

Welcome to the Carework Network's 4th Conference!

We decided on our conference theme, Bridging Carework Research, Policy and Advocacy, almost instantaneously. It underscores for us the growing seriousness and urgency of carework issues both within nations and transnationally. It also recognizes that carework scholars, providers, policy-makers and activists need to join forces. Cooperatively, we can more effectively address the need for increased understanding and analysis as well as for support, policy and action. We hope this conference will provide a meaningful contribution to further energizing such efforts. Welcome to all those who have joined us to share information and ideas and to spend the day affirming the goals of a socially just, humane, and equitable approach to care.

The Carework Network <http://www.soc.iastate.edu/carework/>

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Thank you...

**A special thank you to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
for providing funding to support this conference**

and to Professor Barrie Thorne for serving as our local sponsor.

In addition, we want to thank the following institutional supporters:

University of California-Berkeley, Department of Sociology and
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Iowa State University, Women's Studies Program and Sociology Department

University of Oregon Department of Sociology

University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Human Development and Family Studies and
Department of Sociology

CAREWORK CONFERENCE 2004 PROGRAM SUMMARY

8:30 - 9:00 AM	Registration	
9:00 - 10:45 AM	Welcome Morning plenary with Eva Kittay and Dorothy Roberts	Auditorium
10:45 - 11:00 AM	Break	
11:00 AM - 12:30 PM	Morning paper and alternative format sessions	
1	Caring Across the Life Course	San Diego C
2	Globalization and Carework: The Impact of State Family Policies in Europe and the U.S.	Santa Barbara
3	Participatory Research and Carework	Monterey
4	Family Caregiving and Motherhood	San Jose
5	Working Conditions for Direct Care Workers	Benicia Room A
6	Working in Paid Care	Benicia Room B
7	Gender, Race, and Class Dynamics in Unpaid Carework	Vallejo
12:30 - 1:15 PM	Lunch	San Diego
1:15 - 3:00 PM	Afternoon plenary: "California's Paid Family Leave Law"	Auditorium
3:00 - 3:15 PM	Break	
3:15 - 4:45 PM	Afternoon paper and alternative format sessions	
8	Bridging Carework, Advocacy, and Policy	Vallejo
9	Globalization and Carework: Carework Relations and Identities in the Context of Global Change	Santa Barbara
10	When Participant Observation Gets Personal: A Brief Foray into the World of Birth-Assistant Training	Monterey
11	Managing Employment and Family Carework	San Jose
12	Policy and Paid Carework	Auditorium
13	Racial/Ethnic and Class Inequalities in Carework	Benicia Room A
14	Paid Child Care	Benicia Room B
4:45 PM	Reception	San Diego

Morning

CAREWORK CONFERENCE PROGRAM
Bridging Carework Research, Advocacy, and Policy
Friday, August 13, 2004
8:30-5:30 pm
Milton Marks Conference Center
San Francisco, CA

9:00 – 10:45 AM

Morning plenary: Bridging Carework Scholarship and Advocacy

Auditorium

Presider: Cameron Macdonald, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin – Madison

Welcome

Barrie Thorne, Women's Studies and Department of Sociology, University of California-Berkeley

Speakers

Eva Kittay, author of *The Subject of Care: Feminist Perspectives on Dependency* (2003) and *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality and Dependency* (1998)

Dorothy Roberts, author of *Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare* (2003) and *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty*

10:45 -11:00 AM

Break

MORNING SESSIONS

11:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Session 1

San Diego C

Caring Across the Life Course

Presider: Christopher Wellin, Department of Sociology & Gerontology, Miami University

Delaying a Life: The Consequences of Career Deferment for Childrearing for the Radcliffe Class of 1950

Jo Anne Preston, Department of Sociology, Brandeis University

This paper examines the life course of the Radcliffe College class of 1950. By analyzing reunion books, it finds that the costs of delaying career to have and raise children for this age cohort were significant and included structural as well as psychic penalties, and were greater for women pursuing careers in science.

Supporting Spouse and Child Caregivers through Telephone Groups

Tamara Smith, Institute of Gerontology, SUNY Albany

Ronald Toseland, Institute of Gerontology, SUNY Albany

This research examines the effectiveness of a telephone support group (TSG) for spouses and adult children of elderly care recipients. Using a randomized control design methodology, caregivers were assessed on (1) burden, (2) perceived health, (3) social support, (4) pressing problems, (5) depression, (6) anxiety, (7) support services, and (8) self appraisal of change. The needs of these two generations differ, and intervention designers need to be aware of the sociological effects of providing care at different phases of the life course.

Morning

Carework in Our Middle Years: Towards a New Paradigm

Nancy Marshall, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College

I propose a conceptual framework, grounded in ecological systems theory, which integrates Tronto's concept of care with Voydanoff's paid work model to describe informal carework in terms of *structure* –availability of different family members and close friends; *social organization of care* –how the different *dimensions of care* are distributed among caregivers; *norms and expectations for care* – such as reciprocity and gendered expectations for *caring about*, *caring for* and *caregiving*; *support* –exchange of support within the care network; *orientation to care* –level of involvement in carework; and the *quality* of the care experience for the care recipient and the caregiver.

Gender and Identity Change in Spouses with Alzheimer's Disease: Implications for Carework

Jeanne Hayes, Research Scientist, Kansas City VA Medical Center

Mary Zimmerman, Department of Sociology and School of Medicine, University of Kansas

This paper examines how caregivers' gendered perceptions of change in the social identities of their spouses who have Alzheimer's disease (AD) affects their carework experience. Data were collected from in-depth interviews with 14 men and 15 women caregivers. Drawing on the work of Strauss' (1959), who developed the concept of turning points to signal terminological shifts that demand and signal new evaluations of self and other, we examine caregivers' perceptions of change in the identities of their spouses with AD, articulate how gendered perceptions' of identity change relate to caregivers' realization that "something is wrong," as well as the actions caregivers take in response to this realization and their reactions to the diagnosis of AD and the carework experience.

Session 2

Santa Barbara Room

Globalization and Carework: The Impact of State Family Policies in Europe and the U.S.

President: Mary Zimmerman, Department of Sociology and School of Medicine, University of Kansas

Family Policies and the Wage Penalty for Mothers Cross-Nationally

Michelle Budig and Joya Misra, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

In recent years, a number of scholars have examined whether motherhood affects employed woman's wages, and what explains any penalties that exist. We examine whether countries with more effective family policies and particularly childcare programs may see less of a wage penalty to mothers. For this presentation, we plan to identify how steep the wage penalty in employment is in several European countries (Sweden, Norway, France, Germany, UK, and the Netherlands). We also will examine how constellations of family policies may shape the wage penalty to mothers.

Family Values?: Poverty, Employment and Welfare Policy in "Family-Centered" Countries

Joya Misra, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

Stephanie Moller, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina – Charlotte

In this study, we focus on countries that are generally recognized as particularly "family-centric," focused on supporting families with children. We compare these nations to a number of other countries on a range of measures, including poverty rates before and after tax and transfer (welfare) programs have been put into place. We examine these rates for families with married mothers, single mothers, married non-mothers, and single non-mothers. We then examine how employment trends and family policies may help explain the divergences we find. Finally, we discuss the implications of the differences among these "family-centric" nations.

Family Policy and Family Formation: Sweden and the United States

Lori Wiebold-Lippisch, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas

The United States and Sweden actively employ women in the labor force and each espouses ideals of equality and family values; yet differing policies shape the experience of family. I investigate each nations' policies and their subsequent outcomes. Policies include parental leave (including the daddy month in Sweden), child tax credits, and the United States welfare-to-work and marriage promotion of poor single mothers. I find surprising outcomes for families as a result of differing family policies. In this comparison, I also examine how women interact with the market, and how government policies shape gender and family relations.

Morning

Where is Cinderella Now? The Division of Labor in the Two Germanies

Sabine N. Merz, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

What has happened to the domestic division of labor in the two Germanies by 1999? Barbara Einhorn argued in her book *Cinderella Goes to Market* that among state socialist countries East Germany went the farthest “in balancing its policies towards women as producers and reproducers” (Einhorn, 1993:35). West German policies had focused on the traditional breadwinner model. Unification meant that almost without exception West German policies now became law which meant dramatic changes for the women from the former G.D.R. What were the implications of these dramatic socioeconomic changes for unpaid carework within the home which before unification was apparently more equal within the former East Germany? I will examine this state of affairs using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel.

Discussant: Sally Bould, Department of Sociology, University of Delaware

Session 3

Monterey Room

Special Panel: Participatory Action Research and Carework

Within participatory action research (PAR), community members and academics collaborate in the research process for the express purpose of increasing the agency of participants and facilitating democratic social change. PAR provides a framework in which people can analyze and come to understand the social forces that shape their daily lives, as well as the ways in which collective action can shape those social forces.

This session highlights four research projects with careworkers that utilize community-based, participatory methods. In each project we explore how careworkers can overcome structural limitations to exercising power and visibility through collaboration with academic researchers - as well as the challenges and rewards of such research. Presenters will discuss issues such as diversity, conflicts and complementarities of academic and community research goals, the social impact of PAR, and data ownership dilemmas.

Linda Ayala from the Alameda County, California Public Authority and **Karen Orlando** from the Service Employees International Union Local 616 will discuss their research with home care workers and consumers in Alameda County, California.

Andrea Robles from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Center for Economic Development and **Julie Whitaker** from the University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Cooperatives will discuss their research with home care workers who are members of a worker-owned cooperative in rural Wisconsin.

Mary Tuominen from Denison University will discuss her research with family childcare providers addressing self-advocacy and anti-racism work among white and low-income communities of color in Seattle, Washington.

Lynet Uttal will share her experiences on collaborating with an agency program that certifies Latina childcare providers in Madison, Wisconsin.

Session 4

San Jose Room

Family Caregiving and Motherhood

Presider: Jackie Litt, Women's & Gender Studies and Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia

Is Sandwiched Caregiving Detrimental to Health? A Longitudinal Analysis

Angela Henderson, Sociology Department, Texas Tech University

Jori A.C. Sechrist, Sociology Department, Purdue University

Much of the literature on caregiving focuses on child care or elder care; however, there are a growing number of caregivers who provide both child care and elder care. These caregivers are termed the “sandwich generation.” This type of multi-generational caregiving is more prevalent among African Americans, who experience a more rapid decrease in health compared to Whites. This study uses longitudinal data from The National Survey of Families and Households to examine racial differences in the health of the sandwich generation, as well as the health of the sandwich generation compared to other caregivers over time.

Morning

Family Caregiving and Public Policy - Principles for Change

Maria M. Meyer, Northern California Representative, Caregiver Community Action Network (CCAN), National Family Caregivers Association (NFCA)

Beginning in the spring of 2003, The National Family Caregivers Association (NFCA) and other family caregiver advocates came together to address the common concerns of family caregivers across the lifespan and across the country. Over the course of the next eight months they crafted a document to serve as the structure upon which to build public policy in support of caregiving families. Since then over 40 other national organizations have endorsed these Principles. Caregiving has always been a universal experience in society affecting people of all races, ethnicities, lifestyles, and income levels, but in our time family caregiving has become more than an act of love and familial responsibility. It has become an essential element of our health and long-term care system. As a result of cost containment policies and practices, people with health needs are being discharged from hospitals or other acute care settings with more complex care needs and curtailed homecare services, which means more responsibility for families, who are inadequately prepared and trained. It is clear that given these circumstances American health care is now on a collision course with the day-to-day reality of families coping with chronic conditions. Without attention to this situation, the \$257 billion in unpaid supportive services provided by the more than 25 million family caregivers may well be jeopardized as these same family caregivers suffer from physical, emotional, and financial problems that impede their ability to give care now and support their own care needs in the future. As this pattern plays itself out, the quality of care provided to individuals with disabling or chronic conditions or the frail elderly will diminish and the costs to the nation's health care system skyrocket.

First-time Mothers and the Costs of Privatized Responsibility for Babies

Bonnie Fox, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto

This paper describes the variety of experiences 40 first-time mothers had during their first year of motherhood. Examining the problems these women experienced, the paper addresses the question whether a focus on the expectations of "intensive mothering" or one on the social context and social relations in which women care for their babies better explains these problems.

Session 5

Benicia Room A

Working Conditions for Direct Care Workers

Presider: Teresa Scherzer, Department of Social & Behavioral Sciences, University of California San Francisco

The Caregiving Workforce in Assisted Living

Bernadette Wright, AARP Public Policy Institute

Assisted living residences generally provide personal services and supports in a home-like environment, with an emphasis on dignity, independence, and choice. Although direct services staff in assisted living often find the work rewarding, they frequently experience high workload, inadequate training, and low pay, for physically and emotionally demanding work, leading to high turnover rates. This paper describes the problems in the assisted living workplace and their implications for quality, reviews the research on the causes and potential solutions of these problems, summarizes variations in state regulation of assisted living staffing, and reports on efforts to improve recruitment and retention.

Race and Gender Disparities in Wages for Direct Care Workers in North Carolina's Long-Term Care Workforce

Thomas Konrad, Jennifer Craft Morgan, and Sara B. Haviland
Institute on Aging, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This paper identifies regional, organizational, job-related and individual factors associated with the hourly wage paid to direct care workers (DCW) in long-term care in North Carolina, with a focus on racial and gender disparities. Data for this paper come from a random telephone survey of certified nursing assistants (N=514) from the NC Nurse Aide Registry maintained by the NC Division of Facility Services. Descriptive findings indicate marked racial and gender differences in DCW wages. Multivariate analyses confirm the relative importance of race and gender, in addition to community and job level factors, as determinants of hourly wages.

Morning

Finding Variations in Opportunity for Worker Development in Paid Carework Jobs: Implications for Employment Research and Practice

Anna Haley-Lock, School of Social Work, University of Washington

This paper reviews an approach to the study of jobs that may be fruitfully applied to the employment experiences of paid careworkers. Drawing on firm-level labor market theory, this perspective reframes carework for what it offers practitioners in terms of employer-provided opportunities for personal and professional development; this contrasts with prior work on how careworkers affect organizational outcomes, or how workers' personal characteristics correlate with their employment attainments. The paper presents evidence from a study of human service programs and workers that identified variations within and across agencies in workplace benefits extended to comparable jobs; and discusses implications for workers and organizations.

Situating the Direct Care Work Experience in Sociological Context

Jennifer Craft Morgan, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Direct care work in long-term care (LTC) is characterized by low pay, few benefits and difficult working conditions. This "bad job" problem and an attendant turnover problem are only expected to worsen as the baby boomers age and their needs for LTC services increases. Developing a nuanced understanding of the situation of direct care workers (DCWs) is a crucial first step for researchers, policymakers and advocates working to improve the material conditions for these workers. This study analyzes data collected in North Carolina providing an understanding of the experience of DCWs and emphasizing the sociological context of direct care work.

Session 6

Benicia Room B

Working in Paid Care

Presider: Cameron Macdonald, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin – Madison

"It's Part of the Job": Meanings of Sexual Harassment in Care and Service Labor

Lisa C. Huebner, Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh

Sexual harassment is framed as either gender discrimination or violence against women. Definitions also rely on a universal conception of gender. This paper challenges existing definitions of sexual harassment by considering how sexual and intimate behaviors and expectations are normative--part of the job--in care and service labor. It also examines the ways that gender intersects with race, sexuality, and age and suggests that these factors help construct experiences that contribute to perceptions of sexual harassment. Based on in-depth interviews with nurses and waitresses, these findings will help better define sexual harassment that informs policy and organizing efforts.

Organized Indifference: Training Health Care Workers in a Unionized Setting

Ariel Ducey, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary

This paper assesses the complicated role that one of the major health care workers' unions, 1199 SEIU, plays in the health care industry and in the lives of the care workers it has organized. Care service workers in New York City organized by 1199 SEIU have achieved wage levels and access to social benefits that make work in the health care industry highly desirable and one of the only avenues into stable, full-time work for many of the city's women and immigrant workers. In this paper, I focus on one such benefit of unionization: the emergence of an industry for training health care workers-funded by hundreds of millions of dollars in federal and state grants obtained by 1199 through what some would see as Faustian political bargains-and how this industry alters the patterns of health care workers' lives. In particular, I describe the partial successes of this industry in introducing "career ladders" into the health care sector and its problematic focus on on-the-job training in "soft skills" such as customer service and communication skills. My conclusion is that this training and education industry largely continues 1199's historical indifference to the organization of the health care labor process and the health care system-an indifference that was a condition of its organizing success.

Struggling to Touch: Massage Therapists Resisting Stigma and Constructing the "Legitimate" Caring Professional

Marnie Dobson, Department of Sociology University of California – Irvine

Massage therapy is a growing area of women's care work in the United States. While public acceptance and demand for massage is increasing, many massage therapists in California face restrictive city regulations designed to prohibit prostitution. This research is an ethnography of the struggles of massage therapists in California to construct their work and profession as legitimate.

Morning

The Value of Paid Care: HomeCare Workers in Los Angeles County

Jackie Leavitt and Theresa Lingafelter Department of Urban Planning, UCLA

Ideology about paid care work is embedded in concepts about gender and public and private boundaries. Production of care in the home and community blurs boundaries. This paper draws from interviews/focus groups with homecare workers; we conclude with ways that union locals can integrate gender-related issues into traditional campaigns.

Session 7

Vallejo Room

Gender, Race, and Class Dynamics in Unpaid Carework

President: Ellen Scott, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon

Family Caregiving in California: Experiences Across Diverse Racial and Ethnic Groups

Nancy Giunta, Julian Chow, Andrew Scharlach, Kristen Gustavson, Teresa Dal Santo, and Natasha Ong
Center for the Advanced Study of Aging Services, University of California – Berkeley

While family caregivers are the main source of long-term care for older persons in this country, care is provided within a context where cultural values and beliefs shape who provides care and whether families utilize formal caregiver support services. This session will examine how the family caregiving experience differs among racial and ethnic groups by presenting findings from the California Statewide Survey of Caregivers. The findings underscore the importance of understanding family caregivers within a sociocultural context, and developing culturally competent services to meet their needs.

Who's Home with the Kids? Full-time Parents in the US

Dana Barron and Laryssa Mykyta, The Alice Paul Center for Research on Women & Gender, University of Pennsylvania

In this session we will present the first findings from an on-going study of the factors that lead mothers or fathers to be full-time parents (parents who are out of the labor force to care for home and family). The project asks two main questions: what demographic characteristics are associated with full-time motherhood and fatherhood; and how relevant are attitudes (as compared with economics) to a family's decision to keep a caregiver out of the labor force. We will present data from the Current Population Survey and the General Social Survey to explore who is home with kids. We explore full-time parenthood by marital status, race, Hispanic status, educational attainment, family income, presence or absence of a pre-school child, and region. We also analyze select attitudinal variables in the General Social Survey – along with demographics of respondents -- to estimate the affects of attitudes on full-time parenthood for various sub-groups. These data are the starting point for a larger study that will involve qualitative data collection.

The Nuclear Family as a Greedy Institution: Race, Gender and Caregiving to Parents

Natalia Sarkisian and Naomi Gerstel, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

To what extent can the gender gap in care to parents be explained by structural variation in adult children's lives, especially their employment, marital and parenting status? Using NSFH data, we show that employment status and characteristics are important in explaining the gender gap in care for parents, and that these operate similarly for women and men. In contrast, although marriage and children both shape caregiving to parents, they do not operate in the same way for women and men. Thus, we argue for the importance of a synthesis of structural and cultural explanations for the gender gap in caregiving

12:30 – 1:15

San Diego Rooms

LUNCH

Afternoon

1:15 – 3:00 PM

Afternoon plenary: "California's Paid Family Leave Law"

Auditorium

Presider: Julie Whitaker, University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Cooperatives

Presentation of the Graduate Student Paper Award Winners by:

Cameron Macdonald, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin – Madison
Ellen Scott, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon

Speakers

Joannie C. Chang, Asian Law Caucus

Elizabeth Ecks, California Labor Federation of the State AFL-CIO

Ruth Milkman, UCLA Institute for Labor and Employment

Panelists will discuss the 2004 Paid Family Leave Insurance Program in California. This program extends disability compensation to cover individuals for up to six weeks to care for a seriously ill child, spouse, parent, or domestic partner, or to bond with a new child. The panel will focus on the specifics of the law, its political history, problems with its implementation, and the policy implications of research related to the program.

3:00 – 3:15 PM

Break

Afternoon Sessions

3:15 – 4:45 PM

Session 8

Vallejo Room

Bridging Carework, Advocacy, and Policy

Presider: Teresa Scherzer, Department of Social & Behavioral Sciences, University of California – San Francisco

"By My Self" Reconceiving Welfare Dependency

Heather Fitz Gibbon, Department of Sociology, The College of Wooster

In this paper we analyze the term dependency as it relates to welfare in the United States. We begin with a historical and theoretical tracing of the meaning of the word within the context of the welfare system. Based on interviews with 30 participants in a mandated welfare-to-work parenting program, we then explore the contradictions between welfare recipients' experiences and popular definitions of dependency and the expectations and ideologies of the welfare "reform" system. We end with an alternative perspective of dependency based on models of intensive caretaking and dependency relationships, and discuss the policy implications of such a framework.

Parenting Post-Divorce/Separation: CoCustody Policy and Egalitarian Parenting

Lynn Comerford, Department of Human Development, California State University – Hayward

The opportunity for parents to share physical and legal custody of their children separately and equally now exists in most states due to recent changes in child custody law. There is debate, however, as to whether cocustody policies contribute to egalitarian families. Proponents of cocustody believe the law can be used to eliminate socially constructed differences between the social roles of mother and father. Those opposed to cocustody believe cocustody ignores the individual differences between parents and that family court's reliance on the "fixed" rule of co-physical and legal custody may on the surface appear to solve the biases in judicial patriarchal interpretation that has favored one parent over the other, but it ignores unique family concerns. Both sides of the cocustody debate are problematic in three respects. By overlooking the importance of the fluidity of gendered meanings, the history of child custody policies, and disciplinary power, both sides of the child custody debate falter.

Afternoon

Caregiving Policy Deficits and Inequalities in the United States—and Social Change

Phyllis Hutton Raabe, Department of Sociology, University of New Orleans

In comparison with Europe, Americans have caregiving policy deficits since the U.S. does not provide national policies such as paid parental leaves and quality child care and preschool programs. Beyond these deficits, there are policy inequalities within the U.S. Many policies are “swiss cheese” in nature: some have coverage, some do not. Americans vary in policy coverage according to class, employment characteristics, sex, and state locations. Drawing upon Bureau of Labor Statistics and other sources, this paper presents evidence about such policy inequalities. The paper concludes with discussion of current initiatives to improve U.S. caregiving policies and lessen policy inequalities.

Bridging the Gap Between the Needs of the Client and the Skills of the Workforce in Oregon

Helen Moss, Labor Education and Research Center, University of Oregon

In Oregon there is no mandatory skills training requirement for client-employed home care workers, and, although many home care workers seek to improve their skill level, opportunities for voluntary training are not readily accessible. Currently, it is difficult for home care workers to find appropriate training resources that are affordable and offered at times and locations that fit their schedules. The result is a gap between the needs of the clients and the skills of the workforce. This unmet need for training threatens to undermine the quality of care and safety of the homecare environment. The Labor Education and Research Center of the University of Oregon has partnered with SEIU Local 503 and the Home Care Commission to develop strategies to make training more accessible and better suited to the unique situation of community based care. This paper will discuss our project and experiences to date.

Session 9

Santa Barbara Room

Globalization and Carework: Carework Relations and Identities in the Context of Global Change

Presider: Sally Bould, Department of Sociology, University of Delaware

Global Movements and Local Processes: An Institutional Approach to Immigrant Careworker Identities

Cinzia Solari, Department of Sociology, University of California – Berkeley

Russian-speaking home care workers deploy two divergent discourses – professionalism and sainthood – in understanding their work. These two meaning-making systems have consequences for how this work is performed and experienced by workers. Surprisingly, the division is not based on previous occupation or gender, but on religious affiliation. Jewish refugees mobilized discourses of professionalism while Orthodox Christian immigrants mobilized discourses of Christian morality. Yet, a closer look reveals that immigration laws filter Jewish and Orthodox Christian immigrants from the former Soviet Union into two separate sets of receiving institutions. The characteristics of these separate institutional settings, not the religion, shape the discursive tools and the possible gender identities available to these two groups.

'Maid' with Rights: The Effects of Democratization on Domestic Service in South Africa

Shireen Ally, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin – Madison

Through a comparative analysis of the practices and conditions of domestic service in South Africa during Apartheid (under conditions of migrancy) and after Apartheid (under a citizenship regime), the dynamics of race, gender, and migrancy/citizenship status in the exploitative relations of domestic service is explored.

Doing Deference: An Examination of Frontline Service Work and Femininity in China

Eileen M. Otis, Department of Sociology, SUNY Stony Brook

Notions of authenticity and caring have little relevance for understanding service work in contemporary China. Instead of producing or approximating an authentic expression of caring tied to femininity as in Western contexts, I argue that in the Chinese cultural context, service is enacted as a protocol of deference. There is no pretense of equality between customer and guest as in the U.S. Service work does not require authenticity or caring but rather “doing deference” in a way that maximizes customer status. As a result, it is not a deprivation of authentic personhood that defines frontline service as potentially demeaning. Rather, as deference enters the cash nexus it is shorn from mutual obligations of reciprocity that are central to proper semi-ritualized social exchange.

Afternoon

Marital Relationships and Au Pair Experiences in Switzerland and France

Laura Mellini, Department of Social Sciences, University of Fribourg
Carrie Yodanis, Department of Family Studies, University of British Columbia
Alberto Godenzi, Graduate School of Social Work, Boston College

Based on in-depth interviews with au pairs in Switzerland and France, this paper examines the impact of marital relationships between mothers and fathers on the experiences of caregivers. Results show that marital problems impact au pairs' work load, experience within the family, and definition of their caregiving role. In the context of marital problems, au pairs define support for the mother as part of their responsibilities. This research highlights the importance of broadening our analyses to examine how conflict between other family members can have a strong, negative impact on the women who are hired to provide care within the family.

Discussant: Mary Zimmerman, Department of Sociology and School of Medicine, University of Kansas

Session 10

Monterey Room

Carework Advocacy and Scholarship: Spinning the Ideological Webs of Dual Commitments in the Case of Doula Care

Christine H. Morton, Research Sociologist and Doula, Seattle University
Nicole C. Gallicchio, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago

In this workshop, participants will discuss contradictions embedded in the dual roles of carework advocacy and scholarship, and the consequences of living the split life for feminist scholars who may seek employment in academe. First, participants will identify the ideologies that caregivers employ to frame and promote "caregiving" of their particular type. Second, through experiential and embodied role play activities, participants will identify the meaning and value of caregiving on a personal level. The final exercise will clarify how, as individuals, feminists, and citizens, we navigate these ideological webs of commitment without getting stuck. On the one hand, as scholars, we contribute new things to, challenge, and critique this existing ideology. However, as advocates, we actively 'spin' the ideological frame to one that we most agree with, philosophically, politically, and personally. In our case, we examine how the doula as advocate and caregiver for laboring women is promoted as a positive intervention for improving maternity care and outcomes, potentially reducing costs for hospitals and for mothers themselves (emotional/financial). Situating doulas as the low-cost solution to a high-cost problem, however, places responsibility for structural change on individual women, whose emotional and physical caregiving is under-compensated and devalued. As social scientists, we advocate critical examination of the contradictions embedded within the doula role and an analysis of doula care within the maternity care system to provide frameworks for doula organizations and individuals in developing strategies to sustain this care. And yet, as doula advocates, we find ourselves caught in the horns of some interesting dilemmas, because we both deeply believe in the value and benefits of woman-supported childbirth and postpartum care.

Session 11

San Jose Room

Managing Employment and Family Carework

Presider: Jackie Litt, Women's & Gender Studies and Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia

Class Differences in the Use of Family Friendly Workplace Benefits

Jennifer Hill Geertsma, Sociology Department, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

This paper looks at how working class parents compared to other parents use formal and informal employer benefits to weave the responsibilities of work and family. Data come from interviews with 324 employed by pregnancy women collected by Jennifer Glass for the Labor Project.

Work/Life Conflict Among Women Academics in Science and Engineering

Jackie Litt, Women's & Gender Studies and Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia
Sharon Bird, Sociology Department, Iowa State University

This study reports on interview narratives of women academic scientists and engineers who have confronted the incompatibility between their responsibilities as mothers and the normative standards for professional success. We highlight the strategies that women faculty use in their efforts to avoid being cast by their colleagues as less than "ideal workers."

Afternoon

Out of Time and Money: The Double Burden of Paid and Unpaid Carework on Women with Unemployed Spouses

Elizabeth Miklya Legerski, Department of Sociology, University of Kansas
Marie Cornwall, Sociology Department, Brigham Young University

From interviews with the wives of unemployed men, the consequences of women's participation in carework are explored. The occupations of the women interviewed include teachers' aides, nurse, childcare workers, servers, clerks, etc. Although many of their wages are low, their employment is needed in order to provide healthcare benefits for their family. Such benefits are often a costly proportion of their wages. Spousal unemployment also results in more unpaid carework for women, especially in the form of emotional support for their spouses, many of whom were still unemployed over a year later.

Family Child Care Providers: At the Nexus of Paid and Unpaid Carework

Nancy L. Marshall and Sue Y. Wang
Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College

While family child care providers are often viewed as part of the support system for working families, they are also themselves working families – a significant proportion of family child care providers have children of their own, and are employed as providers to enable them to meet the needs of their own families. We explored this nexus between paid and unpaid carework as part of a study of the working conditions of family child care providers, and of the quality of care children receive in family child care homes.

Session 12

Auditorium Room

Policy and Paid Carework

Presider: Julie Whitaker, University of Wisconsin-Madison Center for Cooperatives

Problematizing Familial Care Decisions in "Consumer-Directed" Long-Term Care Programs.

Chris Wellin, Department of Sociology and Gerontology, Miami University

In recent years, a major policy change in the area of long-term care has been toward "consumer direction." The central stated goal of consumer directed care (CDC) is to expand the autonomy and control of care recipients beyond that which has been available through institutional or "agency-directed" care arrangements. Several states have been granted a "waiver" that allows Medicaid-eligible recipients to direct their funding toward care-givers and care arrangements of their own choosing. In fact, a large majority of these care recipients have chosen to "hire" kin-folk or friends to provide the care, a change in public policy--reinforcing the role of the family which raises several crucial questions. Among these: 1) what are among the failings or "push factors" of the public/agency-directed care system which are driving people toward CDC? 2) what are the appealing "pull factors" drawing recipients toward family care, despite our cultural norm of independence; and 3) at what is CDC sustained, for the mostly-female care providers involved? Does CDC allow them to be (modestly) paid for care they were already providing, or does this arrangement impose opportunity costs--in terms of employment or education--which may have lasting consequences for providers. I will report on a small ethnographic interview project exploring these questions, and others regarding the importance of age/life-course distinctions in understanding the experience of CDC participants.

Public Policies, Market Economy, and the Quality of Childcare Services in Contemporary Japan

Keiko Hirao, Department of Philosophical Anthropology, Sophia University

This paper explores how the interplay between the public policies on childcare and market economy is affecting the quality and quantity of childcare services supplied in contemporary Japan. Special focus is placed on the differences between public and private "licensed" day care facilities, both of which receive government subsidies, but differ widely in terms of their running cost per child, as well as job securities, compensations, and the tenure of the workers. By analyzing the macro- and micro-level data on the determinants of the probability of the workers staying in the childcare services, this paper illuminates the conundrum of the childcare industry: availability, affordability and the quality of care.

Afternoon

Comparing Strategies to Improve Wages for Female Caregiving Professions

Ivy Lynn Bourgeault, Health Studies/Sociology, McMaster University
Patricia Khokher, Sociology, McMaster University

It is a well-known fact that professions disproportionately represented by women are typically not remunerated as well as those dominated by men. Caregiving professions are particularly prone to this inequity because care work is commonly perceived as being a natural, feminine activity. Several strategies have been employed to improve the remuneration level of female care professionals including increasing the credentials necessary to enter practice, organizing and unionizing; seeking pay equity through a variety of means; and seeking public funding for their services. While many scholars have investigated the process and effects of these strategies for nurses, there has been very little research done of other female caregiving professions. Moreover, no study to date has explicitly examined the impact of these strategies across professions. In this paper, we undertake a comparative examination of the effectiveness of the four aforementioned strategies in achieving appropriate levels of remuneration within three female dominated, caregiving professions—nursing, midwifery and childcare—with a particular focus on the Canadian context. Our key research question is: which strategies work best and why? Our examination will largely involve the collection and comparative analysis of a variety of documents – both in the published and in the ‘grey’ literature from institutions, associations and professional organizations.

A Genealogy of Home Health Care: Law, Social Policy and the Valuing of Women's Labor

Eileen Boris, Women's Studies, University of California-Santa Barbara
Jennifer Klein, Department of History, Yale

This paper sets forth a “genealogy” of home health care in attendant programs under the Works Progress Administration during the New Deal and transformations in old age, disability, and welfare policies during the 1960s and early 1970s. Though policymakers sought to distinguish homemaker from housekeeping services, the visiting homemaker from the domestic servant, the two merged with the expansion of the service provider state. The connections with workfare indicate how the state both constructed a low waged occupation and sought to fill it with poor women of color. This historical perspective illuminates the devaluation of home care.

Session 13

Benicia Room A

Racial/Ethnic and Class Inequalities in Carework

Presider: Mary Tuominen, Department of Sociology, Denison University

Invisible Subsidies: Racial Inequalities in Family Day Care Work

Amy Armenia, Department of Sociology, University of Massachusetts – Amherst

Family day care workers often informally subsidize the child care system through their low wages and lack of benefits. Using data from a survey of over 500 family day care providers, a random sample of licensed workers in Illinois, I argue that these de-facto contributions are uneven across providers. Black providers are significantly more disadvantaged in their working conditions and benefits than white providers, despite higher rates of investment in training and credentials.

The Racialization of Low-Wage Care: Not Just for Women

Mignon Duffy, Department of Sociology, Brandeis University

This paper examines the role of men of color and immigrant men as paid care workers. Examining Census labor force data from 1900 to 2000, the author shows that over time, race/ethnicity and immigration have become more salient among certain care occupations. In these jobs, men of color and immigrant men have joined women in performing a disproportionate amount of caring labor.

What Makes Homecare a Good Enough Job? The Impact of Wages and Benefits on the Supply and Retention of Workers

Candace Howes, Department of Economics, Connecticut College

This paper recounts the story of the gradual and partial transformation of IHSS homecare jobs from bad part time jobs to a pretty good part time jobs with benefits in some California counties and more importantly, records the impact that transformation has had on the stability of the workforce. Specifically, it measures the impact of substantial wage and benefit improvements in Northern California counties on turnover and contrasts it to turnover in low wage southern California counties. It also examines the differential effect of wage increases by race and ethnicity, which differences are attributed to the differential alternative jobs available to workers in a racially segmented labor market.

Afternoon

The Imagined Patient: Diversity and Inequality in Psychosocial Cancer Care

Karen Kendrick, Department of Social Science, University of California – Irvine

Psychological and social services for women with cancer have developed greatly over the past two decades. Nationwide, hospitals and medical centers have begun to reinvent themselves as “patient-centered” environments that aim to treat the “whole person” and not just the illness. In this paper I argue that psychosocial services for women with cancer are designed primarily to assist an “imagined” patient who is white, middle-class and English-speaking. Thus services are less accessible to women of color, immigrants and lower income women. The individualistic focus of most psychosocial care makes it especially difficult for care providers to see how they might make services more inclusive.

Discussant: Deborah Little, Department of Sociology, Adelphi University

Session 14

Benicia Room B

Paid Child Care

Organized by Jackie Litt, Women's & Gender Studies and Sociology, University of Missouri, Columbia

Presider: Lynet Uttal, Department of Human Development & Family Studies, University of Wisconsin – Madison

The Availability and Use of Child Care: The Effect of Race, Class, and Neighborhood

Lynda Laughlin, Department of Sociology, Temple University

The availability of child care has different meanings for different families. Child care within a few miles of home might be defined as reasonably “available” to middle class families, is unavailable to working-poor and poor families. Using data from The Philadelphia Survey of Work and Family, I provide a neighborhood analysis of the supply of licensed, center-care and family child care in the city of Philadelphia. I compare the supply of the types of care in economically and racially segregation neighborhoods to more affluent communities and examine how the availability and use of child care is organized across different communities.

Provider and Parent Perspectives on Early Care and Education in Multicultural Preschool Settings

Seeta Pai and Bridget O'Brien, Graduate School of Education, University of California – Berkeley

The use of center-based care by working parents of young children is growing in tandem with rising cultural diversity in the United States. Despite these demographic trends and expanding political support for an early care and education system in the country, we know little about whether culturally diverse care providers and parents converge in their perspectives on how children should be raised and what they should learn, or how these perspectives coincide with institutional norms. Drawing upon ethnographic observations and interviews among providers and parents in three multicultural California preschools, we detail how some of these beliefs and practices are playing out, and sketch implications for conceptions of child care quality and universal preschool under conditions of cultural pluralism.

Please Allow Me to Introduce Myself: What Child Care Providers Say in Ads and Values of Childrearing

Sarah Kaplan, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania

Using ads posted on a free Internet-based child care bulletin board, this project focuses on how child care providers advertise and present themselves to potential employers. By looking at how caregivers phrase descriptions of themselves, their abilities and their requirements, I hope to provide a glimpse of what caregivers believe parents value for their children, as well as their own child-rearing values. This analysis includes discussions of the possible influences of education, nationality, age, and gender.

What Can We Expect from Paid Carers?

Gabrielle Meagher, School of Economics and Political Science, University of Sydney, Australia

People in rich countries increasingly rely on paid workers to care for their health, their children, their aged parents, and many of their other needs. If the quality of care is determined by the quality of the caring relationship, what can we demand of non-family paid carers? Three kinds of moral bonds can tie paid carers and those they care for: contract, professional duty, and compassionate gift. I explore the strengths and weaknesses of these three moral bonds as foundations for good paid care. I conclude that good enough paid care depends as much on organizational factors as it does on the moral commitments of carers.

The Caregiver's Dilemma: Negotiating On The Job To Give Good Care, Meet 'Standards' and Protect One's Dignity

Rebekah Zinzavage, Department of Sociology, Boston College

Using data from a multi-method qualitative study that examined the experiences, insights and perspectives of low-wage caregivers who care for elderly people in their own homes about their understandings of the meaning of good care, this paper seeks to unearth the tension between care as it is regulated and care as caregivers understand, experience and articulate it. Simultaneously, the paper considers unspoken social forces such as race and class that have been and continue to be embodied in the U.S. eldercare system. By assuming the caregivers' viewpoints, this particular research offers a counterbalance to the dominant conversation about care work and quality of care. This research generated compelling new insight into this complex occupation as a way to inform future policy, quality of care and job satisfaction.

Homecare Workers, Senior Citizens, and Transportation Challenges in High- and Low-Density Communities

Annie Decker, UC-Berkeley, Department of City and Regional Planning

In California's Contra Costa County, more than 5,000 homecare workers provide critical services to the senior and disabled population. This paper, based on a survey of 11,000 homecare providers and consumers, examines whether workers' experiences are more difficult in low-density areas because of transportation challenges; it concludes with key policy recommendations.