

**LINKING INFORMAL AND FORMAL CAREWORK:  
PERSPECTIVES FROM RESEARCH,  
POLICYMAKERS, AND ADVOCATES**

**FINAL PROGRAM**

THIRD ANNUAL CAREWORK CONFERENCE  
THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 2002  
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Welcome to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Carework Conference!

As you will see below, the conference offers a rich array of sessions and 2 stimulating plenaries. One new feature of the conference this year is a session where the papers are available for reading ahead of time. Session 10, Caring for Children, has an innovative format that provides working papers and abstracts for participants to read in advance of the session. This session will be a facilitated discussion of these papers, inviting all who are present to participate. Paper authors will come prepared with requests for feedback on specific issues in order to encourage a hearty discussion. Copies of these papers WILL NOT be available at the conference. Those who have NOT read in advance may attend, but we request that they do not verbally participate in the discussion. To print copies of the papers, click on the titles of the papers listed below under Session 10.

Thanks to the following people and organizations who made this conference possible, and support the work of the Carework Network:

- Loyola University
- The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Loyola University, and Dean William Yost of the Graduate School for helping to fund the conference
- The Alice Paul Center for Research on Women and Gender at the University of Pennsylvania
- Beck's Books, 6550 North Sheridan Road, for materials donated
- Sally Bould, Pamela Herd, Valerie Leiter, Erika Sanchez-Killian, Chris Wellin, Julie Whitaker, and Mary Ellen Yates for organizing panels for the conference
- Victoria Russo for working on registration and helping with local arrangements
- All of those who volunteered to serve as presidors and discussants for the panels
- Amy Armenia for serving as the Carework-Listserv administrator
- Meeta Advani for serving as the Carework Network Webmaster

The Carework Network Steering Committee, 2001-02

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For more information on the Carework Network, go to:

<http://www.sas.upenn.edu/wstudies/carework/>

Are you interested in joining the Carework Network Listserv? As a member of the listserv, you will receive messages about the network and about conferences. To subscribe, please send a brief message to the list administrator at [careadm@soc.umass.edu](mailto:careadm@soc.umass.edu). If you

are already on the listserv, and would like to contact all members, please send an e-mail message addressed to [carework-list@soc.umass.edu](mailto:carework-list@soc.umass.edu).

# Linking Informal and Formal Carework: Perspectives from Research, Policymakers, and Advocates Preliminary Program

Third Annual Carework Conference  
Thursday, August 15, 2002  
Loyola University in Chicago, IL

## Schedule Summary:

- 8:30-9:00 am            Registration; Coffee, Tea and Refreshments
- 9:00-9:15                Opening Remarks and Welcome  
*Demie Kurz*, University of Pennsylvania  
*Carolyn Farrel*, Associate Vice President and Director of the  
Gannon Center for Women and Leadership, Loyola University
- 9:15-10:30              PLENARY: The Hidden Costs of Formal and Informal Carework: A  
Collective Discussion  
  
                                  Presider: *Lynet Uttal*, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
  
                                  *Scott Coltrane*, University of California-Riverside  
*Mary Romero*, Arizona State University  
*Paula England*, Northwestern University
- 10:30-10:45             Break
- 10:45-12:15             PAPER SESSIONS:  
  
                                  - Interactions between Formal and Informal Care  
                                  - Race, Ethnicity, and Carework  
                                  - Global Perspectives on Carework  
                                  - Motherhood, Welfare Reform, and Workfare  
                                  - Parental and Elder Care  
                                  - Carework in Low Income Households  
                                  - Caregiving in Families and the Workplace
- 12:15-1:30 pm           Lunch (with Table Topics)  
  
                                  - Linking carework experience with research

- Paid and unpaid child care: issues and social policy
- Paid and unpaid elder care: issues and social policy
- Cross national perspectives on carework and the welfare state
- Globalization, immigration, and changing patterns of carework
- Race, class, gender, sexual orientation and paid and unpaid caring labor
- Family diversity and carework
- Disability and carework
- Open discussion on care topics and issues

1:30-3:00 pm

PAPER SESSIONS:

- Carework across the Life Course
- Compensation and Working Conditions of Carework
- Caring for Children
- Nursing Homes, Hospices, and Home Health Care
- Reconceptualizing Motherwork: Mothering and Care
- The Ethics of Care
- Inequalities and Care

3:00-3:15

Break

3:15-4:30

AFTERNOON PLENARY: ADVOCATES & CAREWORK

Presider: *Judith Wittner*, Loyola University

*Judith Walker Kendrick*, President, JCW, Incorporated  
*Roberta Lynch*, Deputy Director of AFSCME Council 31  
*Jennie Ward Robinson*, Director, Medical & Scientific Affairs,  
 Alzheimer's Association

4:30-4:45

Concluding Remarks

## **SCHEDULE:**

8:30-9:00 am

*Registration; Coffee, Tea and Refreshments*

9:00-9:15

*Opening Remarks and Welcome*

*Demie Kurz, University of Pennsylvania*

*Carolyn Farrel, Associate Vice President and Director of the Gannon Center for Women and Leadership, Loyola University*

9:15-10:30

**MORNING PLENARY**

*The Hidden Costs of Formal and Informal Carework: A Collective Discussion*

Presider: *Lynet Uttal, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

*Scott Coltrane, University of California-Riverside*

*“Gender and the Privatization of Carework”*

Scott Coltrane will examine the gendered subtext of recent policy proposals for “marriage promotion,” “responsible motherhood,” and “responsible fatherhood” focusing on the implications of informal and formal carework.

*Mary Romero, Arizona State University*

*“Unraveling Privilege: Workers’ Children and the Hidden Costs of Paid and Unpaid Child Care.”*

Mary Romero will examine how the formal organization of the work of private household workers and nannies impacts on the informal care they give their own family members.

*Paula England, Northwestern University*

*“Understanding Economic Penalties for Carework”*

Paula England will review explanations for why paid caring labor receives low wages and will suggest what changes in state subsidies and cultural views would need to happen to increase pay for caring labor.

10:30-10:45

Break

10:45-12:15

*Paper Sessions*

## **SESSION 1: Interactions Between Formal and Informal Care**

Organizer: *Valerie Leiter*, Brandeis University

Presider & Discussant: *Valerie Leiter*, Brandeis University

*Peggy Kahn*, University of Michigan-Flint

“Between Workplace and Family Time: Nursing Assistants Struggle to Care”

Low-paid mothers working as nursing assistants in nursing homes struggle to comply with workplace schedules and attendance policies while parenting their own young children, trying to reconcile work in a formal, bureaucratized care setting with the informal care work of parenting, in a post-welfare era. This paper reports a study of nursing assistants, mainly single parents of color, in two nursing homes, one unionized and one not, in a high-poverty Midwestern county. It focuses upon mothers’ experience of schedules and attendance policies as they try to reconcile both regular child care and supervision arrangements and irregular and unpredictable temporal demands of parenting with workplace policies, all in the context of limited public resources for parenting. It views mothers’ strategies of accommodation and resistance in the context of managerial structuring of work time, public policy and public institutional shaping of time, and mothers’ views of parenting, children and time.

*Jennifer Craft Morgan*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

*Leah Tilden*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

*Thomas Konrad*, Cecil G. Chaps Center for Health Services Research

“Informal Care Pathways Into and Out of Paid Caregiving”

Using qualitative data, this paper examines the interaction between informal and formal carework for currently working nursing assistants in North Carolina. Data for this paper come from open response survey data (N= 1486) and from focus groups (N=64) with nursing assistants. Our findings indicate that informal carework may be a pathway into and out of paid caregiving for a sizeable proportion of nursing assistants in NC. Finding ways to assure that these two spheres of carework reinforce each other may increase commitment of these individuals to work in the formal setting and enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of informal caregiving at home.



## **SESSION 2: Race, Ethnicity, and Carework**

Organizers: *Jacquelyn Litt*, Iowa State University, and *Erika Sanchez-Killian*, University of California-Irvine

Presider/Discussant: *Shirley Hill*, University of Kansas

*Patricia Drentea*, University of Alabama-Birmingham

*Melinda Goldner*, Union College

“Caregiving Outside the Home: The Effects of Race on Well-Being”

We use the stress process model to examine depression among blacks and whites who provide care outside of the home. Prior studies find that African Americans are more likely to provide care, but experiences less stress despite decreased resources. The stress process model allows us to examine stressors and resources, stemming from cultural and structural factors, that affect caregiver distress. Using the National Survey of Families and Household, we find that African Americans are less likely than whites to provide care outside of the home, but are more depressed due to the caregiving situation and their own physical impairment.

*Mariana Gerena*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

*Natalia Sarkisian*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

“Exploring Ethnic Variation: Carework, Class and Culture Among Latinos”

This paper explores differences and similarities between Mexican American and Puerto Ricans in terms of their family involvement, as measured by carework transfers among extended kin. Using NSFH data, we first describe differences and similarities in carework transfers, and assess the implication of our findings to using a unified "Latino/a" category in studying family involvement. Overall, we find more similarities than differences. There are, however, a few exceptions, the most notable one is in reciprocal exchanges of transportation. Second, to understand the sources of differences and similarities, we investigate the structural and cultural sources of ethnic variation in family involvement.

*Rachel Muñoz*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

*Natalia Sarkisian*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

“Caring 'Macho' Fathers?: A Comparison of Mexican American and Euro American Fathers' Carework”

Using NSFH data, this paper compares Euro American and Mexican American fathers on three aspects of carework that they do: spending time with the child, practical care (specifically, involvement in child's education) and emotional care. By looking at different types of care provided, we examine the complexity of ethnic differences in fathers' carework, that challenges the simplistic portrayals of Mexican American fatherhood.

Further, we delve into how race/ethnicity, culture and class inequalities affect carework and fatherhood by using cultural and structural variables to explain the ethnic differences in the type and amount of care that these fathers provide.

*Mary Tuominen, Denison University*

“I’m Putting Back Into My Community: Family Child Care as Community Work”

In interviews with family child care providers of diverse racial ethnic identities, I learned that many of the urban African-American family child care providers I interviewed acknowledge their family child care work as a means by which they consciously contribute to the betterment of their communities. Through providing "community care work" family child care providers consciously contribute to the economic and cultural viability of the entire community, as well as to the individual children and families that comprise the community. Among the African-American women I interviewed, community care work is motivated by a synthesis of personal, spiritual, economic, and cultural forces.

### **SESSION 3: Global Perspectives on Carework**

Organizers: *Sally Bould, University of Delaware, and Pamela Herd, Syracuse University*

Presider: *Pamela Herd, Syracuse University*

*Sally Bould, University of Delaware*

“Women as Workers or Women as Carers: Policy Choices”

This paper will examine the different policy perspectives on motherhood comparing Scandinavia to the United States as polar opposites in their approach to motherhood in the postwar years. The US policy has focused upon mothers as carers for children, especially young children. This approach strongly encourages mothers to devote full time to caretaking activities and discourages investment in her human capital as well as in daycare. It also requires marriage to a man who will support the family. The US approach has created a much greater gap between the income of lone mother families and married mother families than exists in Sweden. The Swedish model provides a form of social insurance for mothers in stressing and enhancing their work force activity throughout their lifetime.

*Rebecca Burwell, Loyola University*

“Women, the State, and Motherhood in Cuba: What does it mean to 'Mother'?”

This presentation will focus on the construction of motherhood in Cuba, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The author examines how women negotiate the demands of wage-earning and care-giving during a time of widespread economic national crisis. In addition, I examine how women construct what it means to "mother" within a state-centered, third - world country, where women are, on the one hand, regarded as men's equals, but on the other hand, are assumed to be "different," based on their responsibilities as mothers and care-givers.

*Carrie L. Yodanis*, University of Fribourg

*Sean R. Lauer*, University of British Columbia

“Employee, Family, or Foreign Visitor: Cross-National Variation in the Definition of Au Pairs”

This paper examines cross-national variation in how au pairs are defined. In some countries, they are defined as employees, while in other countries, they are family members or foreign visitors. Using data from in-depth interviews with representatives from international au pair associations, we explore how differences in definitions may be related to cross-cultural variation in the work conditions of au pairs and play a role in making paid childcare accessible and acceptable within different gender regimes. The research presented in this paper will shed light on how third parties, including governments and organizations, may impact family dynamics involving paid caregivers.

#### **SESSION 4: Motherhood, Welfare Reform, and Workfare**

Organizers: *Jacquelyn Litt*, Iowa State University, and *Erika Sanchez-Killian*, University of California-Irvine

Presider and Discussant: *Stacey Oliker*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

*Heather Fitz Gibbon*, The College of Wooster

“Learning to Mother : The Definition of Motherhood by Participants in a Welfare Reform Parenting Class”

The paper concerns definitions of motherhood among working class and poor mothers, and the conflict between these definitions and middle-class perspectives on parenting. In particular, it centers on interviews with about 50 mothers who have participated in a mandated family literacy program. A major component of the program involves instruction in parenting skills. The paper examines the redefinition of the meaning of motherhood as women progress through the program, and conflicts between pre-existing definitions and the perspectives of the professional staff conducting the training.

*Deborah L. Little*, University of Michigan

“Negotiating State Support: Welfare-reliant mothers, Workfare, and Resistance”

In this paper I explore the ways in which welfare-reliant women negotiate the gap between state policy mandating wage work and their lived experiences as caretakers juggling support from unstable wage-work, unreliable men, and insufficient public assistance. The research is based on 2 periods of ethnographic research, first under the Family Support

Act and then under PRWORA. I examine the strategies of resistance used by mothers as they confront evolving work demands.

*Ellen K. Scott*, University of Oregon

*Andrew S. London*, Syracuse University

“Vicious Cycles: Finding Care for Children at Home, Performing Care for Wages Outside the Home”

In the context of welfare reform, poor women must forego providing full-time care to their own children in order to enter the labor force, where they often find themselves providing care for others at low wages and without benefits. Moving from welfare to work, many women transition from being full-time providers of care to organizers of care, often expending considerable effort to patch together adequate care for their children from multiple sources. Drawing on longitudinal ethnographic data, we examine how families with multiple children juggled child care needs of different aged children as mothers moved into the labor force under the mandate of time limited welfare.

*Jill Weigt*, University of Oregon, Center for the Study of Women in Society

“The Work of Mothering: Welfare Reform and the Carework of Poor and Working Class Women”

Welfare reform of 1996 mandates work or work activities as a condition of welfare receipt, complicating the already arduous task of mothering in poverty. Few scholars have focused on the carework of poor and working class mothers — that is, how mothers accomplish the acts of caring for their children in difficult circumstances (e.g., Polakow 1993, Schepers-Hughes 1987, Connolly 2000) — let alone under the extra layer of hardship that welfare reform adds. This paper, drawing on both qualitative and quantitative data, seeks to accomplish this task as well as adding to understandings of carework and the reproduction of the intersecting systems of race, class, and gender.

## **SESSION 5: Parental and Elder Care**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Presider: *Sarah Kaplan*, University of Pennsylvania

Discussant: *Frances Hicks*, George Mason University & North Virginia Community College

*Sun-Kang Koh*, Iowa State University

*Maurice McDonald*, Iowa State University

“Financial Reciprocity and Elder Care: Understanding Multiple, Interdependent Resource Transfers”

The main purposes of this study are to examine the influence of parent-to-child financial transfers and economic resources on caregiving, time help and co-residence as multiple, interdependent transfers from middle-aged adult children to their elderly parents. We find strong positive effects of prior parent-to-child financial transfers in the models of caregiving and time-help, which indicates the importance of reciprocity. Our results suggest there may be important inequities among adult children with respect to the burden of elder care. Caregivers are more likely to provide time help as well as personal care, and they have less education and more long term health problems than their peers.

*Pei-Chia Lan*, National Taiwan University

“Subcontracting Filial Piety: Elder Care in Ethnic Chinese Immigrant Communities”

Based on in-depth interviews with middle-class Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrant families in California, I examine how the cultural meanings and social practices of filial care for aging parents have been transformed in the U.S. context. I analyze the commodification of elder care from three dimensions—where care takes place, who gives care, and who pays for care—and examine its impacts on the meanings and boundaries of Chinese families. Although three-generational cohabitation may have declined on foreign soil, the family remains the nexus of care networks and economic ties among Chinese immigrants. Through recruiting home care workers as fictive kin, immigrant adult children are able to maintain the cultural ideal of filial care. The receipt of public care among immigrant elders does not necessarily indicate the diminishment of family bonds, but reinforces kin connections as channels for circulating economic resources.

*Lori Wiebold-Lippisch*, University of Kansas

“The Ungloried Self: Identity Transformation of Parental Caregivers”

This article examines an identity transformation into an “ungloried self” by women involved in parental care utilizing data from in-depth interviews and observations of caregiver support group meetings. The ungloried self is the one-dimensional self that emerges from social interactions and the responsibilities of parental caregiving. The identity transformation is a process, beginning with entry into the caregiving role, followed by the increasing demands driving role attenuation and engulfment (including constant worry), and finally, feelings of resentment and hostility towards family members. The ungloried self is emotionally and physically draining, rarely rewarded in our society, and is even a source of family tension and conflict. By failing to provide alternative carework arrangements, the current governmental policies plays a part in the transformation of women into an ungloried self.

## **SESSION 6: Carework In Low Income Households**

Organizers: *Jacquelyn Litt*, Iowa State University, and *Erika Sanchez-Killian*, University of California-Irvine

Presider and Discussant: *Mary Zimmerman*, University of Kansas

*Erika Sanchez-Killian*, University of California-Irvine

*Francesca Cancian*, University of California-Irvine

“Latina Mothers: Balancing Carework and College”

This research explores how low income Latina mothers negotiate caring while trying to pursue higher education. Using a multi-methods approach, we explore how 54 Latina mothers balance gender norms, family expectations, and being a student in a community college. Our research highlights how the mothers' environment impacts academic success as defined by the mothers. Preliminary results show that mothers are more likely to reach their educational goals if (1) they have more egalitarian relationships with their boyfriends/husbands, (2) their family and boyfriends/husbands encourage them to stay in college, and help with child care, (3) attend a support group for mothers in college, and (4) encounter helpful advisors at the college.

*Lisa Dodson*, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

*Jillian Dickert*, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

“The Work of Children: A Meta-Analysis of Low-Income Work and Family Life Patterns”

This paper uses a meta-analysis of qualitative research undertaken from 1990-2001 to explore patterns of caregiving and domestic labor in low-income families. Data suggest that child labor is relied upon routinely as an adaptive response to low-wages and parental/adult absence stemming from increasing participation in low-wage labor market and declining social supports for poor families. Drawing from six studies (in-depth interviews, interpretive focus groups, ethnographic methods and informant observations) we synthesize the discussion of approximately 500 women and girls from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to analyze this important yet hidden solution to the work-family imbalance in low-income America.

*Kathryn Feltey*, University of Akron

“Homeless Mothers Care: A Model of Carework in the Absence of Home”

There are myriad circumstances that lead to homelessness for mothers and their children, but a common reality is the loss of the physical space where they shared family life together. Without home, and the material resources associated with home life, how do mothers care for their children and maintain their families? This paper explores the experiences of women residing in a transitional housing program for homeless families in during the late 1990s. The question guiding this inquiry is how do mothers provide care and maintain family when they lose access to the physical space of home? How can their lived experiences be used to guide policy making for all families?

*Susan Walker*, University of Maryland-College Park

*Kathy Reschke*, Ohio State University

“Understanding the Child Care Choices of Rural, Low Income Mothers: Is Kith and Kin Care the Only or Best Available Option?”

Low income, rural mothers are most likely to choose family and friends to provide child care, over regulated options. This may be because options are limited in rural areas, given sparse populations, transportation demands, and small numbers of formal operations. Relative care may also be a preferred option for rural mothers because of reliance and trust in kin. To better understand the dynamics involved in the child care choices of rural, low income women, qualitative data from a 15 state study were examined using a coding scheme based on Emlen's parental assessment of quality. Policy implications will be discussed.

## **SESSION 7: Caregiving in Families and the Workplace**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Presider: *Marjorie B. Schaafsma*, University of Chicago

Discussant: *Ronnie J. Steinberg*, Vanderbilt University

*Ingrid Rystedt*, New Hampshire Dartmouth Psychiatric Research Center

*Robin Clark*, New Hampshire Dartmouth Psychiatric Research Center

“Self-Reported Role Strain Among Family Caregivers of Adults with Comorbid Severe Mental Illness and Substance Abuse: the Relationship with Future Caregiving Patterns”

This paper explores the relationship between the caregiving experience (conceptualized as role strain) and future caregiving behavior. Associations between caregiving intensity and perceptions of role strain are evaluated. Family caregiving among adults with dual disorders (comorbid mental illness and substance abuse) is associated with improved client outcomes (Clark, 2001) and reduced formal treatment costs (Clark, in press). Consequently, if role strain and caregiving intensity are inversely related, it seems plausible policies enacted to relieve caregiver role strain will concurrently reduce treatment costs. Support to caregiving families may be an essential component of a cost-effective treatment of adults with dual disorders.

*Peter Meiksins*, Cleveland State University

*Peter Whalley, Loyola University*

“Why Do We Need Both to Work and to Care: Lessons from Part-time Technical Professionals”

This paper argues that it is misleading to see paid work and care work as providing radically different gratifications to those who perform them. Drawing on interviews with 127 part-time technical professionals (who are seeking to do both), it argues that the two spheres are not opposites. People perform care work in paid employment; they also achieve work-like satisfactions through care. The desire to work part-time centers on the need to be able to spend time both at work and at home and to derive a variety of pleasures from both.

*Heather Jacobson, Brandeis University*

“The Go-Between as Carework: Facilitating Family Connections within Cross-National Families”

This paper examines the activity of facilitating connections between spouses/partners and families of origin within Asian national/Euro-American couples residing in the U.S. This study argues that the labor needed to connect with kin, to maintain those ties, and to facilitate the entrance of new members into families is intense work and should be incorporated into understandings of carework. The concept of the “go-between” is developed to capture the phenomena of linguistic and cultural translation which often accompanies the facilitating of connections between various family members within these families.

*Miliann Kang, Grinnell College*

“I Do it All the Same: Simultaneous Performance of Carework and Paid Work in Immigrant Entrepreneurial Establishments”

For many immigrant women, especially the self-employed, carework and paid work are not temporally or spatially distinct practices but are simultaneously performed in common sites. This case study of Korean immigrant entrepreneurs and workers in New York City nail salons examines how women create and are drawn into economic activities that allow them to care for children at the workplace. Based on interviews (N=25) and participant observations, the paper first demonstrates how the flexibility to perform childcare at the work site creates incentives and opportunities for immigrant women to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Second, it examines the micro practices of negotiation the simultaneous performance of carework and paid work at the work site. Finally, it explores the outcomes of these arrangements for the worker/caregiver, the child and the parent-child relationship.

12:15-1:30 pm

*Lunch (with Table Topics)*



1:30-3:00

*PAPER SESSIONS*

**SESSION 8: Carework Across the Life Course**

Organizers: *Chris Wellin*, Miami University, and *Mary Ellen Yates*, Harvard University  
Presider: *Chris Wellin*, Miami University

*Christopher Dmitri Davidson*, University of California-Berkeley  
“Narratives of Care Among Observant Jewish Families: The Meaning of Religious Participation.”

This paper examines religious participation from a care perspective. 1-on-1 interviews revealed that observant Jewish families built domestic solidarity through 4 narratives of care, each with implications for family members’ caregiving patterns and their participation in synagogue life. Narratives were utilitarian, valuing achievement; expressive, focused on self-expression/awareness; familist, prizing kin loyalties; or communal, valuing communal loyalties and civic participation. Both rigid and disjointed narratives were associated with family troubles. Solidarity was sustained by flexible but shared narratives that sacrificed consistency for mutual recognition and debate.

*Shelley Eriksen*, California State University-Long Beach  
“Adult Siblings, Parents, and Parent Care Across the Life Course”

The scant research in family sociology on adult sibling ties is conducted through one of two-non overlapping lenses: either from the point of view of sibling relationships themselves, or from the angle of parent care and how (typically) the failing health of a parent acts as a catalyst for change in adult sibling ties. This paper links these two parallel lines of research by assessing the degree to which parents shape sibling relationships over time, either in terms of their actions when their children were young, or in the contemporary context, both when parents require care and when they do not.

*Bonnie Fox*, University of Toronto  
“Becoming Parents: The Relational Dynamics that Produce Mothers and Fathers”

This paper explores the gender inequalities that are produced as heterosexual couples develop their parenting practices. It assumes that people “do gender” in their mothering

and fathering practices, that there is variation in how different couples do gender, and that gender is constructed from the negotiations that occur between women and men as they grapple with the responsibilities of parenthood. Based on a series of in-depth interviews of 40 first-time parents, the paper explores the mutual social construction of mothering and fathering practices in the postpartum period, and some of the ways women's dependence on men is enhanced in that process.

## **SESSION 9: Compensation & Working Conditions of Carework**

Organizers: *Andrew S. London*, Syracuse University, and *Julie Whitaker*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Presider: *Andrew S. London*, Syracuse University

*Amy Armenia*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

“'Apples and Oranges': A Comparison of Unionization and Professionalization Campaigns for Family Day Care Providers.”

Family day care workers, like other care workers, face a dilemma of whether to try to improve compensation and working conditions through professionalization or collective action. We know little about the character of these different approaches, and the potential advantages and drawbacks associated with them. By comparing two organizations in Illinois – one child advocacy organization focused on professional development, and one labor union organizing family day care workers -- this study aims to provide a more in-depth examination of these approaches, their strategies for effecting change, and the extent to which these campaigns represent and incorporate the concerns of the family day care workforce.

*Jennifer Park-Jadotte*, Institute for Women's Policy Research

*Stacie Golin*, Institute for Women's Policy Research

“An Analysis of Child Care Compensation and Retention Initiatives”

This report details findings on effective ways for state and local governments to increase child care staff wages and decrease workforce turnover. In this paper, we have conducted an analysis of formally and informally evaluated child care wage initiatives to increase provider wages in the states. Both state and local models are examined. The purpose of this project is to provide information to stakeholders about successes of alternative wage strategies in a variety of contexts. Additionally, findings can serve as valuable tools for advocates in states that have not enacted policies targeted to decreasing turnover in the child care workforce.

*Julie Whitaker*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

“Laboring in the Compassion Economy: Does Work Culture Contribute to Low Wages in Entry-level Healthcare Work?”

There has been a great deal of theorizing in recent years around the problem of low wages for carework. A significant facet of the problem relates to the work culture in which carework takes place. This paper addresses the question, do the expectations and actions of careworkers themselves perpetuate low wages in their occupations? Based on a qualitative case study of entry-level healthcare workers, I argue that workers recognize the existence of economic injustice in their workplaces, but nonetheless take part in a work culture that serves to devalue their work. The work culture I theorize in this paper is consistent with a larger economy of wage setting in the healthcare industry that I call the "compassion economy," in which skills are naturalized and workers' desires for material rewards are juxtaposed to motives rooted in compassion.

### **SESSION 10: Caring for Children: Innovative Pre-reading Panel**

Session 10 has an innovative format that provides working papers and abstracts for participants to read in advance of the session. This session will be a facilitated discussion of these papers, inviting all who are present to participate. Paper authors will come prepared with requests for feedback on specific issues in order to encourage a hearty discussion. Copies of these papers WILL NOT be available at the conference. Those who have NOT read in advance may attend, but we request that they do not verbally participate in the discussion. To print copies of the papers, click on the titles of the papers listed below.

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Presider: *Lynet Uttal*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Julia R. Henly*, University of Chicago

*Juliet Bromer*, University of Chicago

[“Conceptualizing the work of formal and informal child care providers: A theoretical framework”](#)

This paper develops a conceptual framework for understanding the caregiving work of formal and informal childcare providers. Initial research suggests some providers extend their caregiving beyond the direct care of children. These providers develop close relationships with parents and are sources of community support. Providers may offer parents and neighbors emotional guidance, employment advice, or concrete assistance besides childcare. Several factors may shape the expansiveness of childcare work such as mode of care, provider professionalism, motivations, community context, and reciprocity considerations. Preliminary data from an ongoing study of providers and a previous study of family childcare providers will be presented.

*Katrina Kriz*, Brandeis University

[“Kindergarten, Nursery, Dagis: Parents’ Views on Institutional Childcare for Preschool-Age Children in Germany, Britain and Sweden”](#)

This paper draws on one hundred in-depth interviews with parents of preschool children in Germany, Britain and Sweden to compare their ideas about institutional childcare. I argue that parents’ perceptions of the value of *Kindergarten*, *nursery* and *dagis* vary across countries and reflect the normative gendered messages and institutional structures of government family policies. Building on studies on childcare in working-class and middle-class families, I also investigate whether parents from different socio-economic backgrounds have different perspectives on institutional childcare.

*Sarah H. Matthews*, Cleveland State University

[“Viewing Urban Children as Care Recipients: The Other Side”](#)

This paper draws on ethnographic data collected over two years about children who lived with their mothers in a residential drug treatment program to address the question, what constitutes care in children’s lives? Evidence is provided of the care meted out by the adults whom the children encountered in their everyday lives—mothers and staff members of the program, a school, and a settlement house. Through the focus on children as care recipients, the argument is made that privileging careworkers’ over recipients’ perspectives shrouds important questions about quality of care that emerge when carework is viewed as a relationship rather than as a role.

*Jane E. Samuelson*, Project Hope

*Barbara Glaessner Novak*

[“Do These Women Know that the Government Is Worried about Them? The Separate Worlds of Government Daycare Initiatives and Immigrant Mexican Women”](#)

With the advent of welfare reform and public funds for license-exempt in-home care for children, public officials, child care professionals and other stakeholders have focused their concern on the quality of such care. With in-home, or kith and kin, child care in the spotlight many argue for the superiority of center-based care and for increased regulation of other kinds of child care. This paper summarizes results of an ethnographic study of women in an immigrant Mexican community in a large metropolitan area. The authors arrived at a complex picture of parents and in-home caregivers working to take care of children in the context of recent immigration, economic deprivation, and cultural and linguistic isolation. The interests and concerns of parents and caregivers, along with the context of their lives, may provide some means to analyze our attitudes about childcare and help us make more informed decisions about daycare policy.

*Jennifer A. Reich*, University of California, San Francisco

[“Competing Definitions of Care and Custody: Power Negotiations Between Parents and the State in Child Maltreatment Investigations”](#)

Using qualitative data collected through observations with social workers charged with investigating child abuse and neglect, I show how a parent's relative willingness to accept the state's definition of adequate care determines whether children are removed from their home or left with their parents. This paper focuses specifically on two cases with similar facts, yet divergent outcomes. By looking at these two cases, I demonstrate how the state enforces a specific formal definition of adequate care and rejects local informal definitions, even when not relevant to the stated goal of protecting children.

## **SESSION 11: Nursing Homes, Hospices, and Home Health Care**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

President: *Linda Delp*, University of California-Los Angeles

Discussant: *Hannah Wartenberg*, Southampton College

*Celia Berdes*, Northwestern University

*John M. Eckert*, Statewide Independent Living Council

"The Language of Caring: Emotion Work of Nurses Aides in Three Nursing Homes"

This paper reports on a series of interviews with nurses aides and residents of long-term care facilities. The data show that (1) aides describe their caring relationships with residents as fictive kinship (2) they derive a standard of care from their experiences of family care; (3) aides value their caring by contrasting it with uncaring family caregivers; (4) they experience a kind of culture shock at how white Americans care for their elderly. We conclude that aides derived self-meaning from caring. They are performing highly demanding emotion work, but have found a route to the use of genuine emotion in their work.

*John Fox*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

"The Emerging Social Identities of Hospice Volunteers"

Using basic concepts from symbolic interactionism, this paper examines how the hospice director, volunteer coordinator, a nurse, a social worker, and established volunteers shape the identities of new volunteers within a hospice organization. Data for this study were gathered during volunteer training sessions, and supplemented by training materials. The emerging identities of hospice volunteers were related not only to the job they were expected to perform, but how they were expected to think and feel about their jobs. The paper concludes by stating that the hospice volunteer identity is constructed in relation to

other hospice identities and through the interaction between thoughts, feelings, and actions.

*Clare Stacey*, University of California-Davis  
“Who Cares? Home Health Workers and the Negotiation of Carework”

This paper considers the organization of carework within the context of in-home care for elderly, disabled and chronically ill adults. Of particular interest is how social workers, public health nurses, home health aides and family caregivers manage the shared jurisdiction of home care. Data collected from qualitative interviews with in-home caregivers suggest that ‘orientations to care’ are highly variable and dependent on the professional status and the class/racial location of the caregiver. I argue that scholars of carework should take a closer look at the negotiation of formal and informal care characteristic of in-home services.

## **SESSION 12: Reconceptualizing Motherwork: Mothering and Care**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst  
Presider: *Demie Kurz*, University of Pennsylvania  
Discussant: *Allison Pugh*, University of California-Berkeley

*Jill Susan Feldman*, Child and Adolescent Division, Turning Point  
“Motherwork: Strategies for Creating Family and Constructing Gender”

This paper shares some of the results of qualitative research conducted toward completion of my dissertation in the area of gender theory. Through in-depth interviews with mothers of adolescent girls three overlapping and complimentary approaches to mothering were identified. These are described as emotion work, linkage work and power without legitimacy. Emotion work is the monitoring and regulating the affective state of individual family members as well as that of the family as a whole. Linkage work is translating needs and demands between the private sphere of the family and the larger public sphere. The third approach is defined by a mother’s access to power. Power in the domestic arena is distinguished by its lack of publically legitimized authority. While mothers have responsibilities for managing the affairs of the family, they do not have the accompanying status which adheres to paid employment. As a consequence mothers access alternative sources of power in order to carry out their work.

*Christa Kelleher*, Brandeis University  
“The Labor Doesn’t End at Birth: Experiencing the Physical Demands of Early Mothering”

While there has been extensive sociological research on childbirth in North America, there has been relatively little focus on the early postpartum period and women’s caregiving

practices during this time. Based on interviews with fifty-six Canadian and American women, this paper investigates the ways in which women engage in physically demanding caregiving practices during the first month after birth, and speculates about the structural and ideological factors that contribute to women's common experiences. Specifically, the researcher considers women's experiences of the recovery process, breastfeeding and sleep deprivation in her analysis.

*JoAnn Rogers*, Iowa State University

*Jacquelyn Litt*, Iowa State University

"Motherwork as Racial Boundary: A Case Study in White Supremacy"

This paper examines how motherhood is used to forge racialized boundaries in a white separatist group. Though their role as caretakers women, are called upon to forge racial segregation. Women's reproductive labor in the private sphere is the foundation for the transmission of white supremacy into the dominant culture maintaining the lineage of white race. This research demonstrates that these women are formulating ideas about motherhood, work, and reproduction through practices that most women participate in regardless of race. We suggest that feminists pay more attention to articulating how these extreme forms of racialized caretaking construct racial inequality.

*Yoko Yamamoto*, University of California-Berkeley

"Identities and Involvement in Child-rearing among Current Middle-class Mothers in Japan"

In this presentation, I demonstrate how the Japanese educational system has affected mothers' identities and child-rearing carework. Participants consist of twenty Japanese mothers whose children do not yet attend elementary school. Mothers in this small sample demonstrate a strong sense of maternal responsibility in child-rearing. Some mothers reveal that this responsibility is central to the development of their identity. High expenses perpetuated by educational competition and desire to extend educational opportunities result in mothers being psychologically and financially prepared for the children's education even before the child enters school.

## **SESSION 13: Ethics and Values of Care**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Presider and Discussant: *Joan Tronto*, Hunter College of the City University of New York

*Susan Sverdrup-Phillips*, University of Waterloo

"Fiduciary ethical dilemmas and distress in the lived experience of social workers, nurses and teachers during client, patient and student perpetrated aggressive incidents in the workplace"

Semi-structured interviews with 33 nurses, social workers and teachers about their experiences of workplace aggression show a consistent concern by these front-line

professionals to "do the right thing." Multiple concerns and conflicts in caring for clients/patients/students and one's own family and well being complicate the definition of "the right thing." Deliberation over these issues is a source of stress for these professionals, which is managed individually. However, several participants stepped out of the caring role and spoke frankly about fears and anger toward clients, patients, students as well as supervisors and management. Ethical dilemmas and distress surrounding the fiduciary role of front-line workers are part of the everyday/night responsibility of caring professionals that remains unacknowledged and unpaid.

*Jennifer A. Parks*, Loyola University

"No Place Like Home? The Ethics of Formal and Informal Care Provision in Home Health Care"

My paper will consider the ethical problems associated with the treatment of home care workers, both paid and unpaid. As I will indicate, the answer to "why home care?" is an economic one: as hospitals discharge patients "sicker and quicker," and as the cost of nursing home care continues to rise, home health care becomes an increasingly desirable mode of caretaking. Furthermore, since the care of prematurely-discharged elderly patients falls largely on female family members, and the remaining inadequate allotment of government-funded care is carried out by poorly paid, non-professional home care aides, the cost savings of home care may prove great. But as I will argue, these savings are achieved by exploiting the informal care provided through family relationships and/or the formal care services provided by home care aides, who constitute some of the lowest paid workers in the service industry.

*Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

"Variations in Support for Family Caregiving: the Role of Religious Parties"

Current research on welfare states emphasizes grouping countries by their policies and traditions. One of these groups is "family-oriented" corporatist countries; policies in these nations have been shaped by religious parties (such as Christian Democratic parties). These nations are thought to support family care giving in certain ways, perhaps shoring up traditional values. Yet there appear to be significant variation between these corporatist countries in the policies that they have adopted. This research explores how nations with religious parties that espouse pro-family values actually compare to one another, and to other nations, in terms of their support for family care giving. One key finding is that there are many different kinds of support for family care giving, with different implications, particularly in terms of supporting labor force participation of women.

## **SESSION 14: Inequalities and Care**

Organizer: *Joya Misra*, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

Presider: *Catherine Richards*, Syracuse University

*Nina Eliasoph*, University of Wisconsin-Madison



“Talking about Caring and Justice: Adults and Youth in Everyday Conversation”

For "the politics of care," the categories of politics and morality are not neatly separable. Ordinary people must do the dividing in everyday conversation. Conversation in current events classes, afterschool and summer programs, and service learning projects in a socially diverse elementary school reveals dilemmas participants face when talking about politics and moral responsibility. Their dilemma is to decipher an unjust, deformed world to each other without saying that that world (that created them) has hopelessly deformed participants. The dilemma worked differently when youth occupied different spots on the social hierarchy.

*Rachel Sherman*, University of California-Berkeley

“Producing Inequality through Care: Luxury Service in Hotels”

This paper looks at a form of caring labor that has been neglected by students both of care work and of emotional labor in the workplace: luxury service. Drawing on 12 months of ethnography in two luxury hotels and 50 interviews with the participants, I demonstrate that many of the elements of care that differentiate luxury service from non-luxury service are indicators of care. In contrast to some kinds of marketized care work in which commodification and bureaucratization have led to the elimination of intangible dimensions of care, in luxury service these "extra" elements are the key to profit and are therefore supported by management. My evidence further indicates that the "needs" that met in the luxury hotels are also often acquired there, as guests describe a process of learning what they are supposed to want and to do in the hotel. I argue that this process of consumption of care in the luxury environment produces and reinforces a particular sense of self as especially entitled to consume care, which in turn creates class dispositions significant for guests' consumption and interpersonal relations beyond the hotel.

*Teresa Swartz*, University of Minnesota

“Contracting Care: The Gender, Class and Ethnic Dimensions of Carework in a Private, Non-Profit Foster Care Agency”

This paper examines the perceptions and experiences of foster mothers and social workers in a state contracted, private, non-profit foster family agency. While these care providers shared a gendered commitment to caring for children, their notions of how to do this varied in association with their class, ethnic and occupational positions. Privatization added further dimensions to foster care by inserting market forces into a system largely understood by the participants as governed by an ethic of care. This work illustrates the complexities of "carework" for vulnerable populations under conditions of multiple and contradictory perspectives and goals in bureaucratic system.

*Rebecca Reviere*, Howard University

*Mxolisi S. B. Siwatu*, Howard University

*Heather L. Caruth*, Howard University

“Race and Gender Differences in Care Burden for People Dying of Cancer”

Caring for dying individuals is complicated by many factors, and there is little available information to describe that experience. Here we use the National Mortality Followback Survey to investigate race and gender differences in careworker burden. Our sample is based on the 2210 (unweighted) decedents who died of cancer. We measure burden by examining decedent depression, activity limitations, and number of procedures in the last year of life and include education, place of death, and number of caregivers in logistic regression analyses. We find that, in death, as in life, the burden of caring is not equitably distributed.

3:00-3:15

*Break*

3:15-4:30

*AFTERNOON PLENARY: ADVOCATES & CAREWORK*

Presider: *Judith Wittner*, Loyola University

*Judith Walker Kendrick*, President, JCW, Incorporated

*Roberta Lynch*, Deputy Director of AFSCME Council 31

*Jennie Ward Robinson*, Director, Medical & Scientific Affairs, Alzheimer's Association

4:30-4:45

Concluding Remarks