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***Extended family relationships: What are they in late modernity?***

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**Book of abstracts**

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**Thursday, 21th January 2021****12:30-14:10 CET Session 1: Couple relationships****Chair: Vida Česnuitytė*****„Stability and change of couples in Switzerland: styles of conjugal interactions over 20 years and three waves of observations“***

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**Abstract**

This paper examines dynamics of interactions in contemporary couples. It has been established by previous research that a variety of interaction styles characterizes couples in late modernity (Widmer et al., 2004). However, the permanence and changes of couples over their life course have not yet received empirical consideration. Values of self-realization, self-expressiveness, negotiation and equality have been stressed by prominent authors such as Giddens or Beck as paramount in family and couple lives. But few studies, especially quantitative, have addressed the extent to which such orientations actually shape conjugal interactions. We expect that the appropriation of self-realization values and equality strongly vary according to a series of social factors, some of which inherited, others unfolding throughout the life course. We used the data from the longitudinal survey “Social Stratification, Cohesion and Conflict in Contemporary Families” which focused on cohesion and conflicts of married and cohabiting couples living in Switzerland. In order to capture the dynamic of the functioning of couples we used three waves of data, collected in 1998/99, 2011 and 2017, with both partners of each couple interviewed at each time. We selected among the couples interviewed in 1998 those which partners have stayed together over the three waves of survey. The total sample include 343 couples interviewed three times over twenty years. Based on reports of both male and female partners, we first calculated scores of fusion, closure, hierarchy, task differentiation, relational role differentiation for the three waves. On this basis, a typology of styles of conjugal interaction was constructed, which to a large extent validate previous works done on the matter. The couples adopting

a style of conjugal interaction “Association” (13% of the sample) were characterized by low scores of closure and fusion and a relatively low degree of gender differentiation. This type of conjugal interaction features self-expressiveness, and equal share of task and duties. On the other hand, couples which belong to the types “Bastion” (19% of the sample) or “Cocoon” (22% of the sample) were associated with high scores of closure and fusion and a high degree of differentiation of roles and power, featuring a rather traditional organization. The type “Companionship” (28%) was characterized by high scores of fusion and weak scores of closure. The degree of differentiation in decision-making power and task differentiation was low. Finally, the type “Parallel” (17 %) was characterized by a strong tendency towards differentiated power, with most decisions in couples of this style being made by one or the other partner but not both. The level of closure was high, and the collective orientation was weak and, in most cases, replaced by an individualistic orientation of partners. Thus, the results confirm that contemporary couples cannot be described by a dual opposition between modern vs traditional couples but rather refer to a variety of styles. On a second step, we applied parallel coordinate plots designed for longitudinal analysis (Bürgin & Ritschard, 2014) for capturing the dynamic of stability and change of the styles of conjugal interactions across the three waves. According to such analysis, couples which remain in the companionship type during the three waves constitute the most frequent trajectory. Additionally, the transition to “Companionship” after wave 1 is the most frequent change. Conversely, only a tiny minority of couples remain in the type “Association” beyond the first wave. Further analysis showed that the transition to the “Companionship” type is linked with the departure of children from the couple home, as well as with the transition to retirement for men and the return to paid work for women. Such results permit to stress the constraints imposed by social structures and social norms to the development of conjugal life over the family life course.

### ***„By Blood Or By Close Relations – On Defining A Family In Contemporary Poland“***

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#### **Abstract**

The main aim of the presentation is to discuss various ways of defining a family which are apparent in contemporary Poland. In describing this issue, four types of sources will be used: 1) the brief analysis of a family’s definition which is noticeable in public discourse; 2) the demographic data showing various forms of family life (marriages and informal unions, single parents, childlessness, extra-marital births, non-heteronormative unions, etc.); 3) the data collecting in the qualitative research which I realized (the project: 'Parenting practices in families in Poland – reconstruction of daily routines' financed by The National Centre of Science); 4) the data collecting in the quantitative survey (realized by the CBOS – Public Opinion Research Center).

The issues of defining the family is one of the topics reflected in public discourse (including political discourse). The position of the conservative ruling party is explicit: a family is 'a man and a woman stable relationship, and there are children in it, and that's it. A simple matter' (quotation from the leader of the governing party – Law and Justice). Meanwhile, demographic data indicate a differentiation of family life forms in contemporary Poland.

The analysis of qualitative data points to two different ways of defining a family. The first one refers to blood ties (a 'definition by Blood'), the second one to emotional relations between family members (a 'definition by Close Relations'). The first approach can – with some reservations – be identified with the 'traditional' way of defining a family, where formal relationships between family members are important. As a contraposition the second approach is based on family practices, relationships and emotions between persons considered to be members of the family. In both approaches, it is very clear that the most important 'element' of the family's definition is a child. I call this phenomenon 'childocentrism'. The key role of a child in defining the family is also evident in the results of quantitative studies.

In conclusions I will discuss (among others) the incoherence between the social definition of family in which blood ties are particularly important, and the 'individual' definition of family in which relationships and emotions are important.

### ***„Do Work-Family Conflicts Affect Support Structures In DualEarner Couples? – Analysing Mechanisms Of Crossover Effects“***

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#### **Abstract**

The spillover from work to family life and conflictual relationships between both life domains receive much attention in the sociological and socio-psychological research. One strand of research with less focus is the relationship between partner support and work-family conflicts. While some findings reveal a reducing effect of partner support on work-family conflicts, nearly no research has been conducted on the question, how work-family conflicts affect support structures within a couple relationship. This contribution wants to fill the gap by investigating the interrelatedness of work-family conflicts and supportive structures theoretically and empirically.

The spread of egalitarian views towards a gender-egalitarian division of labour, the female educational expansion and a rising desire towards steady female employment diminished the norms of a clear distinction between male paid employment and female unpaid housework. This leads to a more negotiable work division within couple relationships and a higher prevalence of steady dual-earner couples. These trends can be seen as a major aspect of an increasing interrelatedness between work and family life and are, together with rising job demands, a reason for interrole conflicts between family and work.

Recently, some authors have addressed the way couple relationships and especially social support within couples can affect different dimensions of life (Kuhn et al. 2018), including the experience of work-family conflicts. To a certain degree, partner support has a special position, because per definition work-family conflicts have negative outcomes on the family life through spillover and crossover effects. Outcomes of partner support and work-family conflicts have diametrically opposite effects on several dimensions like health, relationship satisfaction, or work-family interference itself (Michel et al. 2011). While at least some research focuses on the effect of partner support on work-

family conflicts, surprisingly, to my knowledge no research has been conducted on the effect of work-family conflicts on support structures within couple relationships.

Family and couple dynamics are complex and so the effects of work-family conflicts on those dynamics are. There are several ways, work-family conflicts could affect support structures in couple relationships. The experience of an interrole conflict could either

a) reduce the support behaviour of the partner who experiences the conflict, because work demands decrease his/her family interactions,

b) and could negatively affect the reciprocal support structure of a couple,

c) may challenge a couple relationship and its inherent sources of social support or reveal existing gaps of support in the relationship (cf. Amstad et al. 2011)

d) lead to an increase in the support behaviour of the unconcerned partner.

In addition to these diverse possibilities of outcomes and causal paths, aspects like well-known gender differences in giving and receiving support from the partner, family characteristics and familial employment situation have to take into account.

To analyse the underlying mechanisms of the effect of work-family conflicts and partner support, dyadic, gender-sensitive panel models are conducted. Therefore, measures of strain- and time-based work-to-family conflicts and perceived own and received social support from both partners from the waves 6 to 10 of the German Family Panel are used (pairfam, release 10.1, n = 1,250).

First descriptive and multivariate results indicate a negative effect of work-family conflicts on the support behaviour of both partners one year later. These results are stronger for men's support decline. Further analyses have to clarify which explanation mechanisms can be consulted to account for the negative effects. Additionally, aspects like parenthood and work division within the couple relationship will be analysed in more detail.

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### ***„Relational Reflexivity Of Young Spouses: Reflection On Research Methodology“***

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#### **Abstract**

Research question and theoretical approach

According to Federal State Statistics Service in contemporary Russia a rather paradoxical situation could be seen: both marriage and divorce rates are rather high, about 40% of all divorces happen in

the first 5 years of marriage [Russian Federal State Statistics Service, section “Marriages and Divorces”]. In scientific literature several explanations of reasons of divorce could be found. However, issues of mating and the development of relations in the first years of marriage are discussed mostly in psychological literature [Gottman et.al 1998; Carrere 1999, 2000; Lavner, Bradbury 2010, 2012]. For the fulfillment of the gap in 2018 a longitudinal study of young families was started by (it was supported by PSTGU Development Foundation). The project is aimed at identification circumstances, facilitating marriage stability – relational reflexivity of the young spouses. The theoretical background of the project bases on the theory of relational reflexivity by P.Donati and M.Archer [Donati 2014; Archer 2015]. The key hypothesis is that in the early stages of marriage the indicators of relational reflexivity could be seen in situations such as finding work-life balance, establishing and developing relationships with relatives, planning transition to childbearing and coping with parenthood.

The implementation of the study presupposes conduction of in-depth interviews with couples, married for 5 years and less, living in Moscow during three years with both spouses in the family. The first year of the project has been completed, and a methodological issue appeared – how to estimate the experience of including in the interview guide some visualizing techniques (“Family Line” for visualizing significant events in the couple’s joint life and “Social Network Map” for the identification of social ties).

#### Methodology

The guide of the first-year interviews consisted of 4 blocks: 1) biographical, 2) questions about the informant's family of origin and 3) about his/her own marriage (story of engagement and marriage, current daily family life – work-family balance, distribution of household duties, childbirth), 4) relationships in the family. The last block involved filling in 2 cards – Family Line and Social Network Map. Family Line is an axis representing the life time of the couple, the starting point of which is the “start of the couple’s life”. Informants are asked to mark the significant events in their couple’s life (above the axis – positive events, and below – negative) and to explain why they consider each of the events “significant”, what they meant for the couple, how they managed to cope with them. Social Network Map represents several concentric circles [Antonucci 1986, 1998] and in the central circle the couple is placed. Informants are asked to mark people who are significant for their couple, given that the closer they mark them, the higher they rate their significance for their couple.

#### Data

This paper bases on the analysis of 14 interviews (7 couples). The average duration of each interviews is 1.5 hours. The informants varied in a number of characteristics: age (from 19 to 30 years), length of marriage (from several months to 4 years), number of brothers and sisters (there were people from large families and respondents without brothers / sisters), and religiosity (religious and non-religious).

#### Research findings

The fulfilled cards Family Line and Social Network Map were analyzed in accordance with the transcripts of the interviews. Several differences in the respondents’ approaches to fulfilling the cards were noticed. For example, in Family Line their definitions of the “start of the couple’s life” varied - for some it was an acquaintance, for others - the beginning of a dating period, for the third ones - wedding (civil or religious). Even though most of the participants marked mostly positive events, they did it differently: some indicated them in chronological order on the scale; others made lists without

reference to the axis, dividing the sheet only between positive and negative events; some people even modified the proposed scheme one husband drew a relationship graph, thereby illuminating that the relationship in a couple is not just a direct line, but an increasing graph, a developing process. When filling out the “Social Network Map” card, informants in most cases signed groups of significant people, rather than listing them individually (for example, “our parents”, “my colleagues”). Also, participants indicated that their and their husband’s/ wife’s could differ from their own on a number of points, and some informants of those who had a child, put the child in the central, inner circle.

To sum up, in our study the cards performed not only as a technique of fixing quantitative indicators but also became a tool that allows the participants of the study to clarify and structure their answers. Furthermore, an in-depth interview, focused on relational issues, unintentionally might become for the participants of the survey an opportunity to comprehend their family relations better.

### ***„Impacts On Relationship Stability. What Can We Learn From Same-Sex Relationships?“***

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#### **Abstract**

##### Motivation

Same-sex couples is one of the new family forms on the rise in modern societies. In Germany, the number of same-sex couples living in the same household almost doubled since 2004. Ten per cent of these households also include biological, adopted or step children. Since not only the social acceptance but also regulations regarding legalization of marriage and adoption are changing, we expect the number of gay and lesbian households (with and without children) to rise in the future.

Still, research on the partnership dynamics of same-sex couples is scarce. This is regrettable because a rigorous investigation of partnership transitions, especially in comparative perspective, may shed light on the mechanisms of partnership trajectories in general, into negotiation strategies within couples, the importance of gender roles, and the importance of external stressors for partnership stability.

##### Previous Research and Theory

Some international studies show that same-sex partnerships are of lower stability than their different-sex counterparts (see Joyner et al. 2017 for an overview). Theoretically, these studies often refer to special challenges that same-sex couples face, such as social marginalization, that exert destabilizing pressure and stress on these partnerships. Further, from an economic point of view they argue that same-sex couples have fewer possibilities for partnership-specific investments, like marriage or joint children, which could stabilize their relationship. This effect often is detected when unmarried cohabiting same-sex couples are compared with married heterosexual couples. Others, however, find this effect also when the couples in both groups are not married. Only two studies explicitly include partnership episodes with separate households (living apart together – “LAT”) into their observation period (Joyner et al. 2017, Rosenfeld 2014). Joyner et al. (2017) find out that the partnership stability in total (including LAT episodes) only differ between different-sex and male same-sex couples but not

between lesbian and different-sex couples. Once the authors restrict their observation to the phase of co-residence, they find a significantly lower stability of same-sex couples, regardless of their gender. These results suggest that the groups of different- and of same-sex couples differ regarding the attributes that select them into institutionalized partnership forms as well as in their ability to invest in their partnership. Accordingly, it is essential to choose a thorough analytical strategy when comparing partnership stability of different- and same-sex couples. In our study we contribute to the existing literature by addressing the following questions:

#### Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. Do same- and different-sex couples in Germany differ in terms of partnership stability?
2. Does this apply to the partnership in total as well as to the phase of co-residence?
3. If there is a disparity in partnership stability, which factors can explain the difference in dissolution rates?
4. Are there further attributes that affect same- and different-sex partnership stability differently?

According to previous research and theoretical arguments from stress and economic perspective we assume that

(H1) Same-sex couples show higher dissolution rates than different-sex couples. Variables indicating social marginalization as well as partnership investments explain these differences.

(H2) This applies to the partnership duration in total and to a lesser extent to the phase of co-habitation. Cohabiting same-sex couples have already overcome a number of potential obstacles regarding social marginalization. Still, these couples have fewer investment possibilities than different-sex couples, which might have an effect on partnership dissolution.

#### Data, Method and Analytic Strategy

Data that provide longitudinal perspective and include information on the partners' sex are required for the analysis. The German Family Panel pairfam fulfills these requirements. We use ten waves of this nationwide representative, multi actor, cohort panel study and analyze the event of partnership dissolution for 158 same- and 11.531 different-sex couples. We analyze separately a) the duration of the partnership in total and b) the duration of the episode of co-habitation. We apply event history methods, such as Kaplan-Meier Survival estimates for descriptive purposes, and Cox regression to examine potential differences in hazard rates.

#### First results

Preliminary results show that same-sex couples have higher dissolution rates than their different-sex counterparts in their second and third year after partnership formation (Appendix, Figure 1). After three years, almost half (45 per cent) of same-sex couples have dissolved while this only applies to one quarter (26 per cent) of the different-sex couples.

The results for cohabitation episodes show that dissolution risks are steadily higher for same-sex cohabiters (Appendix, Figure 2). Three years after household formation, 30 per cent of the same-sex, but only 10 per cent of the different-sex cohabiters have split up.

Using Cox regression modelling, we clearly find evidence that partnership-specific investments like children stabilize partnerships and explain most of the differences between different- and same-sex couple durations. Further, we aim to investigate the role of social marginalization, measured as the acceptance of the partner by family and friends as well as other potential factors, such as place of residence.



## 14:30-16:10 CET Session 2: Extended family in the making

Chair: Adéla Souralová

### *„What Constitutes a Family? An Investigation of Who Attends Family Events in Post-divorce Families“*

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#### **Abstract**

##### Introduction & Theoretical background

Traditionally, families were defined by residence in a common household and biological ties. The growing diversity among postdivorce families challenges this assertion. Postdivorce families are typically spread across several households, and often involve multiple parental figures (i.e., biological and stepparents) (Raley & Sweeney, 2020). This complexity is furthermore amplified by divorced parents increasingly opting for shared residence arrangements instead of mother-residence and for cohabitation or living-aparttogether (LAT) with their new partners instead of remarriage (Poortman & van Gaalen, 2017; Raley & Sweeney, 2020). Given this diversity, what, then, do individuals consider to be their family?

Our study investigates who belongs to contemporary postdivorce families and the factors related to whether or not people belong to the family. We focus on families with children and ask the child's biological parent (i.e., the so-called focal parent) (1) whether their ex-partner, (2) their current partner, (3) and both of them simultaneously belong to the family. To evaluate whether parents consider them family members, we follow a novel approach. Prior research has investigated subjective perceptions about who belongs to the family (e.g. Castrén & Widmer, 2015; Coleman et al., 2015; Widmer, 2006), but it has been suggested to also consider how belonging-to-the-family become salient in who is present at meaningful family events (Allan et al., 2011; Furstenberg, 2020). We focus on who was present at the child's last birthday as an indicator for who belongs to the family.

We consider relationship quality, the child's residence arrangement, and additional family obligations as possible determinants of the ex-partner's and current partner's (joint) presence at the child's last birthday. Relationship quality affects the degree to which biological parents and their ex-partners and current partners accept and endorse each other's presence (Lawler, 2001). So, for example, it is expected that a good relationship with the expartner increases the likelihood of the ex-partner's presence at the child's birthday. Different postdivorce residence arrangements, such as sole- or shared residence, determine the expartner's and current partner's access to the child, and bonding opportunities (Bakker & Mulder, 2013). So, e.g., when children reside with the focal parent it is expected that the current partner is more likely to be present. Additional family obligations (parental repartnering and type of union, having (step)children with a new partner) may lead to a shift of loyalty from one's ex-partner to one's current partner (i.e., "swapping families"; Manning & Smock, 2000).

We, for example, hypothesize that repartnering of the ex-partner decreases the chances that (s)he will be present.

#### Data & Methods

We used the second wave of the large-scale survey “New Families in the Netherlands” (NFN; N= 3,464), collected among divorced and separated parents in 2015 and 2016 (Poortman et al., 2018). In NFN, the respondent (i.e., the focal parent) first indicated whether (s)he celebrated the last birthday of a specific focal child (from the former relationship); and if so, with whom. This translates to the three dichotomous dependent variables used in this study: (1) the ex-partner’s presence at the child’s birthday, and if the respondent repartnered, (2) the new partner’s presence, and (3) joint presence of the new partner and the ex-partner. The central independent variables are the quality of relationships between different parent-parent dyads (i.e., focal parent & ex-partner; focal parent & new partner; new-partner & ex-partner), the child’s main residence (i.e., with the focal parent, with the ex-partner, or shared) and parents’ additional family responsibilities (i.e., parent’s (type of) repartnering and having (step)children with the respective current partner). We estimated logistic regression models for each dependent variable while controlling for the child’s age and gender, the respondent’s gender and education level, and the geographical distance between the household of the respondent and ex-partner.

#### (Preliminary) Results

Descriptive findings show that only 35% of biological parents celebrated their child’s last birthday together with their ex-partner, but that 90% did so with their current partner. In only 25% of cases were both their ex-partner and current partner jointly present. This shows that “swapping families”, the substitution of the current partner for the ex-partner, is common in postdivorce families.

Our multivariate findings show that, first, the more parents’ new family situation corresponds to the traditional nuclear arrangement (i.e., having a resident partner and biological children), the more likely they are to swap families and detach from their expartner, i.e. celebrating the child’s birthday without the ex-partner. Second, we found soleresidence arrangements to contribute to parents not celebrating with their ex-partner. Contrary to our assumptions, we found no evidence of shared residence arrangements contributing to the current partner’s and ex-partner’s joint presence at the child’s birthday. Lastly, we found that these effects can be compensated by good relationships between members of both biological parents’ households: the better these relationships, the more likely both biological parents are to celebrate the birthday with each other, and the more likely they are to celebrate jointly with the current partner, as well.

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### ***„Greying Siblinghood: Practices And Rules Of Siblinghood Making In Older Age“***

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#### **Abstract**

Adult siblinghood, which is the topic of the paper, is viewed as a unique social relationship in the relevant literature. Nevertheless, the study of siblinghood in older age is still lagging behind research of other family bonds, especially intergenerational (parent-child) ones. Research in aging studies has uncovered a variety of individuals' strategies to cope with biological, psychological and social changes accompanying aging or old age, and more or less modifying their personal resources. Many of those strategies are related to seniors' social integration, mostly again within intergenerational family ties of older parents and adult children. There are consequently open questions as to what siblinghood in old age is about ("what being/having an old brother or sister means") and how siblinghood is "made/done" by elderly people. Above all, the answer to the second question will be the focus of our paper. In search of answers to this question, the absence of clear social norms for the sibling role and relatively vague social prescriptions for the role of being seniors in late modernity had to be taken into account. In accordance with the configurational approach (Widmer & Jallinoja, 2008; Jallinoja, 2011), siblinghood was examined as part of a family network, or a "configuration". Configurations provide their members with resources, meanings, awareness of identity and belonging; they are the space in

which family interactions and transactions - “practices” take place. Within this theoretical framework, siblinghood could be conceived as “shared practices involving all kinds of interaction and transactions” that were transferred between/among siblings (Jallinoja, 2011, p. 83). It allows for an understanding of the informal, implicit or explicitly agreed “rules” through which the workings of siblinghood-making processes are organized and structured.

The results of the study were based on an analysis of data obtained within the research project Greying Siblinghood, supported by the Czech Science Foundation (no. 17-07321S). In light of our interest in understanding the sibling ties of the elderly, qualitative methodology, broadly framed by the paradigm of interpretative sociology, has been applied. More precisely, constructivist grounded theory was used for its ability to identify family processes, or the strategies and flexible, practice-bound rules of siblinghood-making.

We have uncovered the tangle of rules followed in practices of siblinghood-making, and the strategies of both coping with family/sibling ambivalences and the ambivalences of old age, i.e. the rules differentiated by gender, age, social or family status, etc. This is visible in the data that practices of making siblinghood are negotiated according to both genealogical rule and the rule of emotional closeness/distance, having regard to personal preferences. (From this perspective, the absence of “free” choice between siblings and parallel “pressure” of kinship obligations make sibling dyads more vulnerable in comparison with multimember sibships.) Sibling interaction is clearly based on mixed notions of consanguinity, reciprocity, equality and the “right” quality of the relationship. The practices of siblinghood-making in senium are intertwined with social action corresponding with many of those identified as strategies of old-age-management in previous gerontosociological research (e.g., Sýkorová, 2007; 2011).

### ***„Empowering Of Extended Family Through Family Group Conferences In The Czech Republic – Illusion Or Real Chance?”***

**Nataša Matulayová**

**Tatiana Matulayová**

**Pavλίna Jurníčková**, Sts Cyril and Methodius Faculty of Theology Palacký University Olomouc,  
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#### **Abstract**

The life of contemporary families in the Czech Republic is getting changed due to socio-economic and cultural conditions. The welfare state reform in the Czech Republic is currently underway, which also enables the implementation of new methods at work with families. Family Group Conferences offer the extended family to participate in the decision-making process as well as to address the difficult life situation of a family member. In the Czech Republic, this method is not regulated by legislation and is rarely used. The aim of this paper is to answer the question of what the basic factors of Family Group Conferences implementation in the Czech Republic are. Theoretical starting points are theories of modernization, social capital and social networks. We conducted a series of group and individual semi-structured interviews with coordinators and administrators of Family Group Conferences, social workers and adult family members, as well as representatives of institutions that organize Family Group Conferences in the Czech Republic and the Netherlands. According to research findings, the

extension of the method in the Czech Republic is determined mainly by the dependence of families on the state, insufficiently developed civil society, distrust of alternative solutions, impaired citizens' trust in helping professionals, insufficiently developed cross-sectoral cooperation and insufficient awareness of professionals. The lack of legislation and funding is a significant limiting factor. Ongoing reforms work as a stimulus and an opportunity to create the basic framework and conditions for changing the attitude of professionals to families. Another factor lies in the activities of non-profit organizations that organize Family Group Conferences. Networking within the Czech Republic and Europe is important. In the last two years, there was much effort developed towards a common monitoring and evaluation system. The awareness of Family Group Conferences implementation can contribute to the discussion on the support provided to extended family in Czech society.

***„Extended Christian Families in Post-Secular Russia. On the Role of Godparenthood and Family-Alliances during the Transition to Parenthood in Families with three and more Children“***

**Ivan Pavlyutkin**, Faculty of Theology, St.Tikhon's Orthodox University, [euhomeinid@gmail.com](mailto:euhomeinid@gmail.com)

**Abstract**

This paper aims at the reflection on the extended family relationships from the perspective of spiritual kinship (godparenthood, brotherhood) developed in Christian culture and deactivated in the late modernity (Alfani, Gourdon, Vitali 2012). Along with the configurational or network perspective, which goes beyond the institutionalized vision of the nuclear family based on the legalized partnership and its biological offspring (Widmer, Jallinoja 2008) and the relational perspective, which aims at thinking about the family as a 'we-reality' (Archer, Donati 2016) we bring another image of the extended or joint family in the discussion of 'forgotten kin'. This image, which historically is close to the 'communitarian family' embedded in the extended community (Todd 1985) reflects a large social aggregate which binds both biological and spiritual ties in different configurations around children's life and life with children. Evidence from the ethnographic studies of spiritual or 'fictive' kinship has been explored in terms of reciprocal friendship or 'paradox of friendship' (Pitt-Rivers 1968; Pitt-Rivers 2016). One of the arguments from those studies that spiritual kinship becomes the source of family strengthening since it produces reciprocal (gift) ties based on the ethics of social relations (Heady 2018).

Explicating the role of spiritual kinship in extended family relations empirically, we focus on the case of large families' transition (three and more children) in the post-secular Russian society. Our reflections are based on the data of 30 in-depth interviews gathered with the religious (Orthodox Christians) and non-religious parents (families from three to nine children) in three Russian cities: Arkhangelsk, Moscow, and Vladimir. We show from the interviews the process of social bridging between the non-familiar families around life with children full of many risks, fears, and hardships. We also show moral contradictions between biological and spiritual kins when it comes to the transition to parenthood with many children which bring together two different images of parenthood. Since spiritual kinship multiplies social ties and increases social density between and around parents and children, it demands to generate social forms in parental learning, sharing\gifting and celebrating their friendship. We assume that this kind of generative family network becomes crucial during the transition to parenthood with many children, which is hard to realize for the nuclear families living

alone. To generalize we bring the results in a general discussion about family relationships and religion in a post-secular society.

***„Community As/And Extended Family In Times Of Illness And Death“***

**Iva Šmídová**, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University,  
[krizala@fss.muni.cz](mailto:krizala@fss.muni.cz)

**Abstract**

Community engagement in health and social care takes place in close bonds with the family in the event of illness, bereavement or other major life/death events. The paper explores the relationship between community help, engagement and care and the role of members of family beyond the nuclear family bonds. These relationships are set within a broader context of health and social care provision in the Czech Republic, which is medicalised and strongly professionalised/specialised – guarded by expert knowledge.

The presentation explores these relationships using fieldwork data from several qualitative sociological research studies targeting care in the time of birth and death as well as other medicalised life events. In particular, the presentation uses empirical evidence from recent research studies of the author on perinatal loss, on medicalised childbirth and on family, community and professional care for patients after a brain stroke.

**Friday, 22th January 2021**

**9:00-10:40 CET Session 3: Intergenerational family relationships**

**Chair: Pedro Romero-Balsas**

***„Macrostructural Changes the Three generation“***

**Judit Monostori**, Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, [monostori@demografia.hu](mailto:monostori@demografia.hu)

**Abstract**

Substantial body of sociological literature declare the decreasing trend of multigenerational households all over Europe. Statistical data also strengthen this trend in Hungary, where the proportion of three-generation households within the all households has decreased significantly in long term. This trend can observe in shorter time period as well. These empirical results are usually served as an important evidence of validity of several demographic theories that state the spread of nuclear families. My research points out that this decreasing trend in the last decades can be explained by substantial macrostructural changes. The shrinking share of households with dependent children is one of the most significant out of these. The lower fertility the smaller ratio of multigenerational

households, since the multigenerational households generally consist of at least one dependent child. In Hungary among the households with children the multigenerational living is not decreasing since 1990. According to our analysis between 1990 and 2016 the proportion of multigenerational households were around 9-12%, and we can't identify an obvious trend.

#### The proportion of three generational households

|   | 1980 | 1990 | 2001 | 2011 | 2016 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|
| Within the all households (%)               | 7,5  | 5,1  | 5,1  | 3,9  | 2,9  |
| Within the all households with children (%) | 15,5 | 11,5 | 12,4 | 11,5 | 9,2  |

**Source:** Own calculations, Census data

The structural change in composition of society by educational attainment is also very important factor. The higher qualified people are less likely to live in three generational households than people do in the lower social class. People living in towns, especially in Budapest have a lower chance to live in multigenerational households. Beside the social status, the living arrangement is also affected by demographic events on life cycle and regional differences. Divorce and separation significantly increase the probability of living in three-generation household. Comparing the intact, step and also the one-parent families the latest has the highest probability to live in three-generation household. Partly because the partnerships are more fragile in the households where adult generations live with their parents, and partly because after divorce/separation some of the adult generation with children - especially mothers with their children – move into the parental house. Concerning this question my research make an attempt to estimate the rate of tree-generational households that start up after divorce of parental generation. To do this we used the Hungarian GGS, that is a panel survey conducted between 2001 and 2016. GGS follows the respondents and register the fact of divorce or separation. And we also have information about the living arrangements in every three years. Our finding is that after a divorce the substantial part of the affected population move into the parental house. Especially the single parent with unfavourable social-economic status.

#### The proportion of three generational households

|   | 1980 | 1990 | 2001 | 2011 | 2016 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|
| Within the couple based households (%)  | 17,7 | 12,2 | 12,8 | 11,6 | 8,5  |
| Within the single-parent households (%) | 21,9 | 16,3 | 20,3 | 17,5 | 16,2 |

**Source:** Own calculations, Census data

We also investigate the impact of individual and household characteristics on likelihood to live in three generational households. To do this we made a pooled database from census microdata between 1980 and 2016, and logistic regression was applied to estimate the probability living in multigenerational households. The main finding is, that education attainment – as a proxy of the social status – effect on the likelihood of living in a three-generational household is increasingly stronger during the examined period. Similarly the spatial differences are also more significant in the later years. As we have mentioned the proportion of three-generational household is higher among the single parent families than couple based families. At the same time differences in likelihood of being three-generational household between the couple based and single parent families is higher in 2011 and 2016 than the earlier period. This phenomena is an important aspect of the increasing social inequality in Hungary.

Finally we investigated that where the three-generational households is on the social hierarchy and how it has changed. Our finding is that the social disadvantages of multi-generational households is bigger in 2011 and 2016 than before. We conceive that the economic recession after 2009 had profound effect on households especially on single-parents households with lower socioeconomic status and fewer resources and the economic recession could encourage more coresidence of generations. These findings strengthen that the adult generations live together because they need to, not because they want to.

### ***„Parent Carers In The Third Age“***

**Ursula Henz**, Department of Sociology, London School of Economics and Political Science,  
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#### **Abstract**

Adult children are the main source of help and care for elderly people in the United Kingdom. For many decades, most adult children were in mid-age when parental care needs arose. With increasing longevity, parent care is shifting towards a later phase in adult children's life courses. Whereas in 1990, only 20% of parent carers were between 55 and 64 years old and 4.5% 65 years or older (General Household Survey 1990, own calculations), the figures increased to 24% and 6%, respectively, in 2000 (General Household Survey 2000, own calculations) and to 28% and 8.6%, respectively, in 2009 (Understanding Society, own calculations). So far there has been little research into parent carers in the third age. This paper examines the rising phenomenon of parent care in the third age and contends that the circumstances of older parent carers differ profoundly from parent carers in midlife.

For a start, the differences concern the demographic processes in which parent care is embedded. Parent care at more advanced ages is affected by other demographic processes than parent care in midlife. Selective processes operate both at the level of the parents – for example through class differences in life expectancy – and at the level of the children – for example through gendered patterns of living arrangements.

Secondly, parent care at more advanced ages is associated with special opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, past research has shown that women provided the majority of parent care, especially intensive parent care. When adult children enter retirement, a major obstacle to parent care is removed, which should lead to a more gender-equal division of parent care. In addition, parent carers past retirement do not need to juggle paid work and care obligations and thus escape some of the strain that is often associated with intensive caregiving.

On the other hand, adult children might increasingly struggle with providing parent care as they advance in age. If adult children face own health problems, providing parent care might prove challenging and lead to caregiver strain. Health issues might not only emerge among adult children but also for their spouses. This can lead to a new form of sandwiching of parent carers, this time between the demands of parent care and spouse care.



The paper brings together concepts of the life course, the gender division of unpaid work, and caregiver strain to examine two research questions: How do the levels and patterns of parent care differ between carers aged 45 to 64 and those aged 65 and older? Do parent carers aged 65 and older experience the same levels of carer distress as parent carers in midlife? The analyses will pay special attention to gender and class differences.

## Data

The UK Household Longitudinal Panel is a panel study of approximately 40,000 households in the UK. So far nine panel waves are available from 2009 onwards. In each wave, respondents were asked whether they 'care for a sick, disabled or elderly person' in the household or outside the household. The relationship to the care recipient can be identified unambiguously for care within the household. If a respondent cared for someone outside the household, the relationship to the care recipient is known in most cases but one cannot distinguish between caring for a parent and a parent-in-law. When the data from all nine waves are pooled, they include 2,179 person-years of parent(-in-law) care by individuals aged 65 or older at the time of caregiving, delivered by 923 different individuals.

The data are analysed by descriptive statistics as well as fixed and random effects panel models. The main dependent variables are involvement in parent(-in-law) care, the hours of caregiving, and carer mental distress (measured by GHQ). The main variables of interest are carers' sex and age. Control variables include, among others, carers' marital status and the age of the parent (if appropriate).

## Initial findings

Initial descriptive analyses of the characteristics of older parent carers show that a smaller proportion of individuals aged 65+ cared for their parents compared to those aged 45 to 65. In contrast to individuals aged 45 to 65, a higher proportion of men than of women was involved in parent care among individuals aged 65+.

The gender difference do not emerge from differences in having living parents(-in-law). Preliminary descriptive analyses show that 71% of adults aged 45 to 64 had at least one living parent(-in-law) compared to ten percent of those aged 65+. In both age groups, more men than women had living parent(-in-law). Higher social classes and married individuals showed higher proportions of having at least one living parent(-in-law) compared to other social classes and marital statuses.

When analysing only adults who have at least one living parent(-in-law), individuals aged 65+ are significantly more likely to provide parent care than those aged 45 to 64 (34% compared to 22%).

***„Solitude, loneliness and social exclusion in older age“***

**Lucie Galčanová Batista**, Department of Environmental Studies, Masaryk University, [galcanov@fss.muni.cz](mailto:galcanov@fss.muni.cz)

**Marcela Petrová Kafková**, Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, [kafkova@fss.muni.cz](mailto:kafkova@fss.muni.cz)

**Lucie Vidovičová**, Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, [vidovicova@fss.muni.cz](mailto:vidovicova@fss.muni.cz)

**Abstract**

De Singly in his work depicts the difference between solitude, a productive and positive state of being that forms a necessary part in personal development, and loneliness, a negative feeling of being lonely or having unsatisfactory social ties. Current European and US societies are facing what is in popular discourse called “the loneliness epidemic”, striking mostly the oldest and youngest cohorts, having a tremendous impact on people’s health and well-being. In our paper, we will explore the subjective dimensions of loneliness in relation to social exclusion, having in mind their non-linear and complex relationship in daily life. Embedded in the constructionist grounded theory approach, we present the preliminary results of larger study based on the data from 10 qualitative interviews with older adults living in the Czech Republic, focusing on the loneliness as a highly contextualized issue. We closely explore the relationship between biographical events, the intensity of social relations in later life within and beyond the nuclear family and the subjective feelings of loneliness and solitude. We argue that various dimensions of loneliness must be taken into account as people deal with its impacts both on situational (feeling of loneliness of one person vary in different spatial, temporal and social contexts) as well as long-term basis (when loneliness is linked e.g. to social marginalization and/or based on life course dynamics), seeking for positive, supportive aspects of solitude as well as for negative experiences of loneliness. Our paper is based on preliminary results from the GENPATH project “A life course perspective on the GENDERed PATHways of Social exclusion in later life, and its consequences for health and wellbeing”.

***„Adult Children’s Union Status And Contact With Mothers: A Comparative View Using Within-Family Fixed-Effect Models“***

**Martin Kreidl**, Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, [kreidl@fss.muni.cz](mailto:kreidl@fss.muni.cz)

**Zuzana Žilincíková**, Masaryk University, [zilincikova@mail.muni.cz](mailto:zilincikova@mail.muni.cz)

**Abstract**

Statement of the problem

Increasingly fragile intragenerational bonds increase the demand for intergenerational contact and support (Bengtson 2001). Moreover, increasing longevity has also resulted in more years of shared lives across generations and thus has heightened the potential for such intergenerational transfers. Yet, this potential may not be fully realized as some family transitions (both among parents and among children) and non-traditional family forms (such as unmarried cohabitation) seem to reduce the frequency and quality of intergenerational exchange (Hogerbrugge, Dykstra, 2009; Schenk, Dykstra 2012; Yahirun, Hamplová 2014).

Recent research based on child-parent dyads drawn from the population in a particular year (Yahirun, Hamplová 2014) indicates that adult children living in cohabitations interact with their mothers less often than children living in marriage. This finding is based both on within- and between-family comparisons and is found in a range of countries. Some scholars use a causal argument to explain this association: it should be the lower institutionalization and social recognition of unmarried cohabitations that produce this effect.

We find this interpretation to be dubious as both union status and frequency of contact may depend on unmeasured variables (such as familialistic norms and perceived obligation to keep contact with kin). Thus, the cross-sectional association may be spurious.

Research question: We explore if adult children's union status indeed correlates with the frequency of contact with their parents.

#### Data and method

We rely on statistical analyses of existing survey data. SHARE (Survey of Health and Retirement in Europe) data are used as the primary source.

We use all available SHARE baseline and refresh samples from the period 2004-2015. SHARE data are obtained from the 50+ population and presently cover 20 countries. Many SHARE respondents have several children with varying marital/partnership statuses. Thus, we can conduct within family comparisons to reduce the risk of omitted variable (at the family level) bias. We utilize a sample of 17,627 mothers and 44,125 of their biological, non-coresident children aged 25+.

Dependent variable is frequency of contact per year (measured by a 7-point scale ranging from "never" to "almost every day", transformed to the # number of contacts per year, logged).

Main explanatory variable is child's union status – single, cohabiting, or married.

Child-level control variables are: sex, age, employment status, educational attainment, and parenthood status.

We apply respondent fixed-effect models with continuous dependent variables (frequency of contact) to control for various potential sources of omitted variable bias.

We split the analysis by country, to obtain one estimate of the union status effect per country. We then explore the size of this union status effect across countries to see if there is any systematic variation with variables such the prevalence of unmarried cohabitation, share of children born out-of-wedlock.

#### Findings

We find that almost no differences between married and cohabiting children persist in fixed-effect models. Thus, we conclude that the effect of union status on intergenerational contact can be interpreted causally only to a very limited extent.

Further, we find little systematic variation in the size of the union status effect across countries (as shown in the figure below).

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### ***„Apples And Oranges? Analyzing Survey Effects In Intergenerational Financial Transfer Data“***

**Tamara Bosshardt**, Department of Sociology, University of Zurich, [bosshardt@soziologie.uzh.ch](mailto:bosshardt@soziologie.uzh.ch)

#### **Abstract**

Financial support between parents and their children does not stop as soon as they come of age, but is part of lifelong intergenerational solidarity relations. Thus, financial transfers are important for intergenerational solidarity research but also for the investigation of the reproduction of economic inequality (Szydlik 2012). Research on intergenerational solidarity evolved from descriptive findings based on national data sets to multivariate analyses of international survey data (Nauck und Steinbach 2009). Until now, intergenerational financial transfers in Switzerland were only investigated as part of comparative research based on the Survey of Health and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). Since results might be influenced by the applied methodology of a specific survey, it is crucial to cross-validate findings with different data sources (Emery und Mudrazija 2015). However, it is important to ensure that one is not comparing apples and oranges and ends up with biased research findings. The project Intergenerational Relations in Switzerland (SwissGen) offers the possibility to test the reproducibility of previous findings. Moreover, it provides the basis for deeper insights in intergenerational financial transfers specifically for Switzerland, a country with a broad cultural diversity and a special welfare state arrangement. This paper addresses two questions. First, it aims to investigate if financial transfers in SwissGen are comparable to those reported in SHARE. Second, it examines if the applied methodology of SwissGen, that is postal or online participation and answering question about living or deceased parents, leads to differing transfer reports between these subgroups. Knowledge about survey effects between and within surveys is crucial for future investigations of intergenerational financial transfers in Switzerland.

Data on intergenerational transfer collected by SHARE and SwissGen differ in several aspects. On the one hand, SHARE only records transfers that exceed the amount of 400 CHF while SwissGen has no threshold. On the other hand, SHARE captures the perspective of the giving parents while SwissGen asks adult children about transfers they received. According to the self-enhancement theory (Krueger 1998), one would expect respondents to overreport desirable behavior like supporting one's child and underreport behavior that shows dependence like receiving support from one's parents. Theoretical considerations referring to the cognitive aspects of survey methodology (Tourangeau 2018) indicate that the presentation of a question and its answer categories as well as the reference period influence answer behavior. Thus, one would expect differences not only between SHARE and SwissGen, but also between subgroups in SwissGen, that is, between survey modes (online or postal) and between respondents with living or deceased parents.

My analyses are based on parent-child dyads and control for characteristics of both parents and children. I use data from the seventh wave of SHARE collected in 2015 (n=3,329) and a corresponding subsample of SwissGen (n=6,583), where data collection took place in 2018/2019. I refer to a broader

sample to analyze survey effects within SwissGen (n=13,988) containing online and postal questionnaires as well as living and deceased parents.

I estimate binary logistic regression models to investigate gross group differences and net effects after covariates are included. Since the regression framework cannot control for differences that stem from self-selection in the subgroups, I test the robustness of my findings with Mahalanobis nearest-neighbor matching.

Regression models largely confirm the expectations and show significant differences between data sets, survey modes and living and deceased parents. Controlling for covariates only reduces these differences without overruling them. In accordance with the self-enhancement theory, the exclusion of smaller amounts shows that respondents of SwissGen report less transfers than those of SHARE. Moreover, differences within the SwissGen data lose their significance when only transfers above a certain threshold are considered. In contrast to the regression findings, significant differences between living and deceased parents persisted between matched samples.

These results indicate that the collection of intergenerational financial transfer data is very sensitive to survey effects. Changing the perspective, the survey mode or the reference period comes along with differences in recorded transfers. Some of these differences can be controlled in multivariate settings or through the implementation of a threshold, others cannot. However, if we know what survey effects occur in our data, we can compare apples to apples and thus gain unbiased results. This is crucial for a research field that is not only relevant for intergenerational family research but also provides important insights in the reproduction of economic inequality in society.

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## 10:50-12:10 CET Session 4: Childcare issues I

Chair: Lucie Vidovičová

### *„Non-Parental Childcare In Three Different Welfare State Traditions“*

**Pedro Romero-Balsas**, Faculty of Economics and Business, Autonomous University of Madrid, [pedro.romero@uam.es](mailto:pedro.romero@uam.es)

#### **Abstract**

Families face the challenge of childcare through different levels of participation of parents and other non-parental care providers. The degree and type of non-parental childcare is conditioned by factors such as the parents' working conditions, the accessibility of childcare services, the availability of grandparents support, or the attitudes towards different non-parental care providers. Based on the Living Conditions Survey 2016, this work aims to analyze non-parental childcare models Spain, France and Norway as representative of different welfare state traditions. For each country, we will identify the scope to which parents of children less than four years old draw on different agents (grandparents and other relatives, paid home carers and early childcare services). Moreover, we will analyze the factors associated with the different types of solutions. We will discuss our result in the framework of the welfare regime research field, which assume that each state distribute caregiving responsibilities between the state, the market and the family differently, shaping inequalities and gender relations.

### *„The Role of Grandparents in The Organisation of Care in Polish Families. The Perspective of Parents“*

**Katarzyna Suwada**, Institute of Sociology of the Nicolaus Copernicus University, [k.suwada@umk.pl](mailto:k.suwada@umk.pl)

#### **Abstract**

The aim the paper is to analyse how Polish parents use help of extended family relationships, in particular with grandparents, to deal with so called childcare gap. Childcare gap in Polish society results from the incongruence of the parental leave system and institutional care for children. It has profound consequences on how parents organise everyday care over children in the period between the end of parental leave and the period when a child can get a place in the nursery or kindergarten (it is usually when child is 1 to 3 years old). Parents work out different strategies. One of the most common is to ask other family members, especially grandmothers, to take care of small children. This strategy is grounded cultural norms around care, according to which it is better for a children under 3 years old to be cared by female family members. Yet such strategy is not always possible, because of several reasons. Many grandparents are still active in the labour market and have no time to actually take care of their grandchildren. Additionally, in times of increased migration within Poland, many grandparents live too far away to support their children in everyday parental care. Finally, the narratives of parents indicate that there is reluctance, both on the side of parents and grandparents, to organise care work in such way. Parents are afraid that caring and educational strategies of their own parents do not fit

to their styles of parenting. Grandparents, especially grandmothers, often openly express that they are too tired/too old to take care of their grandchildren and reject to provide full-time care support.

In my paper I try to analyse the reasoning for choosing or not choosing the strategy of asking grandparents for help in connection to the childcare gap. I concentrate here on the perspective of parents. I try to disentangle how this reasoning is grounded in norms and values around care, gender roles and beliefs, as well as beliefs about intergenerational relationships between grandparents and grandchildren.

My analysis is based on 52 interviews conducted with Polish, single and coupled parents with different social and economic backgrounds, whose children were aged between 1 to 7 years. Interviews were conducted by my research team and me in 2017 and concentrated on work-life balance strategies. My aim was to see how people combine paid work with parenthood, how they organise everyday life, in particular how they organise care in the Polish family policy system. In this paper I focus on the perspective of parents.

### ***“I Wanted Someone Who Would Be Like A Grandmother For Them”: Demand For Paid Child-Carers And Care Within Extended Family”***

**Zuzana Sekeráková Búriková**, Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, [burikova@fss.muni.cz](mailto:burikova@fss.muni.cz)

#### **Abstract**

General argument and theoretical background

Recently, numerous studies show importance of caring practices and relationships situated outside of nuclear family (Eldén 2016; Souralová and Žáková 2019). However, both, studies on gender division of domestic labour (Shelton and Daphne 1996; Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Wright et al. 1992) and studies explaining demand for paid domestic workers (Hochschild 2000; Hochschild 2003; Lutz 2002, Lutz 2011) take for granted that negotiations related to division of domestic labour and care happen within a nuclear family, between the adult couples in particular. Within these theories, the organisation of care and housework is the expression of a specifically gendered cultural script (Lutz 2008), within which reproductive works are seen as feminine. Because of to this script, the participation of women in labour market has not led to change towards more equal division of domestic labour. When women want to do less domestic work or care work, they avoid the conflict through delegation of the work to other woman—mostly to migrant domestic worker (Hochschild 2003). Hiring a domestic worker results in women doing less housework and care work without men doing more.

In line with the works challenging the notion that the unit of care is a heterosexual nuclear family I will argue that when analysing demand for paid domestic workers, we have to take into account wider caring relationships than these between a man and woman within a nuclear family. In particular, involvement or rather lack of involvement of grandmothers in care for their grandchildren is crucial for employment of paid home-based carers in Slovakia.

#### **Methods**

This study draws on qualitative research on paid care and domestic work in Slovakia. During years 2013 – 2015 I interviewed 23 female and 2 male employers and 11 female providers of paid housework and home based childcare (full-time and part time nannies, babysitters and cleaners) in Bratislava and

Banská Bystrica. I recruited interviewees through the snowball technique starting in my own networks and through maternal online fora.

All my interviewees were Slovak citizens. All employers were of middle and upper class origin and had university education. They were married and had children. Paid domestic workers were mostly university students or women who were around retirement age. Paid carers did not have caring obligations in their own families (i.e. they either did not have children of their own or had grown up children). Majority of working arrangements were informal.

In depth semi-structured interviews were biographical – I asked my interviewees to describe how and why their involvement with paid domestic labour started and tried to elucidate longer stories about character, contexts, and relationships involved in such a work. Biographic interviews enabled me to look at employers' decisions without preconceived assumptions about which relationships are important for hiring a nanny or a cleaner.

## Findings

While all interviews shared the women's concern to do less housework or care work, decisions to hire a child-carer and cleaner were embedded in different sets of relationships within both nuclear and extended families. When asked about hiring a cleaner, interviewed women clearly expressed their expectation that their husbands should participate more in doing housework. Cleaners were hired when women wanted to do less houseworks and men did not want to or could not do more. Interviewees often spoke about their husbands as about "exhausted businessmen" unavailable or too tired to do housework.

In contrast, husbands were absent in the interviews about hiring a nanny or babysitter. The interviewees did not speak about unavailable husbands, but spoke about grandmothers, who were living in distant areas, were not healthy, worked full time or did not have same ideas about childrearing as mothers. Decisions to hire a child-carer were related to unavailability of care provided within extended families by grandmothers. Indeed, employers wanted someone, who would substitute for unavailable grandmother and looked for a nanny with experience in mothering or grandmothers. These findings suggest that when thinking about dynamics of hiring domestic workers, we have to include wider relationships involved in care than these within a nuclear family.

### ***„Relationship between Siblings as a source of filial support in the migration context“***

**Irma Budginaite Mackine**, Department of Sociology, Vilnius University, [irma.budginaite@fsf.vu.lt](mailto:irma.budginaite@fsf.vu.lt)

#### **Abstract**

The increasing geographical distance between family members due to the high mobility of Lithuania's population has prompted reflection on the impact of such changes on intergenerational relationships and filial responsibilities. As previous research on care in transnational families carried out in other Central and Eastern European countries demonstrates, family members who remain in the country of origin, in particular siblings, are often seen as the potential primary care givers (Kordasiewicz et al., 2017). With this in mind, it is important to expand the analysis of family relationships in the migration context beyond the adult child–parent's dyad and shift the attention to sibling relationships, which are sometimes considered 'overlooked or forgotten kin'.



This paper aims to answer the following questions: what types of relations between siblings dominate in Lithuania? How do types of relationships within generation differ compared to types of relationships between the generations? How important are the relationships between siblings in the terms of potential support for family members in old age in Lithuania in the context of migration?

The paper relies on the intergenerational solidarity approach (Bengtson, 2001; Silverstein et al., 2010; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997), extended by the analysis of kin relations (Nauck, 2015). Relations between generations (adult children–parents) and relations within generations (siblings) are analysed as dyadic relationships between individuals embedded within the family and the wider network of personal relationships (Szydlik, 2008). The analysis is conducted using the dimensions distinguished by Bengtson and colleagues, including structural, associational, emotional, consensual and functional solidarity. Given the complexity of family life, these dimensions are analysed together and used to derive a typology of solidarity between and within generations (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997).

The empirical part of the dissertation is based on the results of an analysis of two surveys carried out in Lithuania during 2018. The surveys were conducted together with a group of family sociologists belonging to the Department of Sociology, while implementing the project 'Global migration and the Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies' (2017–2019, S-MIP-17-117, led by Prof. Dr. Irena Juozeliūnienė). The first survey is an Omnibus-type representative survey of the Lithuanian population, conducted in June 2018 (N = 1,005). The second survey is a quota survey of persons with direct experience of international migration, conducted in August 2018 (N = 406). Latent cluster analysis was used to classify relationships into a typology of solidarity between and within generations. Inferential statistics methods were used to analyse the relationships between sociodemographic and family traits, migration experience, and the family relationship types identified. Research findings from the analysis of the representative survey of the Lithuanian population indicate that close ties with the family of origin are prevalent in Lithuania, regardless of the geographical distance between family members, and that families are linked by intensive support flows that are based on emotional closeness rather than on the obligatory nature of the ties. The intensity of family solidarity between generations differs from that within generations. Lithuanian citizens maintain their most intense relationships with their parents (the tight-knit relationship type predominates). On a horizontal level, most family relationships are emotionally close, but are maintained at a distance (the predominant type is intimate, but distant). On the one hand, maintaining close relationships with siblings at a distance indicates that these ties can potentially be activated in case of need, because emotionally close siblings might be more likely to support each other compared to those whose relationships can be considered as detached. On the other hand, the distance itself might limit the opportunities to share care responsibilities and put a higher share of filial responsibilities on the adult child living near by the parent. The research findings from the analysis of the quota survey also confirms the importance of sibling ties (or a lack of thereof) when it comes to migration decisions and residence choices upon return to the country of origin. The paper reveals that Lithuanian residents with direct migration experience who have no siblings are more likely to live with their parent(s) compared to those who have a least one sister or brother.

## 12:30-13:00 CET Poster session

Chair: Vida Česnuitytė

### *„Mothering And Low Income – Othermothering As A Strategy Of Roma Othermothers To Deal With Poverty“*

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#### **Abstract**

Othermothering is a concept, which „goes beyond nuclear family“ and helps to understand the relationships within the extended family framework. Othermothering can be described as a special form of a kinship in which the affinity between mother and child is equally replaced by relationship with another relative or even an unrelated woman. These women are usually grandmothers, sisters, aunts or sister in laws, who together create women centered networks. Othermothers assist blood mothers by sharing mothering responsibilities, in the form of only occasional help, long term care of children, or even non formal adoption [Hill Collins 2002].

Othermothering is strongly connected to US society and to Afro-American women, who were in the past mostly employed as servants. It was not rare that these women spent in their work whole days and they needed somebody who would replace them in the care of their children. Other reason why they needed othermothers was that they were active in social movements, when they were fighting for their equal rights. Due to the time spend by this activity, it was beneficial to share caring role with more women [Hill Collins 2002].

I understand and identified othermothering as to a strategy of low-income Roma women living in Czech Republic, to deal with their living conditions which are formed by poverty. During the analysis of the data for my diploma thesis which were collected at Roma women´s households. I found out, that othermothering is crucial mechanism for Roma women, it helps them to focus to more roles than just to mother role. In this sense othermothering empowers these women. Or was empowering, because as in the US Afro-American society, nowadays othermothering is slowly disappearing from Roma women lives. Women directly addressed that this mechanism which helped them to cope with their lives, is less and less visible today. There´s need to be told, that I as a researcher named this relationship as othermothering, Roma women were talking about help from the oldest daughters or secondly help from the grandmothers.

Othermothering is important term not only because it is slowly disappearing, but also because it is a gender-based relationship, only women are othermothering. The aim of this paper is to find out, how othermothering is practiced in the Roma women´s households, how is it helping to these women and to find out if it is successful strategy in overcoming poverty.

I am asking two research questions: How othermothering can help to Roma women deal with their poverty? What´s the difference between Afro-American conception of othermothering and conception by Roma women in Czech Republic?

This paper is based on data, which I collected for the purposes of my diploma thesis. For the qualitative research, I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with Roma mothers. My aim is to understand to social reality of Roma women. Therefore, I used feminist methodology, I wanted to base my research on personal subjective understanding of Roma women social reality itself. I gave to my respondents' chance to actively decide about the form of the research, they were not only participants but also active actors who showed me their own perspective and value system [Ramazanoglu, Holland 2002] which was crucial for my research, because I wanted to break strict formal boundaries between me as an researcher and them as an informants. Data were analyzed with the help of constructing grounded theory [Charmaz 2006] which helped me to on the one hand compare between data but also contexts and on the other find out natural categories of actors.

Main outcomes from researching concept othermothering as a strategy of Low-income Roma women can be summarized as that othermothering operate as a mechanism which protects mothers from living in poverty in the similar (but not same) way as it works for Afro-American women in US. The division of mothering responsibilities is a way of dealing with the care of more children in the context of the structural effects and the difficult conditions stemming, inter alia, from the poverty of these women.

Othermothering helps to women in their personal lives, it also gives them time to work or study and thus better overcome obstacles in the micro perspective, those which they can overcome by themselves. However, othermothering is not very effective in the structural macro perspective, it is theoretically allowing them work and study, but Roma ethnicity of these women and other intersectional disadvantages are often more important for employers than their abilities.

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### ***„Homosexual Divorces And Child Custody Allowance: Consensus, Dissent And Main Characteristics“***

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**Diego Becerril Ruíz**, Department of Sociology, University of Granada

#### **Abstract**

Law 13/2005 meant the recognition of gay marriage after different attempts to regulate these couples by some Autonomous Communities. This fact made Spain one of the pioneer countries in recognizing this type of marriage. The present investigation addresses the evolution of the dissolution of homosexual marriages, as well as the degree of conflict of the same and how custody of the children is assigned after the breakup. To do this, quantitative methodology is used through the secondary data review technique, using both the Natural Population Movement (NPM) and the Null, Separation and Divorce Statistics (ENSD). The main conclusion is that the dissolutions of homosexual marriages have risen gradually until 2014, their presence being more oscillating in recent years. In addition, they are

more consensual ruptures than in heterosexual marriages and the presence of children and the duration of the marriage have a significant determination. Finally, the most assigned custody modality after divorce is shared.

***„The dynamics of power and intimacy in interethnic in-law Relationships“***

**Hong Yang**, Department of Sociology, University of Edinburgh, [s1549007@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:s1549007@sms.ed.ac.uk)

**Abstract**

Interethnic relationship is a fast-growing global phenomenon, which many Asian women are involved in. For example, the number of Chinese-British marriage has doubled in the last decade. The literature available on interethnic heterosexual couples mainly focuses on female migrants, while men are usually omitted. Previous studies portray women as opportunistic. Influenced by postcolonial feminist perspectives, recent work moves beyond the ‘mail-order bride’ discourse. Women’s empowerment have been paid great attention in academic discourse. Yet, the discussion of women’s agency requires further investigation, as women’s agency is often interpreted as resistance against incongruous gender relations within the persistent patriarchal and heteronormative framework. In order to address knowledge gaps and fill the omitted research on men, the study is aiming to explore how power relations are constructed in interactions between interethnic couples that across cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and how they deal with these power relations to reach mutually satisfying intimacy by using cases of Chinese-British marriage. Quantitative methods will be used to analyse participants’ demographic features, family information, and socioeconomic features. And qualitative research methods, in-depth semi-structured interviews, will be adopted to explore (a) whether different dimensions of power (individual, interpersonal, and structural) is related to intimacy in household management, financial management, child upbringing, emotional commitment, communication styles, being sexual partners, and connection with others; (b) which dimension of power is more strongly associated with intimacy in these aspects; (c) whether perceptions and exertion of power are varied by gender and ethnicity; (d) whether different dimensions of power are rotational between couples; (e) what strategies couples take can lead to the rotation of power; (f) how does the rotation of power shape the way of intimacy construction including financial intimacy, intellectual intimacy, emotional intimacy, spiritual intimacy, and physical intimacy. The study aims to provide a more insightful analysis of the gender, family, and social cohesion in a global setting.

## 13:00-14:40 CET Session 5: Family doing practices

Chair: Irma Budginaitė-Mačkinė

### *„Family Of Origin In The Narratives Of Adults Involved In The Process Of Adoption“*

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#### **Abstract**

In this paper, basing on my qualitative research, I will discuss how a picture of family of origin (birth/biological family) is created at intersection of family state policies about adoption, and the experiences of the actual families who have adopted children in Poland in recent years.

Adoption, in its contemporary form, is a result of the general processes, which shaped family, such as modernization, individualization, and privatization of family life. In Poland, as in other European countries, it is a long-established institution, well embedded in the political, ideological and cultural system.

Although adoption may serve as a perfect example of what is relational, fluid, and reaching “beyond nuclear family”, it may be seen as something just opposite: a social institution that confirms and strengthens the normative model of a nuclear family. Although nowadays practices of family life may be more and more based on varied, non-normative models, adoption is shaped as a perfect imitation of a “traditional” nuclear family. Even though it often follows a long period of infertility, with the sense of loss, psychological crisis, and insecurity (Santona, Zavattini 2005), it is projected as a simple solution for the involuntary childlessness. Before a process of “doing family” (Morgan 1996, 2011), in the most common-understood sense of every-day practices can start, prospective adoptive parents undergo a preparation to their role, understood in rather narrow, traditional sense. The most intense period of state-family interactions in the adoptive families is the period of training, assessment, and qualifications. It is based on group discussion, filling numerous forms and preparing various documents in the aim of proving readiness for adoption. In this process, due to de-centralization of adoption trainings, varied schemes of regarding the role of the child’s past are implemented. Once the adoption is completed, however, an after-adoption family life is often being normalized, although post-adoption reality may be far from the ideal of “normalcy” (Meakings et al. 2018), and the role of birth family is being neutralized.

Nowadays in Poland only closed adoption is allowed, with no contact with family of origin possible until the child reaches adulthood. This is different from the solutions chosen in some other European systems, where open adoption was made possible (MacDonald 2016). Although the research in other countries proves that open adoption may be beneficial for the actors engaged, both adult and children, in Poland the dominant narrative is the one, which supports adoptive family as natural-like, mimicking the patterns known from a modern model of nuclear family. Thus the family of origin is to be remembered, but not to play a role in the new child’s life. However, in my research with adoptive parents and employees of adoption centres, families of origin were intensively present, described as: a burden, an unwanted and troublesome legacy; as something neutral and negligible, and very rarely as an asset and source for the future. In this paper, I will argue that the way in which families of origin are present in the discourse about adoption, is embedded in the normative models of the family in Poland.

## ***„Extended Family Members Across State Borders: Are They Still Members of Familial Network?“***

**Vida Cesnuiyte**, Sociological Research Laboratory, Mykolas Romeris University,  
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### **Abstract**

The research idea inspired by the need of re-conceptualization of family in the context of in late modernity with certain social and demographic conditions. “Blurring” family boundaries in several last decades encouraged substitution of the family concept with “personal life” (Smart, 2007), “personal community” (Pahl & Spencer, 2004), “personal network” (Widmer, 2010), and other concepts. According to the latter concepts, family include as kin, as non-kin, independently how distantly it’s members live geographically. That is, the extended family has not completely disappeared, but still little is known about inclusion of siblings, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and other in-laws, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and other members from extended family. The issue is of special importance in the context of mass migration when almost each family have at least one member abroad.

The research aim is to understand the relationships within the extended family framework when family members are settled across state borders. The main research questions are the following: How much familial networks are related to the extended family framework in the context of mass migration? What configuration peculiarities are specific for families with members across state borders?

The research methodology is based on social interactionist (Burgess, 1926) and social construction (Gubrium & Holstein, 1987) theoretical perspectives. For identification of target families’ size, an open concept of family (Bernardes, 1986) applied, meanwhile, for analysis of target families’ configurations, tool of family network analysis (Widmer, 2016) applied. Empirical data of two surveys used: first, data of representative survey of adult population collected in Lithuania between June-August, 2018; second, quota surveys of adult population of Lithuania with direct migration experiences collected between October-November, 2018. Both surveys carried out within research project “Global migration and Lithuanian family: family practices, circulation of care and return strategies” (2017-2019; funded by the Research Council of Lithuania, agreement No S-MIP-17-117).

An empirical data reveal that migration shape size and structural configuration of families with members across state borders. Under emigration conditions, personal networks expand in comparison with the networks of the same individuals under usual conditions. The number of members of the families of procreation and orientation increases in such enlarged personal networks, while the number of other kin and non-kin declines. On the other hand, emigration makes a personal network more open to individuals not related to them by blood or marriage. Therefore, the members of the family of orientation and other kin often are replaced by the members of the family of procreation and non-kin. Meanwhile, siblings, in-laws, aunts / uncles, and other members from extended family in such context decline substantially in familial network.

## ***„Instrumental Exchanges Among Kin And Non-Kin In Whole Personal Networks“***

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### **Abstract**

This paper explores the dynamics of instrumental exchanges between significant others outside the household in the context of whole personal networks. More specifically, it investigates the impact of network composition and network structure on three types of instrumental exchanges (i.e. those involving money, goods or care) and on reciprocity.

Individuals or small groups such as families can draw benefits by virtue of their social ties with others (Coleman, 1988). Social capital corresponds to resources stemming from the possession of a durable social network of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, personal relationships embedded in personal networks provide necessary resources to individuals. The resources directly or indirectly embedded in social networks (such as information, influence, status, emotional comfort and instrumental support) serve as social capital which the individual may further invest in or draw on when needed (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005; Widmer, 2010). The type of social capital available to individuals depend to a certain extent on their age, gender and level of education, as well as on their family and occupational life trajectories (Aeby, Gauthier & Widmer 2019). While emotional bonds tend to remain strong among adult family members, instrumental exchanges are comparatively rare as they are limited to situations of manifest need (Swartz, 2009).

This paper uses data from the Family tiMes survey which was carried out in 2011, and which was based on a representative sample of 803 individuals living in Switzerland. The recruitment was made through the Swiss Federal Statistical Office to select random individuals representative for all three major linguistic regions of Switzerland (German-, French- and Italian-speaking regions). These were individuals who were born either between 1950 and 1955 or between 1970 and 1975. Regarding network data, each individual was asked to name people in their lives who they perceived as very important to them.

Dyadic instrumental exchanges between respondents and their network members were investigated through three types of support: money, goods and care. We then investigated the balance between them and the extent to which individuals were involved in reciprocal exchanges or whether they were either mainly providers or recipients of support. Moreover, those dyadic instrumental exchanges are embedded in a wider web of interdependencies. On the one hand, the network composition may vary from person to person, some including aunts and uncles, while other including friends or colleagues. On the other hand, the structure of the network regarding interaction, emotional support and conflict may vary from densely connected networks to looser ones. Therefore, we investigate the impact of network composition and network structure on those three types of instrumental exchanges and on reciprocity. Regarding network composition, we built up a typology of seven personal networks based on the types of ties: Female friends and children-oriented, Procreation-oriented, Parents-based, Siblings-based, Male friends and partner-oriented, Kinship-based, and Professional and non-kin-oriented. Regarding network structure, we used the density of interaction, of emotional support and of conflict. Density corresponds to the number of actual connections reported by the respondent divided by the maximum theoretical number of connections in a given network.

First, results show that one third of the respondents were engaged in dyadic instrumental exchanges. Parents-based networks were more likely to be associated with financial exchanges, while non-kin networks were more likely to be associated with care exchanges. High density of conflict reduced the likelihood of all types of exchanges, while high density of interaction or emotional support did not seem to matter. Second, results show that reciprocity was overall high, but it was more the case for care than for money and goods. While parents-based networks were less associated with reciprocity, non-kin networks were more likely to be associated with reciprocity. This paper brings a new light on instrumental exchanges by integrating them in a network perspective and by considering extended family relationships and non-kin ties.

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#### ***„Economic Situation Of Family And Its Influence On The Leisure Experiences“***

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#### **Abstract**

Our intention is to develop a discussion about the economic situation of families and its influence on experiencing leisure in the lives of social actors. For this purpose, we want to present the results of the questionnaire survey which was carried out in September 2018 – March 2019.

The survey was participated by over 5 400 respondents from the Czech Republic who filled in the questionnaire. Their answers were analysed with two measurement tools: The Catalogue of Leisure Activities and the typology of the economic situation of families.

We were interested in how respondents define the economic situation of their families from their own perspective and therefore we used typology which reflects the subjective assessment of the economic situation through 5 categories: A family in a very bad/a poor/an acceptable/good/very good economic



situation. Respondents were asked to put their family in terms of the economic situation into one of these categories. Additionally, they were to record leisure activities they make during the whole year. In this case we used The Catalogue of Leisure Activities to analyse their answers. Nowadays the structure of the catalogue includes 9 major categories and 77 subcategories which are used for thematic clustering and analysis of 285 leisure activities. The catalogue also includes secondary variables which show the frequency of leisure activities, the degree of popularity among respondents and the way how they are organized.

In the results of our research we have captured the relationship between the economic situation of families and respondent's choice of leisure activities. For this purpose, we formulated hypotheses which have been tested using the chi square test.

### ***„Before I Come Back Home I Have To Lose Weight” – Social Control In Kinship And Community Relations Through The Migration Lens“***

**Marta Buler**, Institute of Sociology, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities,  
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#### **Abstract**

The research question: The main research question pertains the intervening factors for resisting to social remittances. It specifically focuses on social control as the main obstacle in acquiring new practices, norms and values in family and community life.

Theoretical approach: The conceptual framework of this paper relies on combining several perspectives at the junction of family practice, social remittances, and social control. The first, uncovering of the „doing family” processes stems from D.H. Morgan's works (1996, 2011). The second perspective, the realm of migration is framed through the concept of social remittances. Coined by Peggy Levitt (1998, 2001; with Lamba-Nieves 2010) the term signifies “ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities” (Levitt, 1998). The model is expanded with the social remitting process framework reconstructed by Grabowska et al. (2017). This is the lens to take a closer look at the third perspective which is social control (Sztompka 1967) defined as a cluster of factors that shape individual behaviour in a way required by the society (here: family and community).

Methodology and Data: The theoretical approach is combined with the qualitative mix method study based on the three research projects. In the project the interpretative paradigm is being followed and the Layder's (1998) approach is being implemented.

Three qualitative components comprise this study. The first is a secondary data analysis of historical sources found in classic migration studies. The next element is a secondary data analysis of the findings from the study Cultural diffusion through social remittances between Poland and UK conducted in 2011-2015 in Poland and the United Kingdom (121 IDI's).

The third component is data gathered through the primary research for the sake of the PhD project. The research was conducted among chosen participants of QLS study on Cultural diffusion.... Ten IDI's with family genograms (visual presentation of family relations) were conducted (in 2018) among four return migrants and their family members (one circular migrant, one stayer, four return migrants).

Research findings: Social capital is a kind of reward for those who follow internalized social control. However this leads to resistance towards new practices or norms observed or experienced abroad.

During migration this effect is not that strong because people live often far – in mental and physical dimensions – from the controlling family and society. They allowed themselves to act differently and live by their individual rules. These regulations are sometimes opposite to those binding the community/ family or origin, like infidelity, using drugs or not attending Sunday mass. These deviations might also be evinced by more gender equality which is required because of being all alone without any help (e.g. in care giving over minors), being less concentrated on physical attractiveness (than migrant perceive the Polish society) or organizing wedding ceremony and party in more local manner (e.g. not in church and less festive).

Nonetheless after returning home all these deviations are not acquired or adopted and transferred further but they are being abandoned. The process of resistance is similar to those proposed by Grabowska and team (2017) – it can be done by the return migrant or the possible receivers of the social remittance. Important here is that this is social control that is responsible for impediment of this process. According to Sztompka (1967) social control has its internal and external manifestation. It can be argued that if migrant resist to new practice or norm while being abroad it means that it is connected with the internal social control. He or she is not becoming a rebel and follows all internalized rules. Yet, if someone acquire or adopt some new practice or norm while being abroad and abandon it influenced by members of family or this is an impact of external social control. He or she might return to practice and/or norms respected before the experience of migration.

With the above perspective social control might be perceived as an absolute regulator of what can be adopted/ acquired and what is to be resisted. This would mean that social control might be tenuous in two cases: the first when it had been weak before the migration and it remains weak after return.

The second case of acting as rebellious is adopting/ acquiring and transferring practice that has little impact on everyday life and/ or implementing it into family life might strengthen the existing relations, bonds and networks (e.g. some novelties in wedding parties). In such a situation it is allowed to offer and apply something new. Nonetheless, it seems it is only applicable in the field of practice. Norms are barely changeable aspects of family life.

## 14:50-16:10 CET Session 6: Childcare issues II

Chair: Ronny König

### *„Grandparents and Grandchildren: Spatially Distant, Emotionally Close? Grandparenting Practices Across Geographical Distance and National Borders“*

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#### Abstract

##### Research aims

The goal of this paper is to expand our knowledge on the grandparenting norms, expectations and practices, with a special emphasis on the grandparenting at a distance and across national borders. This study will provide a unique insight into the patterns of communication, emotional care and financial support from the grandparents to the grandchildren into their adulthood.

##### Theoretical approach

Longer life expectancy and lower fertility mean that grandparents live often late into their grandchildren's adulthood but at the same time there are fewer grandchildren per grandparental couple. Both of these phenomena, characteristic for the contemporary 'beanpole' family, call for investing more in particular grandparent-grandchild relationships as they are more likely to be maintained for several years (i.a. Bengtson, 2001). Spatial mobility, both of parents with small children and of adult grandchildren affects the maintenance of such grandparental relationships, calling for the grandparents' agency and even inducing their mobility at later ages (Baldassar & Merla, 2014).

The scholars of transnational families have developed multiple categories related to migrant family practices, such as caring at a distance, virtual co-presence, or grandparents on the move (Baldassar, Nedelcu, Merla, & Wilding, 2016; Baldassar, Wilding, & Baldock, 2007; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2019). The presented research will assess how these categories apply to internally separated families. The idea that mobility and absence are inherent features of family lives in the full range of family forms (Baldassar & Merla, 2014) applies to domestic migrations as well. Distance is a feature that unites internal and international mobility, especially within the EU where the geographic span of internal and international mobility may be similar and means of travel even more efficient than for internal journeys. This calls for looking at the role of distance in family practices and in the maintenance of intergenerational ties in both internally and internationally mobile families.

The research aims to study how contemporary grandparenting norms are negotiated and practices adapted to the spatial mobility of family members. By looking at a wide age-range of grandparents with families participating in internal and/or international migration this research intends to contribute to bridging the gap between the literatures on transnational families and contemporary transformation of family practices.

##### Data and methods

The country of data collection is Poland, where the society combines strong intergenerational and family care obligations with intense outmigration and rapid population ageing (Okólski, 2018). The population of grandparents in Poland can be estimated at 9.5 million (based on SHARE and CSO data).

Over 57% of Polish grandparents look after their grandchildren, at least occasionally (Neuberger & Haberkern, 2014, p. 177). 20.1% of Poles aged 65+ resided with grandchildren in the same household (based on Szatur-Jaworska, 2012, pp. 422–423). On the other hand, over 253 thousands of Polish nationality children lived abroad (as of 2011, Kaczorowski, 2015), most probably away from their grandparents.

The research will be based on a national survey designed purely to collect unique information on grandparenting norms and practices' adaptation to spatial mobility, covering a nationwide sample of 1000 grandparents aged 50+, with grandchildren living in proximity, at larger distances in the same country and in different locations abroad. The survey will address complex family configurations, inquiring individuals about their grandchildren in different locations, allowing to compare activities, communication patterns, transfers and grandparents' perception of relationship quality with his/her grandchildren differentiated by the place of residence (distance and presence of a border). Thanks to specific international migration oriented questions the survey design allows for a systematic comparison of family relationships and practices in transnational and internally mobile families which is an added value compared to SHARE and GGS studies. The second source of data in the project are the planned focus group interviews with Poles with grandchildren in different locations, devoted to the analysis of their perception of the social norms regarding grandparenting confronted with their own experience.

#### Expected findings

This is research in progress, so currently only the expected findings and planned analyses can be signalled. While there are many studies on the provision of personal childcare in transnational migrants' families, this research will also cover the types of grandparenting practices which may continue or appear later into the grandchildren's adulthood such as financial support. We intend to deepen the understanding of how geographic distance affects grandparenting and how this is mediated by inequalities due to age, socio-economic characteristics and ICT literacy of the members of the grandparental generation.

One of the specific aims is to measure communication practices employed by the grandparents. Looking to fill in the niche in the literature, we undertake to analyse the patterns and factors associated with the use of innovative ICT by ageing persons in their relations with grandchildren living in a distant location in the same country, compared to transnational grandchildren. Next, we will search for a specific effect of having grandchildren abroad, beyond what can be attributed to the lack of geographic proximity of the members of different generations of the family.

### ***„Communication And Shared Parenting In Joint Physical Custody: Mother's Perspectives“***

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#### **Abstract**

The construction of joint legal custody (JLC) and joint physical custody (JPC) through legislation translates the separation of two sets of social relations that were associated with residing with the child in sole custody and from which one parent was excluded through non-residency (mainly the father): the daily care intrinsic to residing with the child; and parental authority, which refers to involvement in decision-making about the child's life (Neale & Smart, 1997) and was translated into the legal concept of parental responsibility. Each mode of shared custody mirrors a distinct way of

conceiving the articulation of these relationships in maintaining the involvement of both parents in the child's life. But both signals the emergence of a new requirement for the parental involvement of separated parents: the maintenance of a separate togetherness (Graham, 2009) through parental communication and negotiation.

In 2008 JLC was introduced as a rule into the Portuguese divorce law (61/2008), yet JPC was not written into the law. Even though there are no official data on child custody orders, research has shown that certain family judges have issued JPC orders and that parents without JPC court orders are sharing residence parenting (Marinho, 2017). However, little is known about the roles that communication plays in the negotiation and daily construction of JPC.

This presentation examines the relation between communication and shared parenting by exploring the meanings and practices that JPC mothers attach to negotiating and sharing information with fathers on the child and child rearing issues and comparing the communication practices of JPC and JLC mothers.

The analysis draws on the articulation between the following concepts: privacy, independence and sharing spaces in communication (Petronio, 2010); homogeneity and heterogeneity of behaviours and beliefs in communication (Galvin & Braithwaite, 2014); and cohesion and regulation in the internal dynamics of family functioning (Widmer et al., 2003). It focuses on two dimensions of the reconstruction of the parental family: a) the choice of the custody regime and of the terms of parental sharing in the negotiation of marital dissolution; and b) the subsequent daily construction of parental sharing. And it is oriented by the following research questions: What is at stake for mothers when choosing custody arrangements and negotiating its terms? How often do they communicate with the father? What means do they use to communicate? What elements of parental sharing do they include in communication? How do periodicity, means and contents of communication relate to parental sharing? And what are the similarities and differences in maternal communication practices in JLC and JPC?

The analysis draws on an online survey that was applied during 2014/2015 and captured attitudes and practices of 113 separated/divorced mothers and fathers regarding post separation parenting. This paper focus on a subsample of (20) JLC and (28) JPC mothers. It also draws on 8 interviews with JPC mothers who had previously answered the survey.

Findings revealed that JPC mothers have less difficulty negotiating the division of parenting time, authority and child rearing costs than JLC mothers.

In the daily construction of JPC, the diversity of the meanings and practices attached by mothers to communication stands out, as well as their relation with particular logics of parental cohesion and regulation, as they draw on the mother's commitment to parental interchangeability.

In JPC, the boundaries established or felt by mothers in relation to the aspects of the child's life that are included or not in communication leads to the use of various periodicities and means of communicating with the father, in which children are included. This combination is strategically woven according to the subject that triggers communication and the logic of cohesion and regulation that, at each moment, shape the functioning of the parental relationship. This avoids both unwanted proximity and interference, as well as parental conflict. Still, mothers articulate more parental components in communication with the father both in the negotiation of homogeneous and heterogeneous parenting styles. JLC mothers are more likely to limit communication periodicity and topics through unilateralism and thus exclude the father from childcare and parental authority.

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### ***„A Reflection Upon Family Vocabulary According To Formerly Foster Children: Between The Norm And Individual Reality“***

**Camille Roudaut**, Department of Sociology, Paris Descartes University, [roudautcamille@gmail.com](mailto:roudautcamille@gmail.com)

#### **Abstract**

As part of my thesis, since July 2019, I have been interested in formerly placed children and the relationships they maintain with whoever took care of them – special need youth workers if they were placed in foster care and/or a foster family if they had a foster care placement. More specifically, I study the place of daily life in the construction of close links. There should be bonds and relationships between formerly placed children and their foster care professionals and/or foster families.

Based on a qualitative methodology, more precisely by carrying out semi-directive interviews, this research focuses on female as well as male formerly placed children who are now adults. It is carried out under the direction of Elsa Ramos. Moreover, I benefit from a “CIFRE contrat” with the “Conseil Départemental du Finistère” : a regional government notably in charge of child protection.

I have been interested in this subject since my Master’s degree at Paris Descartes University. I carried out two research theses, supervised by Elsa Ramos. The first one aims at understanding the relationships between foster families and foster children, during a placement measure. In the second one, I focused on these same relationships but the temporality was different. Indeed, I questioned this relationship through an after placement measure. For these two master’s theses, I met foster families, mostly women, as this profession is mostly held by women.

What does family vocabulary tell us about relationships between former foster children and foster families ? What is the daily life place in bonds construction and therefore in family vocabulary construction ? Based on the results of my first PhD interviews, I suggest to exploring how, broadly speaking, formerly placed children describe a family and a parent (I). In addition, I will base my statements on their own family and parent definition (II).

The context in which this communication is considered is a contemporary society in which : “further types of family-building – homoparental families (...) adoptive families, foster families raise the question of multi-parenthood” (Singly, 2017, p.61). Furthermore, François de Singly and Elsa Ramos’s

works will guide us. In the first part, from foster placed children's general definition of a family and a parent, three avenues of reflection would be presented. On the one hand, I'll explore normative aspects on what constitute a family and a parent to some of them. On the other hand, I'll describe the projection of what they would have wished their family or parent(s) to be, as well as, the lacks they may have felt. Finally, I will present that giving such definitions is not an easy process.

In the second part, I will notably discuss how the formerly placed children experienced autonomy. Indeed, "Becoming autonomous doesn't mean breaking with his/her family either, but rethink relationships to each member of the group. This updating is necessary for the self-identity" (Ramos, 2002, p.98). I suggest to exploring how formerly placed children experience their autonomy through the characterization of their parent and family. Also, in what way are these definitions part of their self-construction? Lastly, I'll explore the place of these close relationships in the process.

I can already take the example of Dylan (24 years old, formerly placed child in a foster family) who says he has "created his own family". By listening to his life's experience during the interview, I can draw his family diagram. I might call it "a tripartite family diagram" as it is divided in three parts: a central circle, a junction and an outside circle. Questions are being posed: What is the place of his biological family? His foster family's? Can other individuals become part of it? This is something I wish to present in my communication. I'll discuss the concept of autonomy and wonder how it articulates with his close relationships. He has himself selected which member becomes part of what he calls his "atypical family". I therefore use the autonomy notion as, from his birth to his placement within the scope of child care services to his transition to adulthood, he was taken away from his biological family and sent to a foster family. Now that he lives on his own, he gives us his definition of what he calls his "own family".

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### ***„Young Adults' Retrospectives on Shared Custody Family Life“***

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#### **Abstract**

The effects of various post-separation custody arrangements have been widely studied, especially in countries with longer experience with shared custody arrangements as a legislatively embedded option. Most of these studies are quantitative surveys comparing well-being or other short- or long-time effects among the children raised in shared custody and other custody arrangements (cf. summarizing articles by Steinbach, 2018; Nielsen, 2018; Bauserman, 2012). Several qualitative studies concerned how the children view the shared custody situation (Berman, 2015; Campo, Fehlberg, Millward, & Carson, 2012; Haugen, 2010; Neoh & Mellor, 2010; Sadowski & McIntosh, 2016). These studies focused on the experiences of children currently living in shared custody arrangements. Our

aim is to add a different perspective to the descriptions of shared custody practices – the perspective of young adults who previously experienced regular residence with both parents following a divorce or breakup (approx. between 25 – 50 % of time). We use a phenomenological analytical approach to explain specific constructions of the meaning of family life and the construction of the narratives of post-divorce custody arrangements. We also attempt to explore the values and cultural structures that shape the narrative constructions. This is particularly important in the specific post-communist context, specifically in terms of the changing gender division of parental roles, the notions of justice and injustice stemming from the ideas of intensive motherhood and new fatherhood, and the construction of the best interests of the child.

This research is a part of broader project Shared Custody in the Czech Republic and in this branch of the research we seek for the answers for the next questions:

What are the retrospective views of negotiation around post-divorce custody arrangements? Although parental conflict is generally seen as a preclusion to shared custody, it has several different roles. In many cases, the relevance of shared custody increases with the level of conflict between parents. The legal institution of shared custody is used as an instrument to reach a more egalitarian position and to prevent the loss of contact with children. Distinguishing among various aspects of post-divorce conflict and their meanings as perceived by the children helps to understand the self-reinforcing nature of conflict arising from feelings of injustice caused by the system of post-divorce proceedings.

What is the retrospective assessment of the practice of shared custody? Although the “two homes” problem is the most discussed in the public discourse, important contradictions can be also found elsewhere: Many parents complain about the restricted nurturing repertory. The failure to agree on a nurturing style (not necessarily identical) in high conflict / low cooperation families leads to a narrowing of the repertoire of possible disciplinary methods. The assertion of parental authority is limited by the possibility of comparison with the other parent and an implicit desire to maintain a companionable relationship with the child. Our research will identify the children’s perspectives on these aspects of shared custody arrangements.

What are the specifics of formation of higher-order partnerships in the context of shared custody arrangements? The important roles of step-parents and step-siblings have been insufficiently researched. Most children in shared custody arrangements experience at least one step-family formation (on the side of the father or mother, or both, or repeatedly). We will thoroughly map the reflection of the process of forming step-families in the context of shared custody (with an oscillating number of children and different statuses of various children, different distributions of parental obligations and authority, etc.) We will also focus on the negotiation of step-parental authority and roles.

The fieldwork is based on interviews with young adults (ages 18 to 23) who experienced shared custody arrangements. Semi-structured narrative interviews were conducted. Part of the interviews were in person; part took place via telephone or via Skype. The recruitment of the respondents was based on mixed methods. Advertisement and media coverage of the research motivated the target population of young adults with experience of shared custody to visit the research website and to register for an interview. Obviously, the motivations of the respondents are not randomly distributed and several mechanisms of the self-selection of respondents need to be considered. We observed strong motivations both to refer the negative aspects of shared custody and to contradict negative stereotypes. As the qualitative logic is not based on population representativity, we do not consider these self-selection mechanisms as a fatal obstacle to building a relevant sample of respondents.



## 16:30-17:50 CET Session 7: Post-divorce family relationships

**Chair: Katarzyna Suwada**

### ***„Changing Family Structures, Changing Family Relations? Parental Divorce And Intergenerational Relations In Switzerland“***

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#### **Abstract**

Intergenerational support is an important characteristic of family relationships in contemporary societies. But, especially in times with changing marriage, birth, and parenthood patterns and increasing life expectancies, the question about family support and cohesion has become even more important. Today, many children do not grow up together with both biological parents and increasing multi-locality between generations due to divorces or separations can raise the question about solidarity patterns in later life. As previous research shows, parental divorce is an important life-changing event for both, parents and children causing often some negative social and emotional consequences. For example there is some empirical evidence that children from divorced families tend to have weaker family relationships in terms of closeness, distance and distress with their parents compared with children from intact families.

However, so far, little is yet known about parental (marital) dissolution as well as their life-course specific occurrence on intergenerational cohesion and support in adulthood. Therefore, this contribution examines the extent to which family solidarity between adult children and parents depend on earlier experiences of separation or divorce. Research questions are: (1) Does parental divorce or separation inhibit intergenerational solidarity and cohesion in later life? (2) Are there differences for affectional and associational solidarity observable? (3) Which role play the life-course specific period of separation and the existence of new family members such as stepparents and stepsiblings? (4) Do the relations affected by separation show gender-specific patterns regarding mothers, fathers but also daughters and sons?

The empirical analyses are based on the new representative study "SwissGen – Intergenerational Relations in Switzerland". The survey was conducted in 2018/19, including more than 10,000 respondents from 18 to 100 years in all three parts of Switzerland (German, French, and Italian Switzerland). The analyses prove that adult family generations are strongly connected through social interaction and cohesion. However, in addition to cultural variations in Switzerland, multivariate ordered probit regressions highlight that parental separation and divorce strongly affects intergenerational contacts and cohesion. This especially applies when taking the moment of such a major event in child's life course into account and highlight the lasting effect for parental divorce for family relations. In addition to gender-specific patterns, we also find certain influences according to changed family formations and situations such as having stepparents and stepsiblings.

***„Separated parents, separated family networks? Substitution of family ties in family networks of divorced and nondivorced families“***

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**Abstract**

Parental divorce can be viewed as an internal shock in the family network which affects not only the relationship between the divorcing parents, but also the relationships of the parents with other family members and relationships between other family members; e.g., between grandparents and grandchildren. Parental divorce therefore is said to have a ripple effect on the family network. We expect that – because of these linked interdependencies – cross-lineage contact, between mother and the paternal grandparents and between father and the maternal grandparents, in divorced families will be less frequent than in non-divorced families. If cross-lineage contact in divorced families is lower, this implies that the family networks of divorced families are more disjoint.

Contact is a prerequisite for qualitatively meaningful family relationships, e.g., support and affection. We theorize that disjoint family networks, either divorced or non-divorced, endanger the beneficial individual outcomes related to these qualitatively meaningful relationships, such as well-being (Merz et al., 2009; Polenick et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2017) and health (Umberson & Karas Montez, 2010). In order to avoid a deprivation of these beneficial individual outcomes, lost ties on one side of the family should be made up for by stronger ties with equivalent family members on the other side of the family, which is referred to as substitution, e.g., lower contact frequencies between child and paternal grandparents go together with more frequent contact frequencies between child and maternal grandparents. We thus expect substitution to occur in both divorced and non-divorced families. If divorced networks are – as hypothesized – more disjoint, the need for substitution will be higher.

We first postulate the “separated network hypotheses” stating that family members have less frequent cross-lineage contact compared to within-lineage contact (H1a) and that family members in divorced families have less frequent cross-lineage contact compared to family members in non-divorced families (H1b). Next, we hypothesize negative associations between the child-paternal grandparental dyads and the child-maternal grandparental dyads (H2a), as well as between the father-paternal grandparental dyads and the father-maternal grandparental dyads (H3a), and between the mother-paternal grandparental dyads and the mother-maternal grandparental dyads. We expect that these substitution effects are stronger in divorced families (H2b, H2c, H2d).

These hypotheses are tested using data from the Divorce in Flanders (DiF) study, which is a cross-sectional multi-actor study oversampling former couples (Pasteels et al., 2011). From the multi-actor data, family networks of seven family members were constructed: one child, two parents, four grandparents. Of these seven family members, five family members are respondents: one child, two parents and one grandparent on both sides. Between these family members, 30 possible relationships are examined. Contact is measured as face-to-face (“How often do you see X?”) and non-personal (“How often do you have contact with X by telephone, mail or the Internet?”). After re-coding, contact

war reported on a scale from 1-7 (1= never, 2 = less than once a month, 3 = once a month, 4 = several times per month (but not weekly), 5 = once a week, 6 = several times per week (but not daily), 7 = daily). Contact relationships are reported only for non-deceased family members not sharing the same household. We obtained an analytical sample of 4,436 families (3,474 divorced and 962 non-divorced, hereafter indicated without divorced/non-divorced reference)

The contact frequency reports are dependent within families, whose dependence structure is taken into account in the statistical analysis. The Social Relations Model (Kenny et al., 2006; Snijders & Kenny, 1999) does so by distinguishing the 'actors' (individual family roles, 'child', 'mother', etc.) both as 'senders' and 'receivers' of directed relationships, and their 'dyadic' combinations ('mother-child', etc.). In order to test the separated network hypothesis we need to compare contact in cross-lineage relationships between divorced and non-divorced families. We defined 9 indicator variables to represent 15 dyads containing the 30 measured directed relationships. The cross-lineage variables, and the interaction with the divorce indicator are used to test the first hypothesis. To test the substitution hypotheses we compare the covariances between the child-maternal grandparents dyads and the child-paternal grandparents dyads, the parent and the paternal and maternal grandparents, and between the child and father vs. mother. The covariances are computed separately for divorced and non-divorced families.

The results show that contact between the three generations in divorced families is lower than in non-divorced families, where the largest differences are found for cross-lineage contact, supporting the separated network hypothesis. Negative associations are found between the child-paternal grandparental dyads and the child-maternal grandparental dyads, as well as between the parent-paternal grandparental dyads and the child-maternal grandparental dyads. Substitution is stronger in divorced families. Negative associations between father-child and mother-child dyads are only found when parents are divorced.

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## ***„Factors Influencing Reconstituted Family After Divorce: Social, Demographical, Economical“***

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### **Abstract**

The increasing number of divorces increases the number of people who divorce, re-enter the "marriage market" and start a family with a new partner. Thus, divorce allows individuals to decide whether they will form a new partnership or whether they will be single. This presentation will look at long-term trends in remarriage in Lithuania during the different decades of the 20th century. The main factors influencing the formation of such partnerships will also be presented. The study is based on an overview of legal marriage and divorce registration procedures in the early 20th century in Lithuania and other available demographic data. Qualitative analysis was conducted by interviewing 40 informants and analyzing their life stories. Analyzing the registration of legal civil marriages and divorce law procedures, it can be stated that divorce in Lithuania has become an integral part of the Soviet legacy, which strongly influenced the choice of modern society. In the long term, both men and women have increased possibilities of remarriages, but men are more likely to remarry: gender and age are important factors in the history of partnerships after divorce. Analyzing specific factors, several groups of factors (needs, opportunities, attractiveness) were identified that are related to the different indicators.

## ***„Extended Family Members And Intimate Partner Violence“***

**Iwona Zielińska**, Academy of special pedagogy, Maria Grzegorzewska University,  
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### **Abstract**

Rarely the role of extended family members - siblings, cousins or uncles - is discussed by scholars in relation to domestic abuse. In fact, the issue of domestic abuse in general has been vastly neglected in sociology leaving the territory mainly to social work studies. For example, a quick overview of the three major Polish sociological journals showed that there has been only one article published in the last 20 years discussing the problem of family violence. This surprising absence of interest in one of the major family issues has been discussed somewhere else [see for example Hearn, J. (2013) The sociological significance of domestic violence] but it is worth noting it and considering the reasons behind it.

The practitioners supporting the victims of domestic abuse highlight the important role of extended family members in leaving an abusive relationship by a victim. However in reality, women victims who are overwhelmed by feelings of shamed and fear are often reluctant to turn for help and support to their families. The situation is even more difficult when couples move to another country. This often escalates the violence as the perpetrator feels unchallenged and more confident without the informal control of friends and family who all stayed in their home country, and the victim feels isolated, insecure and left alone.

Since 2018 I have been working with a group of researchers from the University of Lincoln, UK, to study the problem of domestic abuse among Polish families living in the UK. In summer 2019 we conducted 17 interviews with various practitioners - social workers, policewomen, health workers, charity workers and others - working primarily with victims but also with perpetrators in Lincolnshire area, UK, for a project titled: The problem of domestic violence among Polish immigrants in England in the opinion of British practitioners. The aim of the study was to identify barriers Polish migrant women victims face when looking for help, as well as challenges experienced by practitioners when supporting Polish victims of domestic abuse. In November 2019-January 2020 we have conducted 10 semi-structured interviews in Poland with the Polish practitioners and 10 life-course interviews with women who has experience family violence, to check for similarity and differences in the victims' support systems between Poland and the UK.

In the course of the fieldwork the role of family members has been discussed many times by the practitioners. The illustrative examples provided by them, stretched from heroic actions to save an abused sister to turning a blind eye to the situation or even taking sides with the perpetrator and thus abusing and letting abuse the victim further. Factors like the family history, intergenerational violence transmission and geographical location of the family members proved to be important in if and how family members would get involved in the problem of intimate partners violence.

There are two goals of this paper. The general one, is to promote the need for greater sociological interest in the problem of domestic abuse. The more specific aim, is to show ambiguous role of the extended family members in situation of domestic abuse, and particularly in situation of women's risk of abuse by their intimate partners. This will be analysed within the theoretical frame of gender, power and the sociology of emotions.