



International Workshop

The Everyday Life of Multi-Local Families

Concepts, Methods and the Example of Post-Separation Families

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German Youth Institute, Munich, Germany

Abstracts and Who is Who

Organised by the Schumpeter Research Group
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Who is Who

Welcoming Remarks

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Michaela Schier is head of the Schumpeter Research Group „Multi-local Families“ since 2009, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and hosted by the German Youth Institute (DJI) in Munich. She studied geography and ethnology at the University of Tübingen and holds a PhD in social geography from the Technical University of Munich. In 2006 she started researching family practices under the condition of blurring boundaries of work and family life within the framework of a research project at the DJI. This was also the beginning of her research on job mobility related to multi-locality of families.

Her current research project includes the quantitative secondary analysis of data on multi-local families in early family stages as well as two qualitative studies on family practices in relation to multi-local family life as a consequence of separation and divorce as well as job mobility.

Her main research interests - both theoretically and empirically – focus on the geography of work and family; migration, mobility and multilocality; gender, space/place; the conduct of everyday life and qualitative research methods.

Publications

- Schier, Michaela (2011): *Gute Arbeit, gutes (Familien)Leben? Folgen der Entgrenzung von Erwerbsarbeit für Geschlechterarrangements*. In: Jurczyk, Karin/Lange, Andreas/Thiessen, Barbara (Hrsg.): *Doing Family - Familienalltag heute. Warum Familienleben nicht mehr selbstverständlich ist*. Weinheim, Juventa (in progress)
- Schier, Michaela/Proske, Anna (2010): *One Child, Two Homes. How families succeed in reorganizing daily life after a separation*. In: DJI-Bulletin, Special English edition, pp. 16-18
- Schier, Michaela/Jurczyk, Karin/Szymenderski, Peggy/Lange, Andreas/Voß, G. Günter (2009): *Entgrenzte Arbeit – entgrenzte Familie. Grenzmanagement im Alltag als neue Herausforderung*. Forschung aus der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, Bd. 100, Berlin, Sigma
- Schier, Michaela (2009): *Räumliche Entgrenzung von Arbeit und Familie: Die Herstellung von Familie unter Bedingungen von Multilokalität*. In: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung 1/2, S. 55-66.

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Karin Jurczyk, born 1952, studied sociology and political sciences in Munich. She did her doctoral thesis on Gender and Family Policy in Bremen. She worked at the universities of Munich and Gießen. She was a founder of the Women's Academy Munich. Since 2002 she is director of research on Family and Family Policies at the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V.) in Munich. Her research focuses on the blurring boundaries of work and family life, time, conduct of everyday life, family friendly policies and the gendered division of labour. She was co-opted member of the commission of the 7th family report of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth and participated in COST Action 19 Children's Welfare and in the EU-project Up2Youth. She has two sons.

Publications

- Jurczyk, Karin/Lange, Andreas (Hrsg.) (2009): *Vaterwerden und Vatersein heute. Neue Wege - Neue Chancen!* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung
- Heitkötter, Martina/Jurczyk, Karin/Lange, Andreas/Meier-Gräwe, Uta (Hrsg.) (2009): *Zeit und Zeitpolitik für Familien*. Opladen, Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich
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- Jurczyk, Karin/Oechsle, Mechtild (Hrsg.) (2008): *Das Private neu denken. Erosionen, Ambivalenzen, Leistungen*. Münster, Westfälisches Dampfboot

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Indra Willms-Hoff is the head of funding and since 1998 member of the Executive Management of the VolkswagenFoundation, Hanover. She studied biochemistry at the University of Hanover and stayed for 2 years at the University of California/Berkeley during her PhD (1988, plant biochemistry). She received stipends from the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes and the German Research Foundation (DFG) and was a research assistant at the University of Göttingen, until she started working for the VolkswagenFoundation in 1992 as Program Manager for Medical and Biological Sciences. She was a member in the advisory board for “Society in Science – the Branco Weiss Fellowship” Zürich/CH until 2010, and is a member of the board of trustees in the “FIAS – Frankfurt Institute for Advanced Studies”, the Goethe University Frankfurt and the “Max Planck Institute for Plant Breeding Research”, Cologne and the Verwaltungsrat Mathematical Research Institute Oberwolfach.

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Hagen Hof, born 1947, is in charge of the funding program „Schumpeter-Fellowships“, the disciplines law, educational science and environmental sciences and the “Niedersächsisches Vorab” at the Volkswagen Foundation, Hannover. Moreover he is honorary professor of the University of Lüneburg. His publications refer to foundation law, legal history of environmental law, too, methods of law, interrelations between law and behavior, human behavior in the course of history, effects of legal norms and Verhaltenslehre (human behavior and its regulation).

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Thomas Rauschenbach is chairman of the executive board and director of the German Youth Institute. Since 1989 he has been a professor of social work at the University of Dortmund (since 2002 on temporary leave). He also heads the research network DJI/University of Dortmund and its research group “children and youth services statistics”.

The main areas of his work and research cover child and youth education, child and youth services statistics, child and youth work, all-day schools, social professions (training and labour market), voluntary welfare work, voluntary services, theory of social work, third sector, welfare and youth organizations.

Publications

- Rauschenbach, Thomas: *Die Kinder- und Jugendhilfe - am Beginn einer neuen Epoche*. In: neue praxis, 2011, Heft SO 10, S. 55-58
- Rauschenbach, Thomas: *Verlierer des Bildungssystems*. In: Kinder- und Jugendarzt, Jahrg.: 42, 2011, Heft 2, S. 117-118
- Rauschenbach, Thomas: *Frühe Bildung – Zur Relevanz der Kindertagesbetreuung*. In: Kinder- und Jugendarzt, Jahrg.: 42, 2011, Heft 01, S. 51-52
- Rauschenbach, Thomas: *Quo vadis Familie? Von der Normalfamilie zur Verhandlungsfamilie*. In: pro familia magazin, Jahrg.: 39, 2011, Heft 1, 12 S.
- Rauschenbach, Thomas: *Zukunftschance Bildung. Familie, Jugendhilfe und Schule in neuer Allianz*. Weinheim und München: Juventa 2009

Introduction

Dr. Detlev Lück

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Detlev Lueck is a researcher at the Federal Institute for Population Research in Wiesbaden (Germany). He is a sociologist with special interests in family research, mobility research, gender studies and value change. He took part in the research project Job Mobilities and Family Lives in Europe which studied the spread of the various ways of being spatially mobile for the job and the impacts of mobility on family planning and family life. The project compared six European countries in this respect. Detlev Lueck earned his doctorate from the University of Mainz. Here he has worked as a researcher and teacher and, between April 2010 and March 2011, as a substitute professor. He still teaches at the University of Mainz today.

Publications

- Lück, Detlev (2011) (ed.): *Familiewerte und Familiennormen. Einstellungen und kulturelle Leitbilder zum „richtigen“ Familienleben in Europa*. Comparative Population Studies, special issue, Vol. 35, No. 3/2010 (in progress)
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- Lück, Detlev (2009): *Der zögernde Abschied vom Patriarchat. Der Wandel von Geschlechterrollen im internationalen Vergleich*. Berlin, edition sigma

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Peter Weichhart has been full professor for social and economic geography at the Institute for Geography and Regional Research, University of Vienna, since 2000. Before that time, he had taught at the universities of Salzburg and Munich and had been engaged as visiting professor at the ETH Zurich, the University of Nijmegen and at the Social Science Research Centre Berlin. Apart from research on the theory and philosophy of human geography, regional science and planning, action theory, and society and environment, his research interests focus on residential and migration research as well as on place identity. In recent year he has increasingly engaged in issues of residential multi-locality, supporting a multi-paradigmatic approach.

Publications

- Weichhart, Peter (2009): *Multilokalität – Konzepte, Theoriebezüge und Forschungsfragen*. Informationen zur Raumentwicklung, Heft 1/2009, S.1-14.
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First Session: Conceptualizing Family Life beyond Household Boundaries and in a Mobile World

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Andreas Lange is Professor for the Sociology of Social Work, Health and Nursing at the University of Applied Sciences in Ravensburg-Weingarten. His research fields and interest are in the sociology of family (especially the everyday life of families and their timestructures) childhood and media.

Publications

- Alt, Christian/Lange, Andreas (2011): *Agency in der mittleren Kindheit. Feldspezifik und Konsequenzen*. In: Sedmak, Clemens/Babic, Reinhold/Posch, Christian (Hrsg.): *Der Capability-Apporach in sozialwissenschaftlichen Kontexten*. Wiesbaden, VS, pp.169-185
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- Lüscher, Kurt/Liegle, Ludwig/Lange, Andreas (2010): *Generationen, Generationenbeziehungen, Generationenpolitik. Ein dreisprachiges Kompendium*. Bern, Eigenverlag der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes und Sozialwissenschaften.

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Susan Thieme is senior lecturer at the Department of Geography, University of Zurich and was visiting scholar at the Sussex Center of Migration Research and the ISS (Institute of Social Studies) De Hague. Her research is centred on migration and development studies with a regional focus on South and Central Asia. She worked particularly on the role of social networks in the process of migration such as access to labour and management of loans, savings and remittances in Nepal and India. Since

2005 she started doing multi-sited research in Central Asia and analysing the increasing multi-locality of people's livelihoods and its effects on economies and responsibilities in families. More recently, she has started to explore to what extent and how return-migrants bring new knowledge and skills upon return to their home country. Furthermore Susan has a great interest in an exchange of knowledge across disciplines as well as outside academia where she has been involved in various initiatives from film making to policy briefs.

Publications

- Thieme, Susan. (Accepted for publication): *Coming Home? Patterns and Characteristics of Return Migration in Kyrgyzstan*. In: International Migration.
- Thieme, Susan / Siegmann, Karin A. (2010): *Coping on Women's Backs: Social Capital-Vulnerability Links through a Gender Lens*. *Current Sociology* 58(5), pp.719-737.

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Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix is lecturer at the sociological Institute of University of Basel. He has developed his research in two distinct areas. The first deals with the use of social and demographic indicators in public policy. The second is a new field of research, which particularly concerns the conference, half way between daily mobility and moving out, the multilocal dwelling. His scientific thinking on the phenomenon began with the observation and analysis of the situation and the path of french people who lived in Berlin and maintained contact beyond the borders. He earned the doctorate from the Humboldt University of Berlin (2006/2007) and he's also an associate researcher at the Centre Marc Bloch Berlin.

Publications

- Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric/Heidenreich, Felix/Badura Jens (2011): *Praxen der Unrast: Von der Reiselust zur modernen Mobilität*. Münster, LIT-Verlag.
- Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric/Beutter, Anna (2011): *Präsenzdynamik und -dimensionen der Kultstätte einer Minderheit: Der tamilische Hindutempel in Basel*. Tsantsa, revue de la Société Suisse d'Ethnologie, numéro 16
- Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric (2010): *Faire famille en situation transnationale: les ancrages de la coexistence et de la territorialité*. Lien Social et Politiques, numéro 64, pp. 65-76
- Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric (2010): *Continuités et ancrages. Composer avec l'absence en situation transnationale*. Revue des Sciences Sociales, numéro 44, « La construction de l'oubli », Université de Strasbourg: Strasbourg, pp.16-25

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Eric D. Widmer is professor at the Department of Sociology of the University of Geneva, and director of IDEMO, an interdisciplinary research institute on population and life course issues.

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His long-term interests include family and other interpersonal relations, life trajectories, social norms, and social networks. He has extensively published on those issues in various books and articles.

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Publications

- Jallinoja, Riitta/Widmer, Eric D. (2010): *Families and Kinship in Contemporary Europe: Rules and Practices of Relatedness*. Palgrave Macmillan Studies in Family and Intimate Life.
- Widmer, Eric D. (2010): *Family configurations. A Structural Approach to Family Diversity*. London, Ashgate Publishing.
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- Burton Jeangros, Cl./Widmer, Eric D./Lalivie d'Epinay, C. (2007): *Interactions familiales et constructions de l'intimité*. L'Harmattan, Paris.

Second Session: Researching Multi-local Spaces and Family Relationships beyond Household Boundaries

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Nicola Hilti studied Sociology and Communication Sciences at the University of Vienna and the Vienna University of Technology and holds an interdisciplinary PhD from the Department of Architecture at the ETH Zurich. Currently she is a research assistant at the ETH Wohnforum – ETH CASE (Centre for Research on Architecture, Society & the Built Environment) at the ETH Zurich. Before that she worked at the Professorship of Urban Sociology at the Chemnitz University of Technology. Her main research foci are Multilocality and Mobility, Housing and Suburbia.

Publications

- Hilti, Nicola (2011): *Hier – Dort – Dazwischen. Lebenswelten multilokal Wohnender im Spannungsfeld von Bewegung und Verankerung*. Dissertation ETH Zürich (in progress).
- Hilti, Nicola/Weiss, Stephanie/Rolshoven, Johanna/Van Wezemaal, Joris (2010): *Bewegter Alltag – Mobilität in der S5-Stadt*. In: ETH Wohnforum – ETH CASE (Hg.): *S5-Stadt. Agglomeration im Zentrum*. Forschungsberichte, pp.156-173, E-Book online: http://www.s5-stadt.ch/fileadmin/ebook/s5-stadt_ebook_001-004.pdf.
- Hilti, Nicola (2010): *Gehen und Bleiben. Zur Typologie multilokaler Lebenswelten*. In: polis - Magazin für Urban Development: *Asset Wohnen. Die grosse Wanderschaft*, 3/2010, 17. Jg., pp.40-41.
- Hilti, Nicola (2009): *Here, There and In-between. On the Interplay of Multilocal Living, Space and Inequality*. In: Bergman, Max/Ohnmacht, Timo/Maksim, Hanja (Hg.): *Mobilities and Inequality*. Aldershot, Ashgate, pp.145-164.

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Elisabeth Buehler works as a senior teaching and research associate at the department of Geography of the university of Zurich. Her fields of interest focus both theoretically and empirically on the structural aspects and the cultural meanings of gender in different national, regional and local contexts as well as on the intersection of gender with other dimensions of social difference and inequality such as nationality or class. Social diversity and sustainability in appropriation processes of public spaces is another field of her interests. In the framework of the research project “understanding (in) equalities of access to spaces of paid work: the intersection of gender and ethnicity” Elisabeth Buehler is currently carrying out a quantitative analysis that aims at providing a representative overview of the situation of male and female individuals from different migration backgrounds in the Swiss labour market with special respect to divisions of labour within families and professional (de) qualification processes. Elisabeth Buehler is a member of the steering committee of the Commission on Gender and Geography of the International Geographical Union (IGU).

Publications

- Bühler, Elisabeth/Kaspar, Heidi/Ostermann, Frank (2010): *Sozial nachhaltige Parkanlagen*. Zürich, vdf Verlag.
- Bühler Elisabeth/Corinna Heye (2005): *Fortschritte und Stagnation in der Gleichstellung der Geschlechter 1970–2000*. Neuchâtel, Bundesamt für Statistik.
- Bühler, Elisabeth/Meier Kruker, Verena (2002): *Gendered labour arrangements in Switzerland - structures, cultures, meanings: statistical evidence and biographical narratives*. *GeoJournal*, Volume 56, No. 4, pp. 305-313
- Bühler, Elisabeth (2002): *Formen der Vereinbarkeit von Erwerbstätigkeit und Familie - Strukturen und Entwicklungstendenzen in der Schweiz*. *Geographische Zeitschrift*, Band 90, Heft 3+4, pp. 167-179

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Loretta Baldassar is the Director of the Monash University Centre in Prato, Italy and professor in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Western Australia. She has published extensively on Italian migration to Australia, including, *Visits Home* (MUP 2001) and *From Paesani to Global Italians* (with Ros Pesman, UWAP 2005). Her most recent publications deal with transnational migrant relationships including, *Families Caring Across Borders* (with Cora Baldock and Raelene Wilding, Palgrave 2007) and *Intimacy and Italian Migration* (with Donna Gabaccia, Fordham Uni Press 2010). Her main research fields include transnational families in Italy and Australia, the Australian Diaspora and second generation migrants. She is currently collaborating on projects which focus on transnational caregiving and the social uses of new technologies. Professor Baldassar has also begun a new research program to examine the international student experience.

Publications

- Baldassar, Loretta/Gabaccia, Donna R. (eds) (2011): *Intimacy and Italian Migration Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World*. New York, Fordham University Press.
- Merla, Laura/Baldassar, Loretta (2010): *Special issue of the Journal Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques: 'Transnational care dynamics: between emotions and rationality'/'Les dynamiques de soin transnationales: entre émotions et considérations économiques'*. Vol XLI, No. Available online at <http://rsa.revues.org/130>
- Wilding, Raelene/Baldassar, Loretta (2009): *Transnational family-work balance*. *Journal of Family Studies* Special Issue 30-08.
- Baldassar, Loretta/Baldock, Cora/Wilding, Raelene (2007): *Families Caring Across Borders: Migration, Aging and Transnational Caregiving*. London, Palgrave MacMillan.

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Susana Cortés is a Social Anthropologist from the University of Chile. She has worked at the FONDECYT Research Project "Daily Urban Mobility and Social Exclusion in Santiago, Chile", at the University of Chile, during the last three years, as a thesis student first, with the research "To the infinity and beyond: spatiality and mobility on children's daily life" and then as research assistant. She is now beginning PhD studies with Professor Pía Christensen at Warwick Institute of Education, University of Warwick, United Kingdom.

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Paola Jirón is a Chilean academic from the Institute of Housing at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism (FAU) at the University of Chile. She has carried out extensive research, teaching and consultancy work in the areas of housing, urban quality of life, and urban daily mobility practices. She is currently the Research Director at FAU and Responsible Researcher for the FONDECYT funded research project on Urban Daily Mobility and Social Exclusion in Chile (www.santiagosemueve.com). She holds a Bachelors Degree from Concordia University, Canada, an MSc from University College London, UK and a PhD in Urban and Regional Planning at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Publications

- Jirón, Paola (2011): *Borders and gateways under urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile*. In: Pellegrino, Giuseppina (Ed): *The politics of proximity: mobility and immobility in practice*. Surrey, Ashgate Ltd.
- Jirón, Paola (2010): *On becoming 'la sombra/the shadow'*. In: Büscher, Monika/ Urry, John/Witchger, Katian (eds): *Mobile Methods*. Abingdon, Routledge.
- Jirón, Paola (2010): *Posibilidades de socialización e integración: la movilidad en Santiago de Chile*. In: Poo, Ximena/Streff, Judith (eds): *Mutaciones de lo colectivo. Desafíos de la integración. Actas de la Tercera Escuela Chile-Francia – Cátedra Michel Foucault*. Universidad de Chile
- Jirón, Paola (2010): *Repetition and difference: rhythms and mobile place-making in Santiago de Chile*. In: Edensor, Tim (ed): *Geographies of Rhythms. Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Farnham, Ashgate. pp.129-143
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Publications

- Brake, Anna (2011): *Der Bildungsort Familie. Annäherungen an die alltäglichen Bildungsprozesse in Familien und ihre Rahmenbedingungen*. In: Albisser, Stefan /Bieri Buschor, Christine (Hrsg.): *Sozialisations- und Entwicklungsaufgaben von Heranwachsenden*. Hohengehren, Schneider Verlag, pp.41-68
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Publications

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Third Session: Living in/ Commuting between Two Families – Children as Multi-local Agents

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Publications

- Schutter, Sabina (2011): *Richtige Kinder. Von heimlichen und folgenlosen Vaterschaftstests*. Wiesbaden, VS Verlag.
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Publications

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Publications

- Röhrner, Diane (2007): *Doing boundary-crossovers: Familie und andere Kinderwelten. Eine explorative Betrachtung der Herstellung von Übergängen zwischen kindlichen Lebenswelten.* (Internes Arbeitspapier des Deutschen Jugendinstituts e.V.)

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Publications

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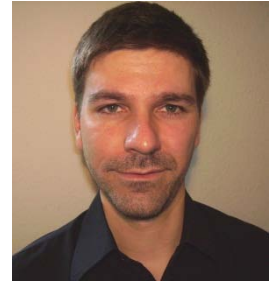
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Publications

- Lauritzen, Tonje (2006): *Children in post-divorced families and the journey between their parents' homes*. Paper-presentation. COST A19, Roskilde, Denmark, 16-17 June 2006
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Publications

- Piontek, Christian (2011): *„Also ich find das jetzt (...) nicht so toll, (...) hin und her zu pendeln“. Wie Kinder ihre trennungs- und scheidungsbedingte Mobilität bewerten – ein Fallbeispiel.* In: Promotionskolleg Kinder und Kindheiten im Spannungsfeld gesellschaftlicher Modernisierung (Hrsg.): *Kindheitsbilder und die Akteure generationaler Arrangements.* Wiesbaden, S. 103-119.

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Publications

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Fourth Session: Doing Post-Separation Family: New Challenges for Parents and their New Partners

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Publications

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Publications

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Publications

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Publications

- Schier, Michaela/Proske, Anna (2010): *One child, Two Homes. How families succeed in reorganizing daily life after a separation*. In: DJI-Bulletin, Special English edition, 2010, pp.16-18.

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Publications

- Bakker, Wilma/Mulder, C. H. (2009, June): *Exploring living arrangements of divorced families in the Netherland*. Paper presented at the seventh meeting of the European Network for the Sociological and Demographic Study of Divorce, Antwerp, Belgium.
- Bakker, Wilma/Karsten, Lia (2010, October): *Post-divorce daily life of parents: a comparison between single mothers and co-parents*. Paper presented at the eight meeting of the European Network for the Sociological and Demographic Study of Divorce, Valencia, Spain.

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Publications

- Bonizzoni, Paola (forthcoming): *Here or there? Shifting meanings and practices of motherhood across time and space*. In: *International Migration*.
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Publications

- Yarosh, Svetlana/Abowd, Gregory D. (2011): *Mediated Parent-Child Contact in Work-Separated Families*. Proc. of CHI. ACM.
- Yarosh, Svetlana/Chew, Yee C./Abowd, Gregory D. (2009): *Supporting Parent-Child Communication in Divorced Families*. Intl J of Human Computer Studies, 67(2), pp.192-203.
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- Yarosh, Svetlana/Davis, Hilary/Modlitba, Paulina/Skov, Mikael/Vetere, Frank (2009): *Mobile Technologies for Parent/Child Relationships*. In: Druin, Allison (ed.): *Mobile Technology for Children: Designing for Interaction and Learning*. Burlington, Morgan Kaufmann, p. 285

Closing Conference

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Publications

- Wood, Gerald (2011): *Europäische Stadtutopien als Ideenschmiede für die Stadtentwicklung in der Moderne und Postmoderne*. In: Glaser, Rüdiger/Gebhard, Hans/Lentz, Sebastian (Hrsg.): *Geographie Europas*. Heidelberg, Springer (im Druck)
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Introduction

Multi-locality and the pluralisation of living arrangements: How and why is family life changing over the course of the last 50 years?

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The reality of families and family life has changed drastically over the course of the last five decades. This is true for more or less all late modern societies, in Europe, in North America, in Australia, and in eastern Asia. Starting from the clear standard pattern of the nuclear family in the 1950s, processes of *de-standardisation* and *pluralisation* have occurred, leading to a growing variety of common and socially-accepted living arrangements and to new patterns of family careers. Fertility and marriage rates have been declining; ages at first marriage and at first birth, as well as divorce rates, have been increasing. As a consequence, today we can observe a considerable share of people living as singles, as unmarried cohabiting couples, as childless married couples, as single parents, as remarried couples with step children, etc.

Whereas early reactions interpreted these processes as a crisis, contemporary family sociology has acknowledged that the family is not dying, but changing. The social reality of families is becoming more diverse, more differentiated and more complex – as are societies as a whole. Instead of lamenting the fact that people are not living in families any more, *family sociology has to broaden its focus* in order to capture and to understand contemporary family life in all its variety. This has even led to a series of re-definitions of the term “family.” Instead of defining only heterosexual married couples with children as a family, homosexual, unmarried and/or childless couples are also regarded as such today.

The most recent of these fundamental changes in the understanding of the family is the shift *from cohabitation to multilocality*. Only a few decades ago, family sociologists used to consider cohabitation a core criterion for the definition of couples and of families. A couple was a couple, and a family was a family, only if their members lived together in one household. Today we recognise that a large share of couples and families is dealing with spatial separation. They live in two or more places, and do so for a variety of reasons, either for limited phases during the week or year, or permanently. They do so either for limited phases in their life courses or in the long term.

Just as childlessness, single parenthood or other unconventional family forms, the multilocality of family arrangements is not entirely new. But, just as other unconventional family forms, it is growing and becoming a socially-accepted normalcy for large sections of contemporary societies. No longer can it be discarded as a rare exception. Also, multilocality is new in its specific contemporary characteristics.

Several processes in late modern societies have led to a pluralisation of living arrangements, to an increase in multilocality, as well as to the specific contemporary characteristics of multilocality. These processes will be outlined and illustrated with data in a large cross-national comparative perspective. The mechanisms will be outlined which define how these processes foster and shape multilocality. In order to do so, however, we must first of all differentiate between a number of different forms of multilocality which are each caused by different circumstances. We must acknowledge that multilocality is a heterogeneous phenomenon, with diverse reasons and appearances.

Speaking in ideal types, we can distinguish at least *four forms of multilocality*. They correspond to four main reasons for multilocality. They must be considered ideal types because, in empirical reality, the reasons will often overlap so that hybrid forms exist, and the categories are not clear cut. However, the differentiation helps to identify the trends in contemporary societies leading to multilocality – or rather: to multiple localities!

A first reason for multilocality is *couple formation*. With rare exceptions, every couple starts out not living together in one common household when falling in love. This has always been the case. However, more intimate social intercourse between a young woman and a young man before marriage was socially stigmatised until a few decades ago. (And it still is, for example, in religious sections of society in the American “Bible Belt.”) Therefore the relationship would have been kept more or less secret until the couple were able to marry. Marriage, again, would typically come quickly and be accompanied by moving in together. The phase of pre-cohabitation would remain short and invisible.

This has changed. The norm of connecting a relationship to marriage and to cohabitation has been replaced by a counter norm demanding not only a phase of cohabitation before marriage but also one of dating before moving in together. Contemporary societies are aware that marriages are fragile. Therefore they consider it irresponsible to marry without prior phases of testing and growing together. The phase of pre-cohabitation has hence become a standard stage in a couple’s career and a widespread, visible private living arrangement. We may speak of *life course-related multilocality*. It is mainly caused by a cultural change, vaguely described by the terms of value change and of individualisation. A more substantial process fostering the change of norms is the extension of phases of education and the shift of economic independency into higher ages.

A second reason for multilocality is *job-related mobility demands*. Jobs require mobility in many ways. In many cases, gainful employment is not always executed at the same workplace, but at various locations that change with project phases: Building workers, for example, work on changing construction sites; consultants work in office buildings of changing clients. Many employees need to go on frequent business trips: Journalists, for example, need to travel to do research or interview people; employees of multicorporate enterprises need to meet colleagues at different locations. Some occupations are related to mobility per se, such as pilots or truck drivers. And then there is a large group of people who simply have to bridge a considerable distance between their (current) place of residence and their (new) workplace. This is especially typical of highly-skilled professionals who cannot find an adequate job in the town in

which they happen to live in the short run. A university lecturer, for example, can find jobs in university towns. When a job in one department comes to an end, the next department to offer him/her a job may be far away.

All these job-related circumstances require people to become mobile in one way or another. Some people have the choice between various ways of being mobile: They can, for example, commute daily over large distances to get to work, they can commute weekly or they can relocate. Depending on this choice, various private living arrangements may emerge, such as a long-distance relationship or a common main home with a secondary household near the workplace, used only three days during the week. We may summarise these and similar ways of being mobile as *job-related multilocality*.

This form of multilocality is expanding too. Reasons can be found in the development of transportation and communication systems. They can be recognised in trends of economic globalisation, stimulating more intensive economic exchange and collaboration, such as the growing economies in Asia or the liberalisation of markets, especially in post-socialist Eastern Europe. A third reason for an increase in mobility demands is the trend towards replacing open-end work contracts with short-term ones. This creates more frequent job changes over the course of a job career, and thereby more chances that a new workplace is far away from the current home. Finally, the change of gender roles matters: Whereas in the 1950s most couples had a “male breadwinner” arrangement, today’s dual-earner couples are common in most late modern societies. If both the man and the woman are in gainful employment, it is quite possible that the two workplaces are far away from each other so that there is no locality where the family could live in order to have two normally short commutes. This way, again, mobility and multilocality are introduced.

A third reason for multilocality is *separation and divorce*. Whereas other causes of multilocality affect childless couples as well as parents, separation causes multilocality typically only if there are children involved. If the mother and the father share custody, the common child is a tie that creates a patchwork family instead of two separate singles, couples or families. The child, the mother (and possibly her new partner), and the father (and possibly his new partner)

establish a multilocal family arrangement with at least two households and at least one family member – the child – alternating between these households. We may speak of *family-related multilocality*.

Arrangements and circumstances vary. One or more children can be involved. One or two new partners of the child(ren)'s parents may be involved, even a second separation of one or both parents. Two or more households may be involved, for example if a new partner of one of the child(ren)'s parents is still maintaining a separate household. The child(ren) may define one or the other or none of the households as their primary home. The presence and residence of the child(ren) may alternate in various rhythms. And so on. Further important circumstances are the child(ren)'s age, the distance between the parents' households, and the quality of the relationship between the separated parents.

Numbers of separations and divorces have been increasing so that this form of multilocality is also becoming more and more common. As other trends in late modern societies, this trend is ongoing. It has to do with the change in gender roles described above: Women who are in gainful employment and who are economically independent have far fewer objections to divorce than their mothers, as full-time housewives, had. Also, economically-independent women claim more equal rights – for example greater involvement by their male partners in housework and childcare –, and this may cause conflicts. Furthermore, the disappearance of economic reasons for being in a relationship enhances expectations regarding the quality of a relationship: Individual preferences as well as social norms today tend to accept divorce rather than staying in a relationship which does not provide satisfaction. Finally, the increasing numbers of separations and divorces have also triggered a cultural change that has made divorce much more socially acceptable today than it used to be.

The fourth and final reason for multilocality is *individualism*. As described above, cultural change is fostering multilocality in several ways as an indirect cause, for example by establishing a norm of pre-cohabitation dating or by increasing the social acceptability of divorce. However, cultural change also directly fosters multilocality. First of all, the standard life course – with early marriage, cohabitation, one or two children and a “male breadwinner” type distribution of

responsibilities – has lost most of its former normative obligation. Today, it is acceptable to live in a large number of “deviating” private living arrangements: as a single person, as a childless or unmarried couple, in a same-sex relationship ... or in a relationship with two separate households. In order to distinguish this arrangement from the rather “enforced” long distance relationship due to job-related necessities, the term living apart together (LAT) is usually used. Aside from social acceptance, individual preferences have also made LAT more likely. As theories of value change, individualisation, individual freedom, independence, autonomy, and self-fulfilment have become important desires. Individuals may, for example, want to continue individual hobbies, own styles of decorating their apartment, own circadian rhythms, own standards of cleanliness and order, or own dietary habits, despite being in a relationship. If these desires take on a higher priority than sharing considerable amounts of time with the partner, an LAT arrangement may seem more attractive than cohabitation. We may speak of *lifestyle-related multilocality*.

Beyond the broader processes of cultural change which have been mentioned, in which the trend towards greater individualism is embedded, there are structural changes supporting cultural change: The economic means necessary for financing two separate households have increased (at least in a longer-term perspective). The supply of small apartments for single households has increased. Service industries (such as fast food delivery or laundrettes) and modern domestic appliances make it easier to maintain a household as an employed single person today.

All in all, there are many processes of social change in late modern societies that, directly or indirectly, affect the growth and appearance of multilocality. Again, these processes are closely interrelated. Identifying all single causes of the pluralisation of private living arrangements and of multilocality (in its various forms) is impossible, and not only for methodological reasons. Rather than singling out separate influences, we must assume that there are a few highly-complex processes of sweeping social change, each implying many single changes, among which causes and consequences are reciprocal and among which multiple interaction effects are at work. The single changes cannot be

thought of as independent phenomena. They must be regarded as tightly entangled, indivisible aspects of one common phenomenon.

If we wanted to “sort” or classify the single aspects within these broad and complex processes, a first distinction could be increases in freedom of choice, on the one hand, versus decreases, on the other. There are for example increases in the freedom of choice of living in multilocal family arrangements through increased social acceptance and increased economic resources. On the other hand, new labour market demands entail decreases in freedom, pushing people into multilocality, partly against their will. These two categories are rather loosely causally linked, but reinforce one another in their effects on social reality and family life.

A second distinction could be cultural changes, on the one hand, and structural changes, on the other. The increase in divorce and family-related multilocality, for example, is supported by a liberalisation of laws, on the one hand, making divorce easier in practical terms. On the other hand, the increasing divorce rates mirror the changing social norms and individual preferences. These two categories have a close, reciprocal causal connection, and they reinforce one another in their effects on family life.

The overall process can be understood as a permanent, large-scale societal project of adjusting and balancing out all social institutions, in response to occasionally-changing external circumstances. These external circumstances may be, for example, international relations or new technologies. To sum up in heavily-simplified terms: After an era of advanced industrial production, strong national markets, and stable, expanding welfare in the 1950s, in which cohabiting married couples seemed the most appropriate living arrangement, societies are now introducing more diverse, more flexible and more mobile living arrangements in response to globalised and flexibilised labour markets in IT and knowledge-based economies.

Multi-local living – A time-geographic perspective

Prof. Dr. Peter Weichhart, University of Vienna

Multi-locality has always been an opportunity for human actors to extend their resources and the material basis for action. Under the conditions of second modernity, however, the necessities as well as the temptations of such a strategy of action have been growing. This development also applies to residential multi-locality, which has gained considerable significance over the last decade. Residential multi-locality means that individuals maintain two or more places of residence at different locations, staying there at various intervals and attributing diverse functions to them to a greater or lesser degree. Hence, an individual's entire active everyday life ("vita activa" in the sense of H. ARENDT) is split up among various places. Such a practice of everyday life has a major impact on the options for action and on the identity of persons who have decided on or have been forced into adopting this kind of lifestyle. The structure of their social networks, social interactions and personal relations undergo fundamental changes and the same applies to the opportunities for local social and political participation. The conditions for the emotional embedding in the world (place identity) are affected as well. The lecture will start with a brief discussion of some terminological issues and differentiate residential multi-locality from other forms of mobility. The space-time diagrams used for this purpose are also employed to develop a simple formal typology of residential multi-locality. Referring to T. HÄGERSTRAND's time geography, some implications of multi-local lifestyle, arising from human corporeality, will be discussed. Special consideration will be given to problems of "choreography of co-existence" in family and partner relationships. In conclusion, I will point out options for establishing a typology of interpreting life-world meanings of this phenomenon through persons actively or passively involved.

First Session: Conceptualizing Family Life beyond Household Boundaries and in a Mobile World

Chair: Prof. Dr. Andreas Lange, University of Applied Sciences,
Ravensburg-Weingarten

Discussant: Dr. Susan Thieme, University of Zurich

Doing family under multi-local conditions

Dr. Michaela Schier, Research Group “Multi-local Families”, German Youth Institute, Munich

Families have changed significantly in the past fifty years. Economic and social changes have meant that in an increasing number of cases family life no longer happens in one place but is scattered between different locations. These changes involve the increasing necessity of job mobility, a high separation and divorce rate, the normalization of dual-earner families as well as the emergence of new lifestyles.

Various new forms of multi-local family life have emerged. They are characterized by two or more places of residence at different locations as well as children and adults periodically living apart from each other. In consequence the daily lives of children and parents join each other only periodically and the permanent necessity arises to commute in order to see each other.

Nevertheless, studies show that despite the multi-locality of the family, family members look out for each other, provide emotional care for each other from afar, share resources and maintain close social relations. In consequence family can no longer be conceived as a well-defined entity living together in one household. This development also raises questions as to how we can understand and theorize about multi-sited family life.

This contribution presents conceptual thoughts on ‘doing family’ under multi-local conditions which is part of the heuristical framework of the research of the Schumpeter Research Group “Multi-local Families in Germany”. The ‘Doing multi-local family’ perspective suggests a combination of geographical with sociological approaches to study late modern family life. In order to picture family life in late modernity it is proposed to take the geography of family relationships as a starting point. First, family is defined as a fluid social network based on emotions and centered at personal care relations between generations which are often stretched across multiple places. Second, family life is conceptualized as created through sets of everyday practices. How we perform ‘family’ is shaped by social, spatial, temporal, economic and cultural conditions on different scales. Finally, the specific spatio-temporal framework of multi-local living arrangements is to be emphasized. It is shaped by the number of actively multi-locally living members of a family, the distances between and the locations of their residences as well as the duration, the frequency, the rhythms and the regularity of their commuting between their residences. It is assumed that out of this spatio-temporal pattern, new challenges emerge for those who ‘perform’ family life, and everyone – parents, children as well as other members of the family network – has to develop new ways of organizing their daily lives.

The conceptual framework is based on empirical findings out of two research projects. First assumptions have been formulated examining work related multi-local family life in the context of the research project “Blurring Boundaries of Family and Work” (German Youth Institute/Technical University of Chemnitz, www.dji.de/5_entgrenzung).

Further assumptions have been completed examining multi-local post-separation families in a qualitative case study done by the Schumpeter Research Group (www.dji.de/multilokale_familie).

A conceptual journey between multilocal and transnational family

Dr. Cédric Duchene-Lacroix, University of Basel

The research concerning multilocal families is recent. However, it can be carried out and differentiated thanks to former researches, especially about transnational migrations. And yet, could transnational family be classified as a special category of multilocal families?

This paper aims at showing how those two fields of transnational and multilocal researches are connected and conceptually distinct at the same time. It will also underline environment between split living places, members of the social family network and the flow that link them together.

The research about multilocal families as well as the one about transnational families raises questions as to the uniqueness and the exclusive model of one main place of living, the uniformity of the family in their definition and their real life experiences, the permanence of the physical presence, and their surpassing to look like a family. On the contrary, the fields of multilocal and transnational research differ of some fundamental points. The very structure of the terms "multilocal and transnational" suggests deep differences in the way of thinking the flow (trans) and the splitting up of places that make sense together (multilocal). Besides, in the first case, the cultural and political dimension of the distance (national) that the flows more or less easily overcome, will be pointed out. In the second case, the geographically limited places, mediums of the daily experience face to face with the social relationship, will be focused on.

Families in space: a configurational perspective

Prof. Eric Widmer Ph.D., University of Geneva

Although the configurational perspective cannot be considered a theory at this stage of its development, it proposes a number of assumptions that make the study of complex patterns of relationships such as those characterizing contemporary families easier. In this perspective, families that matter are not defined by institutional criteria such as “belonging to a household” or “being married”. Family interdependencies -what we need others for?- and the set of tensions and conflicts that they set up - are given prime importance. Second, the configurational perspective rejects the assumption that family dyads can be analyzed as independent and separate entities each with their own logic. Instead, it focuses on the influence of the larger configuration of relationships in which each dyad is embedded. Finally, a configurational perspective on the family emphasizes its temporal and spatial nature. It is concerned with the spatial distribution of family members and its impact on family interdependencies within configurations. This set of assumptions emphasizes the embeddedness of partnerships and parenting in large and complex sets of relationships with steprelatives, in-laws, grandparents, other kin, friends or neighbors. This contribution first gives an overview of the configurational perspective on families. It then illustrates the strengths of this perspective by focusing on spatial and relational issues in a sample of 300 first-time and stepfamilies.

Second Session: Researching Multi-local Spaces and Family Relationships beyond Household Boundaries

Chair: Dr. Nicola Hilti, ETH, Zurich

Discussant: Dr. Elisabeth Bühler, University of Zurich

Researching the multi-local everyday life of families

Dr. Michaela Schier, Research Group “Multi-local Families”, German Youth Institute, Munich

Today families can no longer exclusively be conceptualised as well-defined entities based on married partners living together with their children in one household. Instead family has to be understood as a social network of special character often stretched across multiple households (Marbach 2000, Widmer/Jallinoja 2008). It is based on emotions and centered at personal care relations between generations and genders. Furthermore, family is not a natural and self-evident resource, which can be simply "used" by individuals. Rather family members have to restore family through every day practices and over the biographical course (Morgan 2011, Schier/Jurczyk 2007). The conceptualisation of families as multi-local social networks and family life as a set of everyday activities scattered between several different locations, brings translocal interrelationships as well as circular mobility into focus. Thus new methodological approaches need to be found in order to look at family relationships beyond the domestic unit, to study existing interdependencies between family members who live in different places, to shed light on the day-to-day ‘management’ of pluri-local family lives and to study the consequences of multi-local family arrangements.

Taking into account the methodological challenges which derive from this conceptualisation of families, the presentation focuses on the question as to how

we can empirically approach to the multi-local everyday life of families. First this will be discussed against the background of recent methodological debates in family research, transnational research, global ethnography, mobility studies as well as geography. By doing so important criteria for researching the multi-local everyday life of families will become visible. Subsequently it will be pointed out how these criteria have been taken into account in the research design of the Schumpeter Research Groups' first qualitative study on the everyday life of multi-local post-separation families. The presentation will focus on the methodical procedure, reflect on it critically and point out particular challenges which go along with this research design.

The ethnographic study, which focuses on eleven post-separation family systems in Germany, is of explorative character and aims to take the plurality and complexity of the phenomenon of multi-local family life into account. It is targeted on generating new findings in regards to the challenges of doing family under multi-local conditions. The methodical mix includes 41 themecentered narrative interviews with separated mothers and fathers, their new partners if living in the same household as well as 13 multilocally living children aged between 6 and 17 years. In addition various visual methods (autophotography, 'socio-spatial network game') as well as (video-supported) mobile and stationary participant observation has been used.¹

¹ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Creating closeness within transnational families: methodological challenges of researching communication, nation and emotion

**Prof. Loretta Baldassar Ph.D., University of Western Australia/
Monash University**

Research into families spread across local and national borders demands innovative transnational research methodologies. The experiences and practices of such families are both emotionally intimate and geographically distant, and the need to capture these two experiences simultaneously has meant transforming conventional research tools into different forms. This paper outlines the methodology my collaborators and I employed in a study of the transnational caregiving relationships between adult migrants living in Australia and their ageing parents and other kin living overseas. In addition to Australia, it involved research in 6 countries including Italy, the Netherlands, Ireland, Singapore, New Zealand and Iran. Over 200 semi-structured, quasi-life history interviews were collected as well as notes from participant observation and fieldwork at relevant local, family and community events. The interviews and field notes were collated using the qualitative software package NUDIST, which also provided some search and cross tabulation functions. This paper will focus on the strengths and limitations of this methodology, including sample bias, methodological nationalism, and comparability across cultural and language groups. Two issues will be given particular attention. Firstly, the role of the researcher in eliciting responses about caregiving and family relationships, which are often emotionally intimate and sometimes upsetting, will be discussed with reference to the issues of trust and ethics in qualitative research. Secondly, the importance of the social uses of new technologies on transnational family relationships and the challenges of incorporating these into the study design. By way of conclusion, I will highlight some points of comparison with a recent study of transnational caregiving using a quantitative survey of 3 country groups comprising 600 respondents (also conducted by the author).

Mobile relations, mobile shadows. Understanding contemporary urban daily life through shadowing techniques

Paola Jirón Ph.D., University of Chile, Santiago

Susana Cortés, University of Chile, Santiago

Current urban relations are becoming increasingly complex, dynamic and in constant change. This implies that the experience of living contemporary urban spaces is also complex, often embedded in a web multilayered times, spaces, strategies and relations that traditional research methods often fail to capture in its complexity. Moreover, the ever increasing mobile nature of urban practices makes these relations even more complex to apprehend.

These mobile practices are not only related to the movement from a place of residence to a place of work or study, but it also involves the multiple activities, strategies and spatialities that are required to be able to undertake daily lives with an ever present ubiquity requirement. The experience of such practice varies, and has multiple implications. Getting close to that experience requires new ways of understanding what is taking place and how.

Capturing urban daily mobility experiences of urban travellers in contemporary cities, implies getting as close as possible to mobility practices and this requires understanding the significant interactions that take place in time-space. Significant interactions refer to those events that become meaningful to travellers or urban dwellers. These events may take place prior, during or after daily trips and it involves the relation between the embodiment of the practice, the spatiality they generate, other persons and things, meanings and strategies displayed during mobility practices.

Understanding contemporary urban living presents a double challenge. On one side, it requires approaching everyday time-space experiences by getting as close as possible to the experience, knowing the impossibility of ever fully grasping it. On the other side, it requires understanding that current urban living

is invariably linked among the various relations people have as these become embodied and spatialised.

An ethnographic approach using a shadowing as the main research techniques is here presented as a way of tackling such challenges. This paper aims at discussing both challenges and providing a methodological proposal to approach these. It first explains how contemporary spatial mobility practices are understood today. It then explains how these are linked to the indivisible relations people web today. This is then followed by presenting an ethnographic approach to understand mobility practices using a shadowing technique. This is then exemplified by presenting how significant interactions capture experiences through embodiment, spatiality, others, meaning and strategies.

How to handle layers of complexity: the methodological challenge of multiple perspectives in multigenerational family research

Prof. Dr. Anna Brake, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg

In the last two decades multigenerational family studies have added significantly to the understanding of intergenerational continuity and change and the intervening processes of family dynamics. A broad consensus exists that the investigation of multiple generations within one family has to take into account the slightly different or even contradictory narratives that are provided by the various family members of different generations. Notwithstanding the necessity of acknowledging multiple perspectives and multiple realities in multigenerational family research there has been little discussion so far on corresponding methodological issues. The question of how we can come to terms with the comprehensive but very complex sets of interview material still has to be clarified. The paper will discuss the challenge of how to treat these data sets based on a study of 20 three-generation-families, which were examined with a focus on the transmission of family cultures across the generations. In this research project we applied a double mirroring interview technique to entangle the different views and perspectives of the family members of different generations. It will be argued that the family member's distinctive and unique narratives by no means should be regarded as a threat to concurrent validity but, instead, be acknowledged as qualitative data of its own right.

Quantitative approaches to family relationships beyond household boundaries

Dr. Walter Bien, German Youth Institute, Munich

Quantitative research is related to well defined countable categories like household. As international comparative research shows also the household concept is not easy comparable, because of different definitions. Nevertheless the household concept is widely used and in representative samples, also in family research, household is often put on the level of family. Doing family in real life is not only in Germany not related to household boundaries, three and more generation households are seldom, three and more generation families are regular.

So asking for household members creates only a sub sample of a family. Asking for other family members looks easy but is hard work because of the complexity of family relations. So social network analysis gives a theoretical and methodological frame in which problems of

- defining multi-local families,
- collecting data and
- analyze such data

can be made visible and can be handled. In some of the major surveys in Germany ego centered network methods (name generator, name interpreter) are used.

Giving some examples (especially from DJI surveys) and discussing the problems and opportunities will show the possibilities and boundaries of such an approach.

Third Session: Living in/ Commuting between Two Families – Children as Multi-local Agents

Chair: Dr. Sabina Schutter, German Youth Institute, Munich

Discussant: Prof. An-Magritt Jensen Ph.D., Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Trondheim

Living in two worlds: a German case study on children in post-separation families

Diane Nimmo, Research Group „Multi-local Families”, German Youth Institute, Munich

Families have changed significantly in the past forty years. Economic and social changes have meant that in an increasing number of cases family life is no longer restricted to one place but is scattered between several different locations (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim 2002). One of these changes is the high rate of separation and divorce, which results in families being dispersed across different households.

During separation the family system goes through a basic reorganization. Constance Ahrons (Ahrons 1979) stresses in particular the reorganization of relationships between the members of the nuclear family in the context of establishing a maternal or a paternal household. However, the separation not only means the reorganization of family relationships, but also a spatio-temporal reorganization of family life (Hater 2003, Haugen 2010, Schier 2009). The process of multi-localisation is influenced by the increasing importance of trans-local interconnections within post-separation families due to numerous changes such as law reforms (Klenner 2006), the change of societal role models and values, e.g. the normative change towards active fatherhood (Fthenakis 2008),

as well as improving or new transport and communication technologies (Ong 1999).

This lecture will focus on families after separation and divorce, in which children 'commute' between the homes of the mother and the father. In most cases, children in post-separation families either have one primary residence and visit the other parent more or less frequently (which is the so called primary residence model) or they spend equal amounts of time at the homes of both parents (which is the so called shared residence model). Further factors determining the significant empirical variety of family life after separation and divorce are

- the distance between the homes of the mother and the father
- how this distance is overcome (e.g. means of transport chosen, do the children commute alone or are they accompanied by a sibling or parent)
- the personnel structure of the two familial sub-systems of the multi-local post-separation family (e.g. new partner, new social and/or biological siblings).

Multi-local living arrangements after separation and divorce present all members of the family with both new challenges and opportunities, but children are confronted with the particular challenges that go along with living in and 'commuting' between two worlds. The children are located in two places. In each place, for example, they have a particular social network and neighbourhood and particular daily routines, and they may also be involved in particular activities outside the home. They become frequent border-crossers of different familial life-worlds, which may be characterised by different rules of behaviour. This situation affects the conduct of children's everyday life as well as their notions of home and belonging, notions which go beyond the simplistic concept of singularity. Against this background this lecture will address the question as to how children deal with their localisation in two familial worlds with regards to their conduct of everyday life. These challenges will be analysed in accordance with the premises of the new childhood studies, which emphasise that research should be focused on the perspective of children (Honig/ Lange/ Leu 1999).

This question will be answered on the basis of theme-centered interviews with children between the age of 6 to 17 years, the application of the visual methods auto-photography and socio-spatial network game with the children as well as participant observation of the journey between the homes of both parents.²

² For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Shared residence and the best interest of the child. Rights, agency and age dilemmas

Dr. Gry Mette D. Haugen, NTNU Social Research AS, Center for Diversity and Inclusion, Trondheim

Introduction and theoretical framework

Shared residence is often presented as an arrangement that is in the best interests of the child following the divorce of its parents. According to Kurki-Suonio (2000) the ideal of joint custody (including both joint legal custody and joint physical custody included shared residence) might be regarded as the current cultural interpretation of the principle of the best interests of the child. At the same time, for example, Mary Ann Mason (2002: 80-81), has claimed that the 'rush to joint custody' in the USA during the 1980s shifted the focus away from the 'best interest of the child to the best interest of the parents – or, more precisely, to the best interest of the father', and Carol Smart (2004) has put forward similar arguments about the present situation in UK. In Norway, the claim is usually that this is a country with a strong tendency to emphasise paternal involvement in children's lives (Skjevik, 2006), and in the public debates on this issue too, it is frequently suggested that, in order to secure gender equality when parents divorce, shared residence should become the norm. In such arguments, shared residence promotes gender equality and it represents an ideology of fairness. There is a growing demand for shared residence in several countries; though it is argued by Smart (2004: 484) among others, that such demand 'ignore entirely' the experiences of the children who are affected by the arrangement. Even if parents' motivations for choosing an equal time-share arrangement might have the best interests of the child in mind, they might also be driven by self-interest, for example, in order to avoid conflict, save money or simply because parents need time for themselves (see e.g. Folberg, 1991 for a number of different of arguments). A shared residential arrangement that is said to be in the best interests of the child from the parents' perspective does not necessarily seem so from the child's perspective.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this paper is to ask to what extent children themselves experience shared residence as an arrangement that is in their best interests by focusing on three related issues; *time*, *emotions* and *children's rights*.

First, recent research points to different constructions and understandings of time (Adam 2000, Christiansen, 2002; Christensen et al. 2000, Daly 2001) which makes it important to ask how children master the equal sharing of *time* between the two households. Secondly, empirical research has argued that children's time and its equal sharing may become a source of conflict and loaded with emotional significance. The paper therefore asks what are the *emotional* significances of time sharing for children? Thirdly, as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratified by Norway in 1991) points out, children have the right to a say about decisions regarding family matters and custody arrangements following the divorce of their parents. However, several scholars have challenged the taken-for-granted assumption that children's agency is an unequivocal benefit for children (Freeman, 1992; Lee, 1999; Kjørholt, 2004). It is therefore necessary to examine children's agency in the process of decision-making and ask to what extent children themselves view such participation as a benefit to them.

Methods

The data analysed in this article are drawn from a larger Norwegian study, entitled 'Families after Divorce' (Moxnes et.al. 1999; 2001), which conducted both a survey and in-depth interview with post-divorce families. In the survey, 473 parents recruited from a regional sample of parents who divorced in 1992 or in 1995, reported on how they and their 910 children had coped with the divorce. In addition a sample of 114 parents and 96 children (age 9 – 18), were also interviewed in depth. Fifteen of the children (five girls and ten boys) were part of a shared residence arrangement. The findings presented in this paper are mainly from the children and one parent from each family, in the shared residence group. The children practised shared residence in varying ways: nine of them alternated each week with each parent, while another two stayed for two

weeks in each place, and one of the boys alternated four weeks with each parent. Three siblings divided the week into two sections and alternate weekends. Interview with the children and young people are the main source of information, supplemented by interviews with the parents.

Some patterns seemed to characterize the shared residence group. In the cases presented in this paper, all except from one child had both households located within walking distance. According to recent national statistics 48 percent of shared residence parents live within walking distance while this is the case for 19 percent of post-divorce parents in general (see Skjørten and colleges, 2007:52). According to our regional survey (Moxnes and colleges, 1999) parents in the 'shared residence group' had on average higher education than other parents in the study, a pattern that is also found in national statistics and, that seems to be particular significant for the shared residence fathers (Skjørten and colleges 2007)

Shared residence is currently the fastest growing custody arrangement for Norwegian parents and children following a divorce. While in 1996 four percent of divorced families practised shared residence the figures have risen to ten percent in 2004 (Kitterød, 2005: 36). Thus the strategic sample of the families discussed in this paper seems to meet Jennifer Mason's demand (2002) of empirical significance, and, with reference to the previous discussion about the 'best interests of the child', the sample also seems to have theoretical significance.

The analyses of the interviews with the children were mainly conducted in two steps. The first uses a 'within-case' approach (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 143): by using open coding and axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) We looked in particular at the full story of each child in order to trace why and how each case coped in a particular way with reference to central factors in the literature on children and divorce (see for example Pryor and Rodgers, 2001; Amato, 2000; Kelly, 2003; Moxnes, 2003) as parental conflict, loss of social and economic capital and life stress. In the next step, we turned to 'cross-case' analysis (Miles

and Huberman, 1994: 174), from which it emerged that the stories seemed to fall into three types of time-sharing: i) flexible; ii) ambiguous; and iii) rigid.

i) Flexible

Reviews of previous research (NOU 1998: 17, Andenæs 2001) and a recent Norwegian study on shared residence (Skjørten and others 2007) show that parental cooperation, low levels of conflict and the location of both parents in the same community are important in making shared residence arrangement work in the best interests of the child. These are all factors that seemed to characterise the 'flexible time-sharing group'. The parents in the 'flexible share group' seemed to manage what Smart (2004) describes as successful sharing, important aspects of which are flexibility and respect for children's choices. These aspects were also said to be important by parents in the next group, although this was not always the children's own understanding.

ii) Ambiguity

Studies focusing on shared residence in particular stress the importance of acknowledging children's wishes, pointing out that children are in some danger of putting their parents' needs ahead of their own (Haaland, 1988; Skjørten, 2007; Smart, 2004). Similar arguments are made for children in post divorce arrangement in general (see for example Butler, 2003; Moxnes, 2003; Amato and Afifi, 2006). The stories that derived from the 'ambiguity group' illustrated this ambiguity with regard to participation and issues of time and emotions.

iii) Rigid

In this practice the apparently logical principle of shared time, which is intended to express fairness to both parents and children, does not automatically mean this in real life. Some times children have to adapt to her parents' requirements, which illustrate the extent to which constructions of fairness and justice may be only adult constructions.

Main findings

The findings reported in this paper show that, from the perspective of children and young people, a shared residence arrangement can work as both a pleasure and a burden. The data are based on a small sample, and therefore I am cautious about drawing general conclusions. However, three points have emerged from the foregoing as significant. First, I argue that those who assert that shared residence is in the best interests of a child are in danger of reproducing adults' understandings of children's needs. Secondly, I argue that the debate over shared residence requires more empirical evidence, followed by fresh theoretical thinking and ideas. Thirdly, shared residence might be in the best interests of the child when children have an opportunity to have a say, if their opinions and choices are respected. These findings agree with Smart (2004), who points out that children speak of recognition rather than equality or rights

For the first time since divorces were recorded in Norway, it has been estimated that slightly more than 50 percent of marriages may end in divorce (Statistics Norway 2006), and similar trends are observable in several countries world wide. Highest rates are found in USA and Sweden with 55 percent (see Therborn 2004: 190-1 for further details). Debates about divorce and the consequences for children and young people are considerable, although overall divorce is recognized as a risk factor for reduced child adjustment and well-being (see, for example, Amato, 2000; Amato and Sobolewski, 2001; Lansford et al. 2006; Pryor and Rodgers 2001). However, according to Pryor and Rodgers (2001:112) 'listening to what children say about family change is a surprisingly contentious issue'. This paper attempt to underline the need for research that acknowledges individual variations in interpretations of the best interests of the child, and experiences of multi-local family life, and further, that children's perspectives may provide important insights, as well as a relevant departure point, for further research.³

³ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Children's construction of home between two households; the significance of the journey in their everyday lives

Tonje Lauritzen, Eastern Norway Research Institute, Lillehammer

This paper focuses on how children in post-divorced families organize their everyday life between their parents' households. Here the travel between the houses is important, and influence what, where and why they think of and experience as their home.

Background

In my PhD-project the approach to this issue is: How do children organize and practice their everyday life between two households, and how does it influence their construction of home? In this paper I will focus on the journey between the two households as a part of or not a part of their everyday life and its impact on what, where and how their homes are.

Content of the paper

The concept of home ranges between research fields, but all seem to agree about the idea that it has both a physical and an emotional dimension (Gullestad 1992, Rapport & Dawson 1998, Mallet 2004). Home is both a place in which we live, and a set of feelings - and the relation between place and feelings. In other words; "Home is thus a spatial imaginary: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which are related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places" (Blunt & Dowling 2006:2). I see Lefebvres (1991) spatial triad as a meaningful analytical tool to obtain children's home between two households. I think especially of his concepts "representations of space", "spatial practices" and "representational space". In short, related to home, it's about notions of home, the experiences of homes and home-making practices, and the interaction between the components of the triad which is necessary for producing a spatiality like home.

Traveling between parents households leads to a change in children's physical, relational and social position in the houses, in relation to family members and

neighborhoods and friends (see also Smart 2002). This occurs no matter how far it is between the parents households. The shifts appear as the children use the houses differently and will be dependent of the kind of relationship the child has to the members of the households, friends, neighbors etc. However, the distance between the houses might have significance in how the changes appear because it has impact on how children travel between their parents, how often they travel and how long they stay in each of the houses.

Traveling between parents houses influences children's everyday life. They have to find space and time for the journey from school, friends, leisure activities and, not least, time with parents and other family members. The longer the distance is, the more time it steals from other activities that might have meaning in their construction of home. In this context, I think it's interesting to see how children negotiate, what strategies they have, in relation to the journey when it comes to their everyday life and what, where and how their homes are between two households.

Method

To answer and illustrate this I will use a quantitative dataset from Statistics Norway and depth interviews with children who have parents in two households. The dataset from Statistics Norway gives for instance, information about children's visiting arrangement, the distance between the parents' houses and how they travel. The information concern the child, but it's the parents that have supplied the information. This is the background for the analysis based on depth interviews with 9 children. I have interviewed each child twice with 1 1/2 years apart about how they organize their everyday life when they have parents in two household. In the interviews my focus was on the use of the houses, relationship to the household members, what they do in their leisure time, who they spend time with when they stay with each parent, and the journey between the houses.⁴

⁴ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Spatial and temporal orientations of mobile children in post-separation and post-divorce families

Christian Piontek, University of Kassel

Within the framework of my running PhD-project which is a qualitative study about „Mobility experiences and mobility coping of children in post-separation/post-divorce-families“, the topic of this lecture is to answer the following question: Which typical spatial and temporal orientations are underlying the practice of mobility of the mentioned children?

With the help of selected interview passages and photos the results of the reconstructed spatial and temporal orientations will be brought up for discussion. Those interview passages (narrations, descriptions and argumentations) and photos are taken from semi-structured-interviews and photo-interviews with girls and boys at the age of 9 to 12 years, which commute differently short and long distances between their separated and divorced living parents.

The Documentary Method has been used to analyse and interpretate interviews (Nohl 2009) and photos (Bohnsack 2009) in order to reconstruct the children's orientations. This Method allows access to the reflexive (communicative-generalised) knowledge („iconographical meaning“ in picture interpretation) and is especially useful for an interpretative access to the „konjunktiven“, action-leading and incorporated knowledge („iconological meaning“ in picture interpretation) and therewith to the practice of action of individuals and groups (cf. Bohnsack 2007, p. 180ff.), here: the practice of mobility of the concerned children.⁵

⁵ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Negotiated family identity – multi-locally living children constructing family

Tino Schlinzig, TU Dresden

Following sociological debates on family the traditional nuclear family is in decline and has lost its predominance even though it still preserves its normative power. At the same time alternative family models experience both an increase in numbers and acceptance. The huge corpus on literature concerned with the topic often neglects a key moment in the understanding of those forms of familial life – namely the social realities of the actors within their self-concepts, their perspectives on what they call *family* and consequently *do* and *present* in daily practice.

The project to be presented recognizes the importance of negotiated social constructions of ‘we-ness’ within especially shared-residence families against the background of the practical everyday challenges of those familial arrangements and the cultural hegemony of the nuclear family in public discourse. The confrontation of those families with their structural *deviance* necessitates them to have innovative patterns of interpretation available to balance the cultural lack of concepts and terms and to recognize their complex social networks as family. In this, questions need be raised with respect to the agency of family members in ‘doing family’. Several Studies have shown that children shifted from objects to subjects of socialisation processes. There is an increase in daily negotiations in families. Consequently children need to be considered empirically and in theorizing on the family. Therefore special attention will be given to the perspectives of the children commuting between the two family nucleuses that they consider as their family.

First results will be presented and current theoretical assumptions on children’s contributions to construction processes of family identity will be discussed on an empirical and theoretical basis.

Fourth Session: Doing Post-Separation Family: New Challenges for Parents and their New Partners

Chair: Dr. Valerie Heintz-Martin, German Youth Institute, Munich

Discussant: Dr. Ulrike Zartler, University of Vienna

Challenges and opportunities of multi-local family life for parents in Germany

Anna Proske and Nina Bathmann, Research Group “Multi-local Families“, DJI, Munich

Families after divorce and separation in most cases do not dissolve completely but maintain a family which disperses amongst several locations. Sometimes, in dependence of the living arrangement chosen, one of the parents travels to spend time with his child/ his children. But more often, the children commute between the two households of the parents. Therefore we look at families after divorce and separation as being *multi-local* families, which organize their lives under certain time-spatial conditions.

These families are challenged to establish particular *routines and practices* in order to accomplish a family life, which is widespread over two (or even more) households. If one or both of the former spouses do have new partners, who perhaps have children themselves, the demands of daily life may even increase. Practices for handling the new relationships, e.g. the dyadic relationship between the ex-partner and the new partner, the children and the new partner and the children and the non-residential parent, have to be created and arranged under the conditions of living in different households. Therefore further family *lives* have to be created. This aspect also touches the task of *doing family* (Morgan 2011, Nelson 2006) and eventually, *displaying family* (Finch 2007).

Our contribution focuses on the *challenges and opportunities for the parents*, which result from the condition of multilocality after separation/ divorce. There is a range of possible living arrangements for the families in this situation. Especially the amount of time the child/ the children lives with each parent varies and the ex-partners are free to negotiate a mode which pleases them the best. Basically and in legal terms, families choose either the so called “primary residence” model (asymmetrical living arrangement), in which the child/ the children do live mainly at the household of one single parent (usually the mother) or the “shared residence” model (symmetrical living arrangement), in which the child/children live alternately at both single parents households. The specific time-spatial rhythm of each of those models may have an impact on the daily life management developed and therefore on the challenges confronted with and the opportunities offered.

The general situation the ex-partners are confronted with can be conceptualized in the framework of Work/family border theory (Campbell Clark 2000). Family life after divorce/ separation implies the situation of a dissolving of old and an establishing of new borders at the same time and in different respects and the handling of those borders. Practices of boundary work respectively boundarymanagement therefore involve (at least) spatial, temporal, emotional and social aspects. Moreover, commuting children become “border-crossers”, who takes part in (at least) two different family lives and their parents, the ex-partners, become “border-keepers”, who each represents a certain familial world connected with a certain daily life management.

We will deal mainly with the challenges of multi-local family life for the parents and the practices they create in order to handle them. Due to the recognition of the fact, that a solely problem-centered approach to this phenomenon would not represent the empirical situation well, we will also outline some of the opportunities for the parents connected with this situation. Multi-local family life after divorce/ separation can be characterized best by *ambivalence* though.

In particular, we will present our empirical findings on the following aspects:

1. The process and extent of coordination between the ex-partners in order to establish and maintain the post-separation family arrangement, i.e. organize the children's life in two places.
2. The task of creating a feeling of home in two households for the children.
3. Maintaining intimacy and emotion work (Hochschild 1983): the challenge to emotionally manage the changing presence and absence of the children as "border-crossers" as well as the challenge to maintain intimacy with the children despite of spatial absence and the practices established to come to terms with this situation.
4. Finally, we will have a look at the opportunities, which arise due to the multi-local family life, such as the opportunity to promote gender equality between the ex-partners.

In order to investigate the phenomenon of multi-local families we have been using a methodical mix of qualitative methods. We have conducted qualitative interviews with children, parents, and their new partners in post-separation families. Furthermore we have been using visual methods such as participative observation, autophotography and socio-spatial network-games. In our contribution we will predominantly refer to the qualitative interviews with the parents.⁶

⁶ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

The continuity and discontinuity of family routines and rituals after separation

Wilma Bakker, University of Amsterdam

Sara and Ben, parents of two daughters, got divorced five years ago. The divorce changed their family life in important ways. They decided to equally share the care of their children and arranged a co-parenting arrangement, in which the girls live with Sara for one half of the week and with Ben for the other half. After a while Sara found a new partner. This new partner also has two children, who are also living in a co-parenting arrangement. During the days of the week that Sara and her new partner both do not take care of their children, they live together. One weekend each month they spend the weekend together with their four children. During an interview, when Sara was asked to describe her family, she answered: "That may seem a simple question for a lot of people, but to me it is actually a complex one to answer."

Defining the family has been a popular research goal for family researchers for many years. During the 1950s and 1960s a traditional and conventional ideology of the family was dominant. The various definitions referred to mother, father and their biological children as an entity with recognized rights, obligations, tasks and a shared residence (e.g. Coser, 1964). This traditional concept of family, also known as the nuclear family (Murdock, 1949), derived from the twentieth-century cultural tradition of the homemaker-breadwinner household, in which the father works full-time as primary wage earner and the mother stays home to take care of the children. Until recently, in line with this dominant, conventional concept of family, a common assumption was that a separation meant the downfall and the end of the family. Since the middle of the 1960s, family life has changed dramatically. The postponement of marriage and parenthood, the decline in birth rate, the rise in consensual unions, the rise in extramarital fertility and the rise in the divorce rate resulted in a decline of the nuclear family and an increasing family heterogeneity (Van Gaalen, 2007). Besides the nuclear family, other family arrangements, such

as the cohabiting union, single parent family, stepfamily and gay and lesbian families, increased, became less unconventional and became more visible in society. Therefore, nowadays, many scholars recognize and emphasize the importance of a more extended definition (or no definition at all) of family that increasingly recognizes family pluralism, diversity and fluidity, and better fit the reality (e.g. Bernardes, 1997; Morgan, 1996; Thompson, 1992; Holstein & Gubrium, 1999; Peters, 1999). According to this, scholars try to avoid the term 'the family' by writing about family practices (Morgan, 1996), family life (Cheal, 2002), or 'doing' family (as opposed to 'being' family) (Smart, 2000; Morgan, 1999).

Along with the acceptance of a broader definition of family, there is also a growing recognition by family researchers and politics of the continued existence of family life after separation. Whereas a separation, or the dissolution of a cohabiting union, spatially separates the family and ends the romantic relationship between partners, the relationship between parents will endure, even if the parents become remarried and create a new family. Although the living arrangement, the frequency of contact and the quality of parental relationships after separation vary among ex-couples, some aspects of the former family life will remain (Silva & Smart, 1999). Besides practices which come along with sharing the responsibility to take care of the children, there might be a continued existence of family celebrations, traditions and rituals (Pett, 1992). Furthermore, new family structures arise, new family members might become part of the family after separation (especially in the case of remarriage), and new family practices will be developed. Especially interesting is how families reshape and sustain family life in a new family structure. The fact that there is growing diversity among the post-separation living arrangements, nowadays, makes it even more interesting to study post-separation family life.

Surprisingly little is known about how people reshape and sustain their family life after separation. Several researchers have studied how individuals, predominantly Western, white middle-class, heterosexual, nuclear and co-residential families create a sense of family, ignoring the increasingly pluralistic Western family arrangements (Simpson, 1998). Some scholars describe what happens to the family after separation. Ahrons (1980) stated that divorce leads to a redefinition of the

nuclear family, whereby the family transformed from a nuclear into a binuclear system, rather than dissolving the family. Moxnes (1999), however, argued that this is not always the case. Her position is that divorce and remarriage do not necessarily lead to the end of the family or to a binuclear system, but that they do always change family dramatically. In line with this, Smart (2000; 2004) claimed that the changing nature of family life pushes people to negotiate new moral codes or principles, which generates new ways of doing post-separation family life. What these new ways of doing family exactly are, remain largely unknown.

In this paper we aim to gain insight into the ways separated parents, who are involved in different types of post-separation living arrangements, reshape, reorganize and sustain their family life. Studying post-separation family life not only enables us to explore the functioning of non-standard living arrangements, but also to make visible the often taken-for-granted meaning of family and family life. The practices of doing family are most apparent in non-standard living arrangements. Separated persons have to challenge the taken-for-granted family practices and may create their own particular ways of doing family. Therefore, we explored the everyday experience of separated parents in developing new ways of doing family. The focus will be on who are considered part of the post-separation family, which family rituals and routines continue and the ways in which separated parents practice family rituals and routines after separation.

Empirical evidence is of explorative nature and is drawn from qualitative data from 35 in-depth interviews conducted in 2008 and 2009 with separated parents in the Netherlands. Respondents were selected from the *Netherlands Kinship Panel Study*, which contains information on 8161 inhabitants of the Netherlands aged between 18 and 79 and not living in an institution. The 35 respondents were selected through purposive (also known as theoretical) sampling (Mason 1996). I selected those respondents who had experienced a divorce or the dissolution of an unmarried, cohabiting union; had at least one child with the ex-partner; whereby at least one of the children was aged 18 or younger and lived with the respondent for at least half the time; and whereby the ex-partner was still alive. Within the selection I aimed for a wide range of variation in place of the residence; level of education of the respondent; the number of children; and the age of the children. The interview data were coded, classified, and analyzed

thematically with the help of ATLAS.ti (a program on qualitative data analysis). The analyses were conducted in a combination of a top-down approach, using relevant themes from the literature, and a bottom-up approach, using relevant themes that emerged from the interview material. In the analyses exploration, rather than generalization, was the focus.⁷

⁷ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

Couple relationship and female work migration: how married and separated mothers deal with children's care across borders

Paola Bonizzoni, Ph.D., University of Milan

1. Theoretical framework, main hypothesis and findings

A well-developed body of research has brought to light the crucial role played by women in economic migration, especially in domestic and care work. This sector is strategic in Italy, a country whose demographic trends and welfare state features feed a steady demand for low-skilled female jobs, met, from the nineties onwards, by immigrant women. Domestic work has often been associated with transnational family life: its characteristics (demanding working schedules, cohabitation, informality...) coupled with the circulatory style some migrants may choose make family reunification a not always desired nor an easily-accessible option. Research has shown that transnational mothering radically rearranges both mother-child interactions and meanings (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997), and it is often accompanied by a deep reorganization of the household, due to mothers' needs to share the care of children with other (generally female) carers, who often find themselves reciprocally interlocked in "global care chains" (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Yeates, 2005). Emotional intimacy (Dreby 2007, 2006, Parreñas 2005b) - more than economic performance - remains crucial in defining the "good" (May, 2008) transnational motherhood: however, the practices achievable are limited and the difficulties in performing an emotional role at distance often emerge. While abroad, mothers display (Finch, 2007) love, care and commitment toward their families at home through new family practices: as shown by previous research (Gardner & Grillo, 2002; Sutton, 2004; Wilding, 2006; Zontini, 2004), phone calls, visits, gifts and remittances are the means through which they learn to manage care throughout time and space. The literature on transnational family life still lacks a specific focus on the role played by different family structures. This paper aims to move beyond these limits providing an analysis of the experience of married, unmarried and

separated households in female migration, trying to grasp their specificities in respect to transnational family practices and family reunification processes. Despite scholars have already argued that female migration could be often seen both as the consequence and the cause of conjugal conflict, this has not led yet to an understanding of the way difficult conjugal relationships may affect transnational caregiving practices as well as family reunification processes. Conflicts among parents may complicate the management of remittances, the communication among children and faraway mothers, as well as the negotiation of the children's migratory paths, also due to the legal custody father maintain over children, and to the family reunification policies, which require both parent's consensus over children's migration.

2. Methods

I will take advantage to two different data sets. The first is a survey carried out in 2009 in the Lombardia Region which was administered to recently reunited parents and to families with still minor children abroad. The data set provides a useful framework to compare transnational family practices (remittances, gifts, visits, care arrangements) and family reunification patterns of married, unmarried and separated families, in terms of nationality, timing and outcomes. More detailed insights are also taken from 20 qualitative interviews carried out with unmarried and separated mothers and 10 to reunited children belonging to female-headed households. Interviewees come from Latin America (Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Dominican Republic) and Eastern Europe (Ukraine and Moldova).⁸

⁸ For the list of references please contact: multilocalfamily@dji.de

The Role of technology in supporting parent-child contact during separation

Svetlana Yarosh, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta

Content:

Growing availability of communication and information technologies provides new opportunities for multi-local families to maintain contact during separation. However, there are relatively few investigations that address the strategies that these families currently use with communication technologies, the challenges that are inherent to these strategies, and opportunities for novel designs in this space.

My talk will be divided into three main sections:

- Technology use by parents and children in divorced families
- Technology use by parents and children in work-separated families
- Novel technologies created to support contact in multi-local families

The first two parts will be focusing on describing the results of my in-depth semi-structured interviews with parents and children in separated families. I will also describe the opportunities that our investigations highlight for technological interventions. The last part of the talk will describe some novel technologies proposed by myself and by others to support contact in multi-local families. I will divide my discussion into synchronous and asynchronous communication media. For one of the synchronous technologies, the ShareTable, I will describe also an initial evaluation and an ongoing field deployment.

I will conclude with a discussion of opportunities and guidelines for successful collaboration between social scientists of multi-local families and technology designers in this space.

Method:

The formative studies of the current technology needs of divorced and work-separated families were conducted using in-depth semi-structured interviews with parents and children from multi-local families. Our focus was on understanding both the perspectives of the parents and the perspectives of the children in separated families. The data was analyzed using an inductive, data-driven approach, with a specific focus on the following research questions:

- What are the strategies used by work-separated / divorced families to maintain a sense of closeness during separation?
- What are the limitations or challenges inherent to these strategies?
- How do parents and children differ in the strategies they enact?

The results of these formative investigations lead to a number of generated ideas about potential novel technologies to help support contact during parent-child separation. The most promising of these ideas, named the ShareTable, was implemented as a low-fidelity functional prototype. This prototype was evaluated with pairs of parents and children in a residential laboratory. We asked the participants to spend an hour using the system, including doing structured tasks where we compared the ShareTable with standard videoconferencing, loosely structured tasks where we asked participants to play a board game together, and unstructured tasks where we provided time for free play with the system. We collected data through observation of system use by participants, self-report gathered through structured surveys about the experience, and a semi-structured interview at the conclusion of the trial.

As the results of the initial ShareTable trial were promising, we are currently in the process of conducting several case study field deployments of the system with divorced families. We are collecting video and audio recordings of the system use by the families, as well as requesting that they keep communication diaries before and through the deployment.