Bad Society: An Ethnographic Study of Conversation about the Wider World**

Nina Eliasoph, University of Wisconsin, Madison

How do adults and youth talk about the wider world together? How do adults who themselves are alarmed about the state of the world--and especially alarmed about the state of care-giving itself--talk to kids about this world? When adults cannot call upon any specific cultural tradition to root moral and political positions, how do they try to hand down something that they don't have? How do youth invoke the wider world in their own interactions? Examining a wide range of day care centers, after-school and summer programs, service groups, and current events classes shows how people actually address these and other dilemmas, in various ways, in actual conversation.

Session 4: Gender, Carework and Economic Well-Being  
Organizer: Andrew S. London, Kent State University  
Presider: Cameron Macdonald, University of Connecticut

**Why Does Childcare Pay So Little? A Critical Guide to Common “Explanations”**

Julie A. Nelson, Harvard Divinity School

One hears many explanations for why child care wages are low. Economists offer technical-sounding explanations about human capital, compensating wage differentials, and crowding. Others argue that care work should not be done out of monetary interests, or that higher wages would raise child care costs beyond affordability. This essay, written by an economist, seeks to clarify for child care advocates the reasoning--and the fallacies --underlying these explanations.

**Childcare–Poor Work or Work for the Poor?**

Gill Scott and Usha Brown, Scottish Poverty Information Unit, Glasgow Caledonian University  
Jim Campbell, Scottish Trade Union Research Unit, Glasgow Caledonian University

Research into childcare in the UK has tended to examine the positive economic and social impacts on women workers who use the services. There has been little investigation into childcare as a form of paid work despite the fact that the expansion of childcare work which has accompanied the welfare to work policy agenda of New Labour has been heralded as a major initiative in the fight against family poverty. The paper will present recent findings which attempt to redress this situation, and highlight the growing paradox of a service essential for gender equality which is failing to establish sustainable employment and income progression for families targeted by social inclusion policies.



## **Economic Consequences of Caregiving for the Elderly on Women's Lives**

Chizuko Wakabayashi, Louisiana State University

Family caregiving for the elderly comprises a major part of familial obligations in later stages of family life. The family, however, is not a caregiving unit; it is women in the family who provide care. Theories of gender inequality suggest that the feminization of caregiving reflect women's politically and economically disadvantaged positions both in the family and in the labor market. This paper focuses on one dimension of this inequality.

Drawing the data from the National Survey of Families and Households, this study estimates how much the family caregiving provided by women affects their economic situations across the life course.

## **They're Just Not Learning It In the Home Anymore: Healthcare Employers' Implicit Gender Contract with Nursing Assistants**

Julie Whitaker, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Based on a qualitative study of nursing assistant work, this paper explores changes in the macro and micro level forces that determine the monetary value of mostly female caring labor in the healthcare industry. Through analysis of organizational data and interviews with key managers in hospital, home health, and assisted living facilities, it assesses whether labor shortages are forcing improvements in wages and other working conditions for non-professional caregivers. It explains why retention policies remain virtually non-existent despite problems with turnover and understaffing.

Session 5: Neighborhoods, Networks, and Care  
Organizers: Andrew S. London, Kent State University  
Joya Misra, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Presider: Andrew S. London, Kent State University

**Neighborhoods as a Locus of Inequalities in Carework**  
Sally Bould, University of Delaware

Inequalities among families raising children have been documented in an extensive literature on the effects of social class, race and the parents' gender. In addition, white middle class, two parent families can choose neighborhoods that provide not only good schools and a safe environment but also a caring and supportive context in which to supervise teenagers. This study analyzes 291 middle class suburban neighborhoods from the Northeastern United States. A majority of the suburban middle class neighborhoods in this study provide neighborhood social capital not only in terms of help but also some element of supervision over teenage behavior. These findings are contrasted with the situation in urban poor black neighborhoods where each parent, usually the mother, must be entirely self sufficient and cannot even count on the police for help.

**Integrating Single/Childless Adults into an Ethic of Care**  
E. Kay Trimberger, Sonoma State University

Much of the theoretical and empirical work advocating a more caring society has ignored single and childless adults or seen them as self absorbed – people who epitomize the individualist or careerist ethic that theorists of care wish to alter. This paper uses secondary quantitative and qualitative data, and qualitative examples from my own interviews, to challenge these views of single adults. I will show that the single and childless are important agents of care in kin and friendship networks, and in neighborhood and civic organizations. Giving cultural recognition to their care-work will increase the integration of single women and men in families and communities, and augment their contribution to a caring society.

## **The Role of Network-Based Support in the Transition from Welfare to Work**

Vicki Hunter, Kent State University

An important assumption underlying welfare reform policies is that women who are unable to become self-sufficient through work can rely on their family and friends for necessary assistance. The purpose of this research was to examine the use of informal networks by welfare-reliant women. In order to do this, I examined the following main topics: variations in the social support available to women, who provided different types of social support, the ways that women reciprocated that support, and the women's perceptions of their role within support networks. The data for this study consisted of ethnographic interviews with forty-five welfare-reliant mothers in Cleveland, Ohio in 1998.

## **Challenges Facing Mothers in Japan: Social Networks and the Scope of Child-Rearing Carework**

Yoko Yamamoto, University of California, Berkeley

Although Japanese mothers have been generally regarded as effective caretakers for children in cross-cultural studies, increasing reports of child-rearing neurosis and child-abuse within Japan question this belief. In order to elucidate current child-rearing issues, 120 Japanese mothers of preschoolers were interviewed and subsequently completed a questionnaire assessing social support and maternal efficacy. Mothers' role construction as caretakers and their satisfaction towards supports were analyzed utilizing mixed methods (i.e. both quantitative and qualitative). This study illustrates how beliefs and types of child-rearing are shaped by unique cultural models associated with social structure, and how the construction of an informal female network could exacerbate or relieve the burden of child-rearing in a society of "collectivism."

Session 6: Welfare States

Organizer: Pam Herd, Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

Presider: Pam Herd, Syracuse University Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

### **Health Care Reform in Canada**

Pat Armstrong, York University, for the National Coordinating Group on Health Care Reform and Women, a collaborative group that brings together the five federally-funded Canadian Centres of Excellence for Women's Health, the Canadian Women's Health Network, and Health Canada's Women's Health Bureau.

What is happening in Canadian health care reform? What does it mean for women? To address these questions, we use privatization as our central frame. We define the term more broadly than in the traditional economic sense, using privatization to include several different policy directions which limit the role of the public sector and define health care as a private responsibility. We are interested in what consequences reforms have for women as providers and patients, and their impact on women's participation in the decision-making process. But we are equally aware that there are other significant differences among women related to their physical, social, economic, cultural/racial locations and their age and sexual orientation. Which women are affected, in what ways, by which reforms are central questions in this work.

### **Across the Boundaries of Paid Work and Care Work in Low-Income America**

Lisa Dodson and Tiffany Manuel, Radcliffe/Harvard Public Policy Center

This paper will draw out central problems and "kitchen-table strategies" that working poor parents name as indigenous to their efforts to mediate the demands of work and caregiving, yet are often overlooked in the broader policy discourse. The paper will present initial findings from the parent data of the Across the Boundaries Project, a collaboration between the Radcliffe Public Policy Center and 9to5, National Association of Working Women funded by the Casey and Ford Foundations. This project seeks to identify, illuminate and support positive strategies and collaborations that exist "on the ground" between working-poor families, local employers, and community institutions.

## **Building the Dual Earner/Dual Carer Society: Policy Lessons from Europe**

Janet C. Gornick, City University of New York and Marcia K. Meyers, Columbia University

This paper assesses social and labor market policies that support parents' efforts to combine employment and caregiving, with a focus on child care, family leave, and the regulation of working time. We identify a policy package that is gender egalitarian and “child friendly”; it aims to enable and support symmetrical engagement in paid work and caregiving by mothers and fathers. In an empirical component, we assess the extent to which fourteen industrialized countries -- the United States, Canada, Australia, and eleven European countries -- are faring, as of the middle 1990s, vis-a-vis these goals. We close with policy recommendations tailored to the U.S.

## **Providing Care and Well-Being is Investment into Sustainable Wealth: The Finnish Experience**

Hilkka Pietila, Independent Researcher, Helsinki, Finland

The Nordic welfare society model is a result of a long term construction process towards equality, welfare and justice in general and between women and men. It emerged during the decades as a carefully regulated and democratically controlled system, without becoming a centrally planned, rigid state. Today the welfare societies are at stake, not because of lack of resources but of the neoliberal terms and conditions of the globalized economy implemented even at the national level. In Finland the welfare society is deeply founded within the societal matrix and therefore it is defended by the people themselves.

## **AFTERNOON PLENARY**

Plenary:        Resisting Care Inequalities: Challenges, Strategies and Coalition Building for  
                    Carework Activists

Presider:       Cameron Macdonald, University of Connecticut

### **Marcy Whitebook**

Institute for Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley; Founder, Center for the Child  
Care Workforce

### **Rose Ann DeMoro**

Executive Director, California Nurses Association

### **Karyl L. Draper**

Director of Clinical Services, AIDS Services Center, Los Angeles.

## **AFTERNOON CONCURRENT PAPER SESSIONS**

**Session 7: Carework for Children by Mothers and Teachers**

**Organizer:** Andrew S. London, Kent State University

**Presider:** Twyla J. Hill, Wichita State University

### **Situating Socialization: How Interactions Between Adults Shape the Ways Infants are Drawn into Social Life**

Sal Zerilli, University of California, Los Angeles

Researchers commonly argue that socialization involves older representatives of society modeling social action, revealing cultural meanings, creating a shared sense of reality, and passing on a world view to younger members. Yet, the socialization literature underappreciates how (a) the immediate social context of caregiving (i.e., interactions between caregivers) shapes how adults involve younger members in social life and (b) how other processes, such as sense-making and identity-maintenance, inform the socialization process. Based on year-long participation-observation fieldwork in a childcare center, I examine how adults use actions formally recognizable as socialization to regulate social relations among themselves and infants. Paying particular attention to how ongoing relations between adults shape the design of adult relations with infants, I explore how actions formally recognizable as socialization inform the enactment of adult identities and involve sense-making and management of infant behavior.

### **Inequality, Carework, and Mothers**

Demie Kurz, University of Pennsylvania

In the past decade, a small group of researchers has created an important body of scholarship on the subject of carework. With the exception of their focus on gender, however, these researchers have not given sufficient attention to the contexts of power and inequality in which careworkers, primarily women, do this work. For example, there has been little attention to how race and class hierarchies structure carework. Women careworkers are not all equal—white women and higher-class women careworkers often have greater access to resources than do women of color. This paper focuses on how power and inequality operate in the organization and provision of the carework that mothers do with their teenage children. I examine the stratification system among mothers with teenage children, which I define as the differential opportunities and resources that mothers have as they do the work of parenting. I look at mothers' relationship to race, class, gender and other hierarchies. My conclusions are based on interviews with a diverse sample of mothers, and some fathers, from urban and suburban communities.

## **Negotiating Obstacles: How Working Class Mothers Care for their Children's Future**

Erika Sanchez-Killian, University of California, Irvine

This study uses ethnographic methods to explore how single mother versus two parent households negotiate carework. Family structure and income impact the amount of carework that a parent can offer a child, which can affect a child's educational attainment. Children raised in a single mother household may face more obstacles than a child raised in a two-parent household. These obstacles limit a mother's time to devote to caring and carework. However, despite obstacles, there are mechanisms that mothers use to get their children on a path of upward mobility. My study suggests some of these mechanisms. I find that quality schooling and positive peer culture are the most prominent factors in achieving higher educational status. Access to high quality schools and positive peer culture can be achieved because of a mother's care and sacrifice.

## **Elementary School Teachers and Caring Work**

Ruth Curran Neild and Megan Hague, University of Pennsylvania

Scholars have alerted us to the "invisibility" of many caring tasks. These tasks are unseen largely because they involve mental activities, such as planning, assessing emotional states, balancing interests, or interpreting signals that indicate a need for care. While teaching is often classed as a "caring profession," we have an imperfect understanding of what their "caring work" consists of. Images of wiping runny noses and zipping jackets come to mind, but their work is actually more complex. In this paper, we argue that classrooms of reasonably content and happy students do not occur spontaneously; rather, they are created through the vigilant, though invisible, caring work of teachers. We explore the kind of caring work teachers perform for their pupils, and why this work is invisible. Utilizing ethnographic research methods to illuminate the care work that goes on inside an elementary school classroom, we focus on the activities of teachers as they participate in the *caring about*, *caring for* and *care giving* of young children.



Session 8: Inequalities in Health-Related Carework  
Organizers: Heather FitzGibbon, College of Wooster  
Amy Armenia, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Presiders: Heather FitzGibbon, College of Wooster  
Amy Armenia, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

**Stigmatizing Care: Medical Staff Perceptions of Psychiatric Patients in a General Hospital Emergency Room**

Eric R. Wright and Mathew Gayman, Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis,  
Terri Viggiano, University of Kentucky, N. Leela Rau, Indiana University School of Medicine,  
and Beverly Linde, Indiana University School of Nursing

The general hospital emergency room has emerged as a vital component of the community mental health system. Here we report an ethnographic study of the provision of psychiatric and general medical services to psychiatric patients in a general hospital ER in a large Mid-western city. Our data indicate that "psych patients" hold a special social status within the ER. Clinical staff members draw on a typology of "psych patients" in order to "manage" their care and the clinical uncertainties of psychiatric illness. Ultimately, these cultural beliefs shape interaction patterns and reinforce the societal stigma of mental illness.

**Catholic Hospitals and Differential Access to Reproductive Health Care**

Laury Oaks, University of California, Santa Barbara

This paper examines the concept of "reproductive stratification" and decreasing access to reproductive health care in the U.S. due to the acquisition of secular health care institutions by those with religious affiliations. The primary focus is on restrictions based on Catholic facilities' adherence to the Roman Catholic Church's moral teaching. The paper considers the apparent ideological contradiction that exists between Catholic health institutions' commitment to caring for the poor and uninsured and their denial of health services to clients who request specific services. Poor and uninsured women and men are most vulnerable to such policy restrictions, especially in those communities where the Catholic health system is the main health care provider.

## **The Race and Class of Women's Work: Reproducing Inequalities in Hospital Nursing and the Implications for Labor Solidarity**

Teresa Scherzer, University of California, San Francisco

This paper examines the historical race, gender, and class ideologies and structures that institutionalized a stratified hospital nursing workforce, and informed the nursing labor process and inter-group relations. The reproduction of inequalities within hospital nursing continues to inform how nursing labor is constructed by different stakeholders, and has important implications for labor solidarity and patient/public advocacy. The legacy of conflict within nursing ultimately tips the balance of power towards the corporations that dominate health care. Hospital nursing workers may join together, or may find themselves reproducing the historical conflicts and divisions that have fractured the bulk of the hospital workforce.

## **The Body of Work in Bodywork**

Ronnie Steinberg, Vanderbilt University

Since the 1970s, the U.S. has witnessed an exercise explosion. The growth in the number of bodyworkers has also been staggering. Yet the wages paid to those who conduct aerobic exercise classes, provide yoga instruction, and carry out therapeutic massages remains low and has not kept pace with the profitability of this new economic sector. Using a newly developed system of job description and evaluation to describe these types of bodywork, I analyze the skill, effort and responsibilities associated with bodywork. Through this systematic examination of the (largely invisible) work of these bodyworkers, I want to argue that this work is economically devalued and that these workers are seriously underpaid.

Session 9: Unpaid Care for Families: Practice and Policy  
Organizers: Sally Gallagher, Oregon State University  
Naomi Gerstel, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Presider: Sally Gallagher, Oregon State University  
Discussant: Naomi Gerstel, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

### **Men in Networks of Care for Children**

Karen V. Hansen, Brandeis University

This paper explores the ways that men – not just fathers, but uncles, friends, and grandfathers -- are involved in the lives of school-aged children. It is based on a qualitative study conducted in Northern California with forty people involved in four networks of care for children. Through probing and thoughtful reflections on their own fathers, their childhood, and the challenges of how to be a man involved in rearing children, these men talk about their relationships with children. As in other research on men, their accounts provide evidence of laughter and fun as well as the teaching of life skills and community responsibility.

### **Children's Housework in Working Class Mexican American Families**

Michele Adams and Scott Coltrane, University of California, Riverside

We look at children's housework and sibling care in a sample of 278 Mexican American and European American families. Findings show that MA children average significantly more housework per week than EA children. In dual-earner families, MA children do significantly less childcare than in single-earner families, and daughters do more childcare and housework than sons. Multivariate models support theories about the importance of ethnicity, gender, and ideology for the allocation of family work. In general, children's work tends to substitute for mothers' work, and allocation of children's housework tends to reflect traditional gender socialization patterns.

## **Caregiving in Low-Income Households: The Special Case of Children with Disabilities**

Jacquelyn Litt, Cynthia Needles Fletcher, Mary Winter, and Barbara Gaddis, Iowa State University

While 5 to 7% of all children in the US experience disability, 11 to 20% of welfare families have at least one disabled or chronically ill child. Low-income mothers of disabled children are more likely than middle-class mothers to forego employment and have longer than average periods of reliance on cash assistance. These findings have great implications for current evaluations of the work requirements instituted in the 1996 welfare reform act (PRWORA). Based on qualitative interviews with 29 Iowa mothers who received cash assistance and/or SSI for their disabled children, this article explores the everyday contexts within which women make decisions about employment and government assistance. According to our respondents, disabled children have great needs, which include but go beyond direct health-related carework such as giving medicines, palliative and rehabilitative care, etc. Mothers emphasize that their carework is oriented to and structured by the gaps that exist in the medical, educational, and governmental services their disabled children receive. Combined with beliefs about inflexible work requirements in the low-wage sector and lack of specialized child-care, mothers tell us that employment places their children --and their capacity to be a good mother -- at great risk.

## **Examining the Costs of Carework: The Case of Paid Family Leave**

Tiffany A. Manuel, Radcliffe Public Policy Center

This paper examines the issue of family leave within the context of unpaid carework (broadly construed) in the United States today. I examine the social context in which paid family leave discussions have emerged in the U.S. (with particular focus on the inequality engendering effects of unpaid leave). I explore the economic trends driving the increased demand for paid family leave and the economic arguments both for and against paid family leave proposals. Finally, I examine how these trends have shaped the contemporary policy and academic discourses around women, work, and family.

Session 10: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Carework  
Organizers: Joya Misra, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Andrew S. London, Kent State University  
Presider: Joya Misra, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

### **Three Types of Family Solidarity**

Christopher Davidson, University of California, Berkeley

Most literature on family-work conflict assumes the centrality of work as a source of meaning, and critiques the economic injustices of the market economy while skirting the issue of the cultural hegemony of the marketplace. I argue that work-family conflict is a manifestation of the hegemony of individualism and families' attempts to resist it. Using data from interviews with 5 upper-middle-class Jewish families, I argue that time bind conflicts are signs of competing allegiances to four sources of identity -- the expressive self, the utilitarian self, the extended family, and the community of memory. Time binds mask conflicts over the meaning of family, over who cares for whom, when and in what way.

### **Mothers of (Re-)Invention, Children of Innovation: How Cultural Care is Given and Received in "Mixed" Filipino-White Families**

Evelyn Rodriguez, University of California, Berkeley

This exploratory study uses data from twenty in-depth, individual interviews with mothers and children of nuclear families with one White parent and one Filipino parent, to ask: Why and how do mothers "culturally care" for their multiracial offspring? What, if any, effects does caring work have on these mothers, their children, and for our general understandings of "race" and "culture" in the United States? Framing my work with

Tronto and Fisher's "four phases of care," I argue that "cultural care" given by mothers of Filipino-White children is informed by their own experiences with "race" and difference, and is often unconscious, invisible, and unacknowledged. I show that multiple factors influence a multiracial person's "cultural" self-identity. And I show that multiracial families simultaneously perpetuate and challenge the current system of racial categorization that designates people with a single, unchanging "race."

### **Claiming the Marginalized: Cultural and Political Tensions in Caring for Abandoned Children in China**

Sara Dorow, University of Minnesota

Caring for marginalized people, especially when those people are children, involves not only claiming ways to meet their needs but also naming those needs to begin with. This 'naming and claiming' process occurs within social relations of power that are variously racial, cultural, national, and gendered. In this paper, I use ethnographic evidence to examine tensions around the processes of naming needs and claiming care of abandoned children in China, particularly among local and foreign caregivers in several cities in China. I further discuss how adoption as a potential antidote to the marginalization of abandoned children intervenes in those tensions.

Session 11: International Perspectives on Caring  
Organizer: Sally Bould, University of Delaware  
Presider: Sally Bould, University of Delaware

### **Caregiving and Transnational Elders**

Judith Treas and Shampa Mazumdar, University of California, Irvine

This paper investigates how caregiving arrangements affect older people's international migration. Intensive interviews with 34 older, foreign-born individuals, who were either residing in or visiting California in 1998 or 1999, are analyzed. Depending on their role in the homes of U.S.-based offspring and whether their stay is short or long term, older transnational individuals may be emergency caregivers, long term care recipients, long term visitors, or independents. Conflicts between caregiving and residential preferences are common. Caregiving binds older people to the U.S. despite a longing for their homeland. When they become dependent, they can find themselves marooned here.

### **California Nurses Speak About Managed Care**

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The purpose of this study is to examine the claims made for Managed Care, the increasingly important approach to health care delivery in the United States and one which the US is exporting throughout the world. More specifically, it examines the claims that Managed Care provides an integrated continuum of services; accountable, appropriate, quality care; and an emphasis on health promotion, or at least disease prevention. Based on the assumption that the mainly women who provide care know how the new management system works in practice, this paper explores how California nurses experience Managed Care and assess the claims made by those promoting such systems.

## **Caring as a Socially Recognized Value or the Ethics of the Gift in Italy**

Rossana Trifiletti, Università di Firenze

In the growing debate about welfare regimes and their comparison, feminist scholars are more and more confronted with the problem of care in a broad, “rich” sense. Women’s care work emerges as crucial in the discussion about the future of welfare states in Europe. The Italian case is of special interest from this point of view because Italy is only now attempting to build some universal coverage of social risks for care needs. As international comparisons show, Italy has an extreme situation as concerns care needs and as concerns care resources: having one of the most rapidly aging populations and having always solved care problems in the family. This familialistic approach to care is now confronted by the ‘importation’ of paid care workers from East Europe and non-European countries. The national culture, however, still defines care work as entirely a matter for family members, notably women.

## **'Not Just Paper Children': Transnational Motherhood among Filipina Domestic Workers in Toronto**

Rina Cohen, York University

Transnational motherhood is a result of social, racial, gender, and national inequality. Utilizing literature on transnationalism, motherhood, domestic workers and immigration policies in Canada, this study examines the experiences of Filipina mothers who are employed as domestic workers in Toronto while caring for children in the Philippines. Drawing on survey and in-depth interview data, this study documents the strategies employed by live-in domestic workers in constructing transnational motherhood. In order to endure long temporal and geographical separation from their children, transnational mothers enhance their role as breadwinners and condense their role as face-to-face nurturers, complimenting it with surrogates. They redefine motherhood to withstand the coerced necessity to mother from afar. The study concludes by presenting policy changes to enable live-in domestic workers to choose the kind of motherhood they would like to practice.