Involved Parenthood

Everyday Lives of Swedish Middle-Class Families

Lucas Forsberg

Linköping University
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Linköping Studies in Arts and Science • No. 473

At the Faculty of Arts and Science at Linköping University, research and doctoral studies are carried out within broad problem areas. Research is organized in interdisciplinary research environments and doctoral studies mainly in graduate schools. Jointly, they ublish the series Linköping Studies in Arts and Science. This thesis comes from the Department of Child Studies at the Tema Institute.

Contents

Acknowledgements

They say getting your PhD is like taking your driver's license. It is supposed to be the first step in a life-long commitment to research and academia, or at least it is supposed to give you an advantage in your future career outside university. Whether that is the case or not, just like the learner-driver, the doctoral candidate does not become a researcher by his own; in fact, he is in need of much help in order to succeed.

My driving school has been the Department of Child Studies at Linköping University. I am grateful to the professors Karin Aronsson, Gunilla Halldén, Margareta Hydén, Bengt Sandin, and my other colleagues for

are due to Henric Claesson for designing the driving license.

Finally, I wish to express my immense gratitude to Johanna Gottzén, not only for having the courage driving with me, but also for loving, supporting, and challenging me. I dedicate this book to you.

On the road somewhere between Linköping and Stockholm,
January 2009

Lucas Forsberg

Chapter 1
Introduction

This dissertation is about parenthood in Sweden. Or rather, involved parenthood. In brief, I shall in this study define involved parenthood as the cultural norm prescribing that parents are to be responsible for their children, spend as much time as possible with them, and try to develop close relations to them. As we will see, these expectations are found in different areas of contemporary Swedish society. For instance, the different institutions of the Swedish welfare state, such as the schools, often express a wish that parents should involve themselves in their children by helping out with homework. Even the media tend to celebrate the norm of involved

parenthood and thus idealize those who are thought to enact it in daily life. A good example of how parental involvement was emphasized in the early 21st century is found in connection with the installation of the leader of the Conservative Party (*Moderaterna*), Frederik Reinfeldt, as Swedish Prime Minister the fall of 2006.

In a number of reports, he and his wife Filippa Reinfeldt[1] were presented as regular and highly involved parents with small children. It is true that they – in contrast to most Swedes – have a paid cleaning lady and a nanny, but in a number of articles they could be seen grocery shopping or eating dinner around the kitchen table in their house in a middle-class suburb. In interviews, Filippa emphasizes that she is a 'totally regular mom with three kids' and that she has her own career (Janouch, 2007). Fredrik points out the dilemma of trying to combine his work as the political leader of Sweden with parenthood and explains that he always tries to get home to eat dinner with the family and, if necessary, he will catch up with his work later in the evening (Wesslén, 2006). Despite the support provided by the family's cleaning lady Fredrik enjoys 'cheating' and cleaning the house, because he 'loves cleaning' (Passanisi, 2006). Filippa argues that if you have several children you have to constantly take care of the tidying and pottering. She prefers to prepare dinner, while Fredrik takes care of the dishes and the laundry. They grocery shop together once a week. Around the dinner table, they are 'just like any other family'; they talk about 'mundane stuff' (Passanisi, 2006). The couple's three children are involved in different leisure-time activities, and Fredrik and Filippa alternate with other parents in driving them to these activities, such as the weekend soccer games (Passinisi, 2006). The Reinfeldts highlight the norm about involved parenthood by arguing that it is important to let their children be involved in decisions on where to live – whether to stay in the house in suburbia or move to the downtown palace in Stockholm where the Swedish prime ministers traditionally live (Wesslén, 2006; Janouch, 2007).[2] Repeatedly, the Reinfeldts refer to their life as a constant 'life puzzle' (*livspussel*) with many demands and activities that need to be balanced against each other. Both have successful professional careers with long working hours, but they also want to spend as much time as possible with their children. In order to manage time and childcare, they have a nanny, but they also receive help from their children's grandparents. As we shall see, the data of this study echoes the challanges of involved parenthood as described by the Reinfeldts.

The Reinfeldts as Swedish middle-class working parents

There are several reasons for starting this dissertation with the media representation of the Reinfeldts. First, one could ask why they actively choose to represent themselves as regular middle-class, dual-earner parents trying to cope with everyday life. There is a long tradition among Swedish prime ministers of creating such a role model that the majority of the citizens easily can identify with. In the media, Fredrik Reinfeldt appears as one among all of the middle-class parents trying to combine work and family life. In this way, the media representation is probably rather successful, as a great majority of Swedish parents with small children experience being so stressed that they have a hard time managing (Statistics Sweden, 2003a). The picture painted of the Reinfeldts is that both have a career, and both are involved in childcare and household work. Moreover, they are child centered, most of their time outside work is spent on the children and the children's leisure-time activities, and they let their children have a say in important family decisions.

Second, the media representation of the Reinfeldts is not only informed by the family policy of the party, but also by Swedish family politics in general. Here, talk about the "life puzzle" is central. This term was introduced by The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO) for the elections in 2002 and was later adopted by the majority of political parties in Sweden (Ramqvist, 2006). The term "life puzzle" indeed, is illustrative of the challanges of balancing work and family life, as it depicts family life as a constant jigsaw puzzle in which one tries to combine work, childcare, household work, and the individual activities of family members. In his Statement of the Government address, Reinfeldt (2006) argues that 'Both women and men must be able to combine work and family and achieve a balance in their daily lives'. In the Swedish original, it says 'få vardagspusslet att gå ihop' literary meaning 'get the jigsaw puzzle to come together' (cf. Wennberg, 2006). At least to some extent, this aim follows the family politics proposed by all Social Democratic governments since the late 1960s, when the dual-earner/dual-carer family was made the norm in Swedish legislation and policy (Björnberg, 2002). The aim has been, and continues to be, that men and women should be able to devote themselves both to paid work and their families. The Reinfeldts are constructed by themselves and in collaboration with Swedish media as icons of this family policy: they both have highly successful careers involving a great deal of work, and yet

they also spend a considerable amount of time with their children. They do some household work, but do not hesitate to hire people to support them carrying out the dailt chores and looking after the childdren so that they can prioritize what is most important in parents' life – their children.

Third, the media representation of the Reinfeldts has much in common with the eight middle-class families studied in the present dissertation. All families live in a house in a suburb and have two or more children, where at least one is between eight and ten years of age. Like the Reinfeldts, most of the parents in the present study hold university degrees and devote a great deal of time to their careers; they all work fulltime, or almost fulltime. Only one family has a cleaning lady, but many of the families are supported by relatives, such as the children's grandparents. And as we will see later on, all of the couples included in this study acknowledge the idea of involved parenthood.

Working parents in Sweden

The complex of problems related to the "life puzzle" that the media representation of Fredrik and Filippa Reinfeldt points to make reference to recent research on work-family relations. In a recent review, Sarah Winslow-Bowe (2007) divides the research into three broad categories.[3] First, some researchers have focused on the *demands from work*. To a great extent, this area of research has dealt with how work affects family life, and in particular in families where both parents work, so-called working families. Work is argued to have negative effects on family life when parents devote too much time to paid work, or when role conflicts come up – that is, when behaviors demanded in working life collide with preferred behaviors in family life (Allard, Haas and Hwang, 2007). Scholars argue that work "spills over" into or "intrudes" on family life (cf. Schneider and Waite, 2005) and that time with the family has a positive effect on individual wellbeing. Lately, researchers have increasingly begun to study work-family conflict as a bi-directional phenomenon, meaning that family life could affect working life both negatively and positively (Carlson, Kacmar and Williams, 2000).

A second area of research concerns the *demands from family life*. For instance, Arlie Hochschild (1997) argues that women in particular view work as a relaxing part of life, while family life is demanding and causes a guilty conscience and stress. To some extent, this is because although both

men and women are gainfully employed and men are increasingly getting involved in household work and childcare, women are still given a disproportionate responsibility for household labor (Björnberg and Kollind, 2005; Nordenmark, 2002). In other words, family life is not merely a place for recreation; rather, it is a social space of gender specific expectations regarding labor and parenthood (Thorne, 1992).

Third, work-family research has focused on the *cultural norms and expectations of ideal workers and parents*. On the one hand, men and women in professional occupations are often expected to dedicate themselves to their career (Mellström, 2006). On the other hand, parents also have to involve themselves in household work and childcare in order to fulfill cultural expectations for appropriate parenthood (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001; Hays, 1996; Kugelberg, 2006). Parents are also expected to develop close relations with their children by spending a great deal of time with them and by devoting their leisure time to their children (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Kugelberg, 1999). A common description of the history of the family is that after the industrial revolution, the family lost a number of important functions that were shifted to other emerging modern institutions, such as the school and industries (cf. Roman, 2004). This might be true, but Lars Dencik (1989) argues that what characterizes modern family life is rather that it is overburdened with expected functions, parents should meet a number of needs that children have. The cultural norms and expectations imposed on parents also come from the welfare state, in particular through the school, which is a common everyday contact parents have with the state. For instance, Swedish educational policy expects parents to involve themselves in their children's education and to 'collaborate' with the teachers (SNAE, 1994).

The present study falls into the last two research areas of work-family literature that Winslow-Bowe (2007) presents – the demands from family life and cultural norms imposed on parenthood – with a particular focus on the everyday life of working parents in Sweden. As will be explored further in the next chapter, Sweden is a privileged context for parenthood and is often described as the best country for men and women to combine family and work. For instance, in an article in the Argentinean newspaper *Clarín* discussing work-family conflict, Sweden is argued to be a world leader in terms of parental support:

> Sweden is in the lead of countries that have taken measures so that

families won't have a hard time making ends meet. Parents are given one and a half years of parental leave, which is shared between the mother and father, on the condition that the father stays at home with the child for at least two months. These benefits imply a reduction in salary that does not affect the economy of these fathers. (Selser, 2008, p. 14)[4]

Similarly, in an article in the *Seattle Times* about an American delegation studying the Swedish after-school care system, Swedish family politics are presented as child centered and Sweden as one of the few countries putting words into action in order to facilitate family life: 'When the Swedish say they value children, they mean it' (Cameron, 2001).

Even scholars describe the Swedish model in positive terms. The American sociologist Phyllis Moen (1989), for instance, argues that Sweden is 'perhaps the best place to seek new models for combining work and parenting' (p. 5) because,

> Nowhere have the legal and social norms regarding gender equality been more deliberately shaped than in Sweden. Nowhere is more assistance given to working parents in the form of parental leaves, reduced working hours, and other social supports. And nowhere in the Western world has a larger proportion of mothers of young children entered and remained in the labor force. Hence, [...] working parents in Sweden [is] an exemplary case of the lifestyle embodied in contemporary parenting. (Moen, 1989, p. 136)

However, Moen (1989) shows that Swedish parents are far from as gender equal as their international reputation would suggest. Nevertheless, she argues that Swedish family policy has attempted to alter parenthood so that not only women are now able to work in the labor force, but so that men are also expected to do their fair share of childcare. Both mothers and fathers are now expected to involve themselves in their children's everyday lives (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Kugelberg, 1999). Other research shows that middle-class parents are most inclined to live up to these expectations. For instance, Mikael Nordenmark (2004) shows that men with a higher education do more household work and childcare than other men, and Leif Ribom (1993) shows that middle-class parents are more involved

in their children's education and their school's activities than are parents from the working class.

Aim of the study

Swedish mothers and, increasingly, fathers are in other words expected to get involved in their children's everyday lives, and it seems that middle-class parents are the ones most inclined to live up to these expectations. In order to critically discuss contemporary parental norms and practices, I will use the term involved parenthood. The norm of involved parenthood is contingent and takes shape in particular contexts. Even though the norm of involved parenthood and the ways in which it is practiced in daily life is characterized by some ideals regarding parents' responsability for their children, it specifically concerns parents' obligation to spend as much time as possible with their children and parents' engagement in developing close relationships with their children. If people are to be understood as good parents, they "have to" adhere to the cultural and social expectations of involved parenthood.

The overall aim of the dissertation is to study how Swedish middle-class mothers and fathers are doing involved parenthood in everyday life. First, to some extent this implies asking relatively descriptive questions, such as in which ways parents get involved in their children's lives and well-being and how they negotiate this involvement. I am particularly concerned about how parents engage in their children's education and in childcare and rearing at home. Second, the study of parental practices of involvement, I would argue, needs to be related to an examination of identity constructions in terms of parents' positioning, negotiations and subjectivity. Finally, focus is set on how men and women relate to involved parenthood as a norm and the dilemmas they face in their everyday lives.

Disposition

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I will examine the middle-class norm of involved parenthood in a Swedish context by situating it in something of a historical context and in relation to previous research on family and parenthood in Sweden and some relevant research from other Western societies.

The chapter thus provides a contextual frame for this study. In Chapter 3, I will present a theoretical framework for my understanding of the ways in which norms, everyday practices and gendered identity formation intersect with one another. Here, in particular, theories on subjection as presented by Michel Foucault and Judith Butler will be the point of departure. Chapter 4 introduces the eight families involved in the present study. The methods of collecting data, which were mainly participant observations using video cameras and qualitative interviews, will be presented and discussed. I will also discuss field relations, the ethical considerations taken throughout the research process, and the ways in which the data have been analyzed.

In the first empirical study, Chapter 5, I shall highlight the parents' strategies for managing time and childcare. As will be clear, parents attempt to be involved by employing a variety of household strategies, including delegating, alternating and multitasking. Chapter 6 focuses on the fathers and how they and their partners negotiate household work, childcare, and the spending of time with children. In Chapter 7, I explore how parents and teachers negotiate children's education and rearing, by paying special attention to school letters. In Chapter 8, I elucidate the educational practices at home by analyzing how societal expectations concerning involved parenthood in children's homework affect parent-child relations. Finally, Chapter 9 summarizes and discusses the findings of the study.

Notes

1. Filippa Reinfeldt is also a politician in the same party and commissioner for the Stockholm County Council.
2. The family finally decided to move into Sagerska Palatset, the official residence of the Prime Minister of Sweden.
3. For another recent research overview, see Perry-Jenkins, Repetti and Crouter (2000). For a research review of Swedish work-family literature, see Tyrkkö (2002). Recent Swedish research on work-family intersections includes Boye (2008), Bygren, Gähler and Nermo (2004), Bygren and Duvander (2006), Gonäs (2002), Haas and Hwang (2007), Härenstam and Bejerot (2001), Kugelberg (2006), Mellström (2006), Nordenmark (2004), Näsman (1999), Strandh and Nordenmark (2006), and Tyrkkö (1999).
4. In Sweden, parental leave is payable for 480 days, which is supposed to be shared equally between the couple. One parent may give up the right to parental benefit to the other parent, apart from 60 days. During the first 390 days, the benefit is related to the parent's income (but lower than the regular income); during the last 90 days, all parents are given a fixed benefit. Fathers use 20.7 percent of all possible parental leave days (SSIA, 2009).

Chapter 2
Transformations of parenthood

Parenthood and the Swedish welfare state

With the Industrial Revolution, a gendered division of labor within the household was introduced in which the husband was expected to be gainfully employed outside the home, while the wife was to stay at home and take care of the children. This gendered division of labor was particularly prevalent among the bourgeois and is often referred to as *separate spheres* (Moen, 1989). Men and women were seen as having more or less the same value, but they had different roles to play in society and the family. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1987), who have studied the emerging midd-

le-class during the Swedish industrialization of the late 19th century, argue that the bourgeois father was often regarded as distanced and moved freely between home and the outside world, while the mother was the emotional center of the home. During the period from the turn of the century up until the 1960s, the middle-class ideal of separate spheres increased and spread among the lower classes. Even though many women were indeed gainfully employed, the norm was that the woman should be at home and take care of the children – particularly when they were young (Axelsson, 1992).[1]

The Swedish state has long shown an explicit interest in parents and children, at least starting in the 18th century when children were seen as a future work force and military resource (Ohrlander, 1987) and, in particular, through the expansion of the elementary school in the late 19th century (Sandin, 2003). In the early 20th century, the emerging welfare state intensified its interest in childhood and parenthood. A dividing line was the Population Political Commission (*Befolknigspolitiska utredningen*) led by Alva and Gunnar Myrdal during the 1930s. They argued that there was a 'crisis in the population issue' causing a need for increased public undertakings (Myrdal and Myrdal, 1934). Politics could no longer stop at the threshold, but needed to enter the home and set the standard for parenthood and childhood. The aim was increased nativity, which should be created through increased financial security, but also through improved child rearing. This was to be carried out through parent education and through expansion of public childcare (Lundqvist, 2007). The family had not only lost its productive function, but also its rearing function, the Myrdals argued. They were critical to the rearing in the family, as it neither stimulated women nor children sufficiently. Instead, childrearing was supposed to be carried out in public by scientifically educated experts as parts of the so-called social engineering of the emerging Swedish welfare state (Halldén, 2007; Hirdman, 1989). The idea of separate spheres was also criticized: both women and men had the right to work and were needed on the labor market. However, in the end, most of the family policy reforms were aimed at mothers.

Swedish family policy after World War II was quite ambivalent (Lundqvist and Roman, 2008). On the one hand, it continued to be argued that women were needed on the labor market. On the other hand, the Population Political Commission's rather radical visions were criticized, in particular its ideas on childrearing outside the family. In most state com-

missions during the 1940s and 1950s, children were still seen as a public responsibility, but the mother was highly valued and seen as important for the development of the child. These ideas were based to a great extent on a psychodynamic understanding of child development in which the focus was on the inner processes of the child and the emotional involvement of parents. It was argued that the child needed closeness and warmth and that the parents had to look after the child's individual needs and wishes (Lundqvist, 2007). For this to occur, the best solution was a gendered division of labor with fathers as breadwinners and mothers staying at home to take care of the children. The housewife ideal and the emphasis on the mother's involvement has been identified by Sharon Hays (1996) as *intensive mothering*, an ideology that idealizes motherhood as an emotionally rich experience and that suggests that proper childcare demands "intensive" methods. A central component of the ideology is that the woman is supposed to be the person who assumes the main responsibility for the care of the child. Her love and affection are not only crucial, but are seen as natural, and the mother should focus all her energy and time on the needs of the child. Her love and care are absolutely needed for the sound development of the child.

After 1960, the housewife and the idea of separate spheres were undermined when women began working outside the home in gainful employment to a greater extent. There were increased demands for labor power and women were seen as potential workers who needed to be made use of (Lundqvist, 2007). The housewife ideal was also criticized by a number of feminists. Eva Moberg (1961), for instance, argued that the woman had become a slave in her home and that the idea of motherly love contributed to her exploitation. Moreover, she argued that it was not enough for women to enter the labor market, men also had to assume their fair share of the responsibility for the household and children (Klinth, 2002).

The Social Democratic Party, which was in office at the time, took up the feminist critique of the separate spheres. In 1964, they launched a policy program with gender equality as its explicit aim. The Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, argued:

> Equality between the sexes implies... that men get an increased opportunity to be close to their children, and to exert an influence over the upbringing of new generations. Women's rights thus imply men's rights. (cited in Hwang, 1987, p. 119)

Thus, involvement in children's rearing then became a matter also for fathers. In family policy, this was expressed in that instead of focusing on motherhood, politicians now began talking about (a gender neutral) parenthood (Lundqvist, 2007). The reforms came during the 1970s – parental leave (1974) and the expansion of public childcare were particularly important. The goal of these policies was the dual-earner/dual-carer family – that both men and women should be able to work outside the home and spend time with the children, which would be in the best interest of the child (Björnberg, 2002; Klinth, 2002; Lundqvist and Roman, 2008). Public childcare made it possible for men and women to work fulltime because the children were taken care of by trained staff. Dual-earner parents were not only given relatively affordable support with child minding, but the state could also guarantee the quality and pedagogical content of children's time outside the home (Björnberg, 2002). The gender-neutral parental leave aimed at making it possible for both women and men to get involved in the care of their children. Here, particular emphasis was put on men's parenthood. Fathers were encouraged to get involved in childcare, even during the first six months after the child's birth. Yet when the parental leave was introduced, the emphasis was on parents being able to decide themselves who would stay at home with the children (Klinth, 2008; Lundqvist, 2007). Even if family policy promoted gender equality, it did not always imply a radical critique of traditional gender relations. Men were enticed to use the parental leave by the benefits parental experience would have for their career, and men's and women's parental roles were often presented as complementary (Klinth, 2008).

School and involved parenthood
For the majority of Swedish families, including the families in the present study, the relationship to the welfare state in everyday life is mainly conducted through home-school relations. Several scholars have argued that home-school relations have become intensified and that there is an increased expectation that parents should get involved also in their children's education (e.g. Bager-Charleson, 2003; Bloch *et al.*, 2003; Edwards, 2002; Whitty, Power and Halpin, 1998). There have been discussions about the necessity of connecting parents closer to school during most of the 20th century (Sandin, 2003). Since the 1940s, politicians the Swedish state has argued that home and school share an interest in rearing children to be-

come democratic citizens, but for a long time teachers had precedence in this collaboration and parents were mainly seen as relatively passive partners. Teachers were seen as educational experts, while parents were not expected to take part in their children's formal education to any large extent (Erikson, 2004). The focus was instead on parents sending their children to school properly dressed and rearing their children at home in line with the school's and the state's principles (Sandin, 2003). During the 1970s, the Swedish welfare state was decentralized; the idea was to increase "real" democracy by allocating decisions as close to the citizens as possible. More of the responsibility for the governing the school was placed on a municipal level, and some at the individual school level. In order to increase citizen impact, parents were encouraged to get involved in local school boards and through parental associations, such as *Hem och skola* ('Home and School'; Whitty, Power and Halpin, 1998; Bager-Charleson, 2003; Kristofferson, 2002).

The tendency of decentralization continued in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but now in a market liberalist vein. Like previous decentralization, this was a general trend in which great parts of the Swedish welfare state were privatized. An important component of 'the marketization of education' (Crozier, 1997a) was the introduction of the voucher system (*skolpeng*), which made it radically easier to start and run private schools (*friskolor*), as they also could now receive public financing for their pupils. The result of this reform was that Sweden went from having a relatively centralized and completely public school system with poor parental influence to have one of the world's most liberal educational systems (Blomqvist, 2004). The basic idea of this new system was that parents should be able to choose schools and the best education for their children through market-oriented competition, thereby encouraging schools and teachers to reach higher levels of performance. The discussion about private schools is part of a Swedish discussion on the crisis in education, where parental involvement is seen as a way to solve problems. The debate about decentralization, citizen influence and the voucher system has also caused regular public schools to try to increase parental involvement (Bager-Charleson, 2003).

As parts of these reforms, schools attempt to get parents involved in their children's education. This is mainly expressed by choosing schools and participating in local school boards, but also the more day-to-day re-

lation between home and school has been intensified. Teachers are obliged to continuously inform parents about pupils' development, while parents are expected to attend both individual parent-teacher consultations as well as public parental meetings (Adelswärd, Evaldsson and Reimers, 1997). Moreover, parents are expected to help out on outings, come and visit at school and get involved in their children's pedagogical development by helping out with homework at home (Hellsten, 2000; Klapp Lekholm, 2004; Wingard and Forsberg, 2009). Homework, and parents' involvement in homework, is among many researchers and policy-makers a taken-for-granted part of school, and is seen as a way to enhance children's learning (Hellsten, 1997). Overall, parent involvement tends to be seen as a way to not only increase democracy, but also to improve education itself.

The intensified relations between home and school imply an increase in the state's insight into families, which could lead to a critique of parenthood. According to Carol Vincent and Sally Tomlinson (1997), partnerships between home and school tend to discipline parents into becoming 'good parents'. At the same time, partnership offers parents some insight into the school and some mutual disciplining. Parents and teachers both exercise and are subject to disciplinary power, while children are made into passive objects of control with little influence on home-school relations (Crozier, 1997b; Edwards, 2002; Edwards and Alldred, 2000; Keogh, 1996).

Social reproduction as a public and private concern
During the 20th century, the welfare state's responsibility for childhood has increased, so that today it is shared between the welfare state and parents. As Ulla Björnberg (2002) puts it: 'In Sweden, provision, socialization and care of children are regarded as responsibilities shared between parents and the welfare state' (p. 36). Thus, social reproduction has to some extent become a public concern (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997). When the best interest of the child has become a public affair, society has created an insight into the life of the child, but also into the life of the child's parents (Donzelot, 1979; Sandin, 2003). Through school and social services, the state supervises parenthood, but the state also creates the basic conditions for parenthood through its distribution of welfare (Björnberg, 1992a). But it is not all about control; rather, it is an expression of the 'Janus face' of the welfare state – both care and control. What from the beginning was a

critique of politicians and experts on family competence has led to contributions in which the competence of parents has been strengthened. This is of course dependent on the fact that parents follow the regulations of the state (Sandin, 2003). The state and the school have also opened themselves up for critical examination from parents; although far from all parents make use of this possibility.

Even though the Swedish welfare state has increased its responsibility for children, it has also imposed explicit expectations on parents, indicating that they should get involved in their children in different ways. For a long time, mothers have been seen as crucial to their children and to their children's development. Throughout the 20th century, "good" motherhood has been equated with "intensive" methods (cf. Hays, 1996). Starting in the 1970s, fathers have also increasingly been expected to get involved in the care of their children, and here 'daddy leave' is seen as the first step toward long-term involvement and gender equality. Likewise, parents have increasingly been expected to get involved in their children's education, particularly through the possibility of choosing schools, but also by collaborating with teachers on a daily basis. Parents are, in other words, increasingly expected to be involved in their children's rearing and education. Now, let us take a closer look at how previous research has discussed two central aspects of contemporary involved parenthood – parents' long-term responsibility for their children, and parents' child-centered everyday lives.

Uniqueness of parent-child relations

Having children is considered to be a relatively natural part of the life course; the majority of Swedish young people want to have children in the future (Ds., 2001:57). However, children are something you choose and carefully plan. Generally this happens at a relatively late age. The present mean age for first-time mothers is 29, for first-time fathers it is about 31 (Statistics Sweden, 2009). According to Lars Dencik (2001), most parents are therefore 'highly motivated to take on the full responsibilities of parenthood: virtually all children born are "wanted children"' (p. 11). Because having children is seen as such an important decision, it is crucial that you first have a stable relationship, financial stability, and reasonable working conditions (Bergnéhr, 2008; Engwall, 2005; Kugelberg, 2003; Lundqvist

and Roman, 2003). The child is to some extent seen as an expression of the parents having found 'the right person' and binds the ideal partners together in a common parenthood (Bergnéhr, 2007).

Having a child is not only seen as something special in Sweden, but the parent's relation to the child is understood as different from other relationships. According to Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (1995), in Western culture the parent-child relation is seen as more stable than couple relationships:

> The child becomes the last remaining, irrevocable, unique primary love object. Partners come and go, but the child stays. Everything one vainly hoped to find in the relationship with one's partner is sought in or directed at the child. If men and women have increasingly difficulty in getting on with one another, the child acquires a monopoly on companionship, sharing feelings, enjoying spontaneous physical contact in a way which has otherwise become uncommon and seems risky. (p. 37)

In this way, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argue, the relationship to the child becomes the only relation in which the adult may commit himself or herself safely. Because the relationship to the child is the only one that promises long-term stability, children become surrogates for couple relationships. Children could create a sense of safety, closeness and durability, and it is therefore attractive to attach yourself to, and try to create close relations with, your children (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995).

However, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argue that parent-child relations, like all other social relations, are being *individualized* to some extent. Simply put, individualization is understood as the 'process whereby people are released from pre-given ties, social relations, and belief systems' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2004, p. 503).[2] Instead, individuals are tied, or standing in direct relation, to social institutions, such as welfare state policy (Beck, 1997; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). A consequence is that parent-child relations are also negotiable, even though to a lesser extent than couple relations. The individualization of parent-child relations is perhaps most explicit in blended families. In the post-divorce family, says Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), it is no longer obvious that you maintain close relationships. After divorce, the number of kinship relations

increases for the child, but the character of such relations also changes. They become more vulnerable and dependent on children's and parents' own willingness and efforts, as well as external factors, such as where the parents live.

Parents' responsibility

Previous research on Swedish parenthood supports Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (1995) argument that the relation to the child is firmer and less negotiable than the relationship to the partner. The decision to have a child is seen by Swedish parents as bonding one human being with another forever – it is simply impossible to abandon one's child (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997). If the relationship to your partner ends, the relationship to the child is expected to continue (Liljeström and Kollind, 1990). In contemporary Sweden, parental responsibility implies long-term commitment. It is more or less impossible to renounce parenthood and the norm is that both parents should continue being active as parents even after the divorce. It is strongly stressed that the best interest of the child entails having continued contact with both biological parents (Edwards *et al.*, 2002). However, post-divorce parenthood looks different depending on gender. In most cases, the mother is the so-called housing parent and has the main custody of the child. If this is the case, she also has the main responsibility for the care of the child and develops a closer relationship to the child than the father does (Hydén, 2001). Moreover, the biological father tends to not be as involved with the children from a previous marriage, because the father sometimes lives far away (Sjöberg, 2003).

Jane Ribbens McCarthy, Rosalind Edwards and Val Gillies (2000) argue that the notion of parents' responsibility for children has a predominant status among British reconstituted (blended) families. In the interviews, more or less all parents argued that it was indisputable that adults have to be responsible for children that are in their custody and that children's needs have to have first priority. In their study, there are no indications that parents could negotiate their responsibility, quite the contrary. Putting the needs of the children first may be 'one of the few remaining unquestionable moral assertions' in contemporary society (Ribbens McCarthy *et al.*, 2000, p. 800). In a similar vain, in a study based on interviews, Ulla Björnberg and Margareta Bäck-Wiklund (1990) argue that, in Sweden, children determine their parents' status in society as "good" or "bad" pa-

rents. Keeping close contact with one's child is a sign of being a good parent. Responsibility for children to some extent implies that children's behaviors – through the close kinship relation – reflect on the parent. If there are any signs of neglect, the parent may be put in a bad light. At the same time, the parents in the Björnberg and Bäck-Wiklund (1990) study take their responsibility for their children for granted and keeping the family "together" is an explicit aim.

Child-centered parenthood

The everyday life of middle-class parents is largely characterized by taking care of the children. First, you have the "direct" childcare, such as homework help, reading bedtime stories, driving to different activities and general child minding. Then there are the parts of household work that could be regarded as "indirect" childcare, such as washing clothes, cleaning, taking care of dishes, cooking, and grocery shopping (Björnberg and Kollind, 2005; Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Magnusson, 2006; Statistics Sweden, 2003a). For instance, as Marjorie De Vault (1991) has shown, grocery shopping, cooking, and serving food are forms of household work aimed at taking care of children and the family. But even when the most basic needs have been met, the daily life of Swedish families is child-centered – it revolves around the children and their needs. Ulla Björnberg and Margareta Bäck-Wiklund's (1990) study mentioned above shows how all parents – regardless of social background – spend as much time as possible with their children. Family was seen as being about fellowship and closeness and as a project that parents work for and see as the meaning of life. The aim is to keep the family together and to assume responsibility for the development of the children. An interview study conducted some years later reported similar findings (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997). Children have a central position in the life trajectories of the men and women that were interviewed in that children force parents to have a relatively routinized everyday life. Because routines give continuity, meaning and a sense of belonging, a child orientation could therefore be understood as a way to compensate for the loss of cohesion in society, according to Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten (1997). In the family, people try to create a common and individual meaning. In this process, the child becomes central, because the child's needs have to be met immediately and

it helps to create routines in everyday life (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997). Ingeborg Moqvist (1997), who has interviewed parents in a small Swedish city and compared it with studies carried out in the same city in the 1950s, argues that family life has become more emotional and that parents are more involved today than they were before. The focus is now set on intimacy between parents and children:

> The prevailing view nowadays is that both parents should have a close relationship with the child (even if certain differences are also advocated) and that both are important. (Moqvist, 1997, pp. 293-294).

According to Moqvist (1997), child rearing among the parents in her study is characterized by child-centeredness, and democratic, anti-authoritarian values, where the focus is set on the child's inner processes rather than on its behavior. In order to teach the child proper behavior, the parents need to be positive role models and have close contact with the child so that they will know what is going on in the child's inner life (cf. Brembeck, 1992; Halldén, 1991; Halldén, 1992).

Dilemmas of child-centered parenthood

Child-centered parenthood contains some contradictions and dilemmas. In her interview study of Swedish dual-earner families from different social backgrounds, Clarissa Kugelberg (1999) argues that both the mothers and fathers are child-centered. They all show a 'deep concern for children's welfare and growth' (p. 266), orienting to the child's individual qualities and needs. However, she found some contradictions in their parenting. First, the parents argued that children needed parental love and care, but also stimuli by having a social life of their own outside the family, such as in pre-school. Second, the parents wanted to develop an anti-authoritarian, democratic relationship with their children by avoiding conflicts and adjusting to the children's needs. At the same time, they also tried to 'direct the child in order to adjust it to the family's and society's norms and demands' (Kugelberg, 1999, p. 147; cf. Persson, 1994). Thus, on the one hand, the parents tried to adjust to their children's needs, but on the other, the children needed to be socialized, thus learning to adjust to parental boundaries. In other words, Swedish child-centered parenthood seems

to be related to cultural values of both community *and* individuality; it is about balancing between children's needs for intimacy and their need for activity, and about parents adjusting to children at the same time as children have to adjust to parents (Kugelberg, 1999).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) highlight other dilemmas associated with child-centered parenthood. They argue that child-centeredness could become a threat to the couple relation; the more time and energy you spend on your child, the less time and energy there is left for your partner. It could also involve placing exaggerated expectations on the child, in that the child has to fulfill more of the expectancies imposed on the partner. The fact that more and more of children's everyday life is spent in places outside the home – school, soccer club, piano lessons, each with its own time regime – also affects parenthood:[3]

> Family life no longer happens in one place but is scattered between several different locations. Neither a fortiori is there a common temporal rhythm, for the family's life is structured by different social institutions [...] It is extremely difficult to tie together the threads of these rhythms. (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 91)

The children's different schedules have to be juggled with the parents' working hours and leisure activities. This requires coordination, a task that is often given to women, according to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002). So even though the parent-child relation is seen as more stable than other relations, in everyday life it is also characterized by individualized tendencies, in that children are seen as individuals with their own lives outside the family (Beck, 1997).

Child-centered parenthood is also in contradiction with another ideal in society – that both parents should work and have a professional career. This contradiction tends to lead to a sense of time pressure. A larger survey on Swedes' time use shows that it is particularly parents with children who experience the most time pressure (Statistics Sweden, 2003a; cf. Larsson, 2007). They report having so much to do that they have a hard time coping. One half say that they often experience time pressure and another quarter that they experience it sometimes. Studies in other countries show the same tendencies (Darrah *et al.*, 2007; Milkie *et al.*, 2004). Quite often, the experience of time pressure is characterized by having a guilty consci-

ence for not spending enough time with the children (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Elvin-Nowak, 1999; Kugelberg, 2006). Arlie Hochschild (1997) argues that many parents experience a constant 'time debt' to their children; they experience that they owe their children more time than what they can give. This time debt is supposed to be paid back. Sometimes this is done by giving the children candy, sometimes through softer rules, but the main idea is that the scarcity of time with the children can be compensated for by "quality time" (cf. De Vault, 2000; Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh, 2007; Kremer-Sadlik, Fatigante and Fasulo, 2008). Quality time is the time when parents can devote undisturbed time to their children and nothing else. However, Kerry Daly (2001) argues that the idea of quality time is a romanticized version of family life that prescribes the importance of families spending a great deal of time together in order to increase everyone's wellbeing. Quality time, and family time should then be understood as prescriptive terms that maintain traditional family values rather than as descriptive terms that give objective versions of family life. According to Daly (2001), it is these high ideals that give parents a guilty conscience for not being involved enough or spending enough time with their children.

Even though the experience of time pressure is widespread, studies on time use show that, in most Western societies, parents actually spend more time with their children than ever before. In particular, they spend time on personal childcare and direct interaction with the children, such as play (Gauthier *et al*., 2004; Sayer *et al*., 2004). This, together with the fact that nativity has decreased, means that every individual child now has more time with his or her parents than ever (cf. Dencik, 2001). Nevertheless, time use studies show that Swedish parents are spending less time with their children today than in the 1980s, but that the difference between men's and women's time with their children is narrowing (Statistics Sweden, 2003a). Relatively speaking, Swedish parents still spend a considerable amount of time with their children. They shorten the time spent on leisure and household work to spend as much time with their children as possible (Hallberg and Klevmarken, 2003).

Parenthood and class formation

As discussed above, the 19th century notion that the mother should develop close relationships with her children was to a great extent a bourgeois

ideal (Frykman and Löfgren, 1987). Although this ideal later spread to the working class, a number of researchers have argued that parental ideals and practices are still class-related (e.g. Brembeck, 1992; Lareau, 2003; Moqvist, 1997; Persson, 1994; Vincent and Ball, 2006). In this section, classed aspects of involved parenthood will therefore be discussed.

Defining class, and the middle class in particular, is hard. In line with Beverly Skeggs (1997), I understand class as a discursive and historically specific construction, a product of the political consolidation of the middle class. In other words, class is not merely an objective description of education and income level – even though these are important criteria in understanding class. Rather, class is a discursive positioning that both categorizes people and is crucial to a person's ability to acquire certain financial and cultural resources (Skeggs, 1997; cf. Skeggs, 2004; Walkerdine, Lucey and Melody, 2001). Historically, the notion of the bourgeois family has been central in the construction of the middle class and its definition in relation to the working class (Frykman and Löfgren 1987). Some scholars, like Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), argue that class is no longer such an important factor when trying to understand society and family life. Yet research shows that there are differences between how middle-class and working-class parents create their family life. Thus, even though people in contemporary Sweden do not identify themselves as belonging to a particular class, class still seems to be important. The invisibility of class could be seen as the expression of a historical period in which the identity of the middle class is guaranteed. Previously, the middle class needed the term in order to uphold power differences, now these differences are institutionalized and, consequently, the term is no longer needed (Skeggs, 1997).

Ideals and practices of childrearing

Research has shown that there are class differences in parental ideals of childrearing. Departing from an interview study of Swedish parents, Gunilla Halldén (1991) makes a distinction between the *child as being* and the *child as project* (cf. Halldén, 1992). 'Being' refers to an understanding of childhood and development as a natural process that is driven by inner forces. The task of the parent is to 'be there', but the development of the child cannot – and should not – be influenced. The child as project instead implies, according to Halldén, that the parent is important to the child be-

cause the parent sets norms and serves as a role model. The development of the child is considered to be the result of collaboration between parent and child; you could – and you should – influence and support development. Halldén has no explicit class perspective in her study, but presents a contrast between a major city and a countryside village, where the majority of parents in the city have a middle-class background, and the majority of parents in the countryside have a working-class background. Halldén emphasizes that both perspectives on childhood exist among all parents, yet the project perspective is predominant among the parents from the city, while the child-as-being perspective is more common among parents from the countryside.

In her ethnography of American childhood and family life, Annette Lareau (2003) makes a related distinction between different approaches to childrearing. The first perspective, *accomplishment of natural growth*, is similar to Halldén's (1991) being perspective and involves a rearing in which the parent takes care of the child, but allows the child to develop at his/her own pace. The other childrearing perspective, *concerned cultivation*, is similar to Halldén's project perspective, and implies that parents actively rear and assess the child's talents, opinions and knowledge. The different rearing ideologies have consequences for daily life. The parents who mostly orient toward concerned cultivation tend to let their children participate in a number of different extra-curricular activities led by other adults. Interaction between parents and children includes some directives, but rather tends to be characterized by reasoning and negotiation, where the child is allowed to question parents' opinions. An orientation towards the natural growth perspective often implies that the child to a lesser extent participates in extra-curricular activities, that the child mostly 'hangs around' after school with siblings and other children, and that the parents to a greater extent use directives. Lareau argues that the natural growth perspective tends to be most common among working-class families, while concerned cultivation is a typical middle-class phenomenon.

This difference between middle- and working-class parents is not to be understood as rigid or fixed. To some extent Lareau, but in particular Halldén, emphasizes that most parents – regardless of which notion of the child they endorse – can be seen as child centered and interested in their children, and "traditional" rearing practices may co-exist with "modern" ones – among the working class and middle class alike. In other words,

differences between childrearing practices and ideals should not be understood as meaning that working-class parents care less about their children than middle-class parents do.

However, the findings point to the fact that middle-class parents tend to orient somewhat more toward an involved and "intense" parenthood than do working-class parents. For instance, in her study comparing parenthood and childrearing between Swedish upper-middle-class, lower-middle-class and working-class parents, Helene Brembeck (1992) found considerable differences.[4] According to Brembeck, working-class parents do not actively 'steer' their children's development; rather, parents are supposed to let children develop at their own pace. Keeping the family together is important, but the working-class families did not engage in many activities together. Most often, the children were outside playing, at times the family watched TV together in the evenings. In contrast, upper-middle-class parents are very family-oriented and it is important to spend a great deal of time at home. The parents actively steer the child's development and promote its individual talents. Parents from the lower middle class endorse an ideal according to which both parents should be 'intensively' together with their children. Children's development is seen as a process of interaction with the parents, and the goal is to create autonomous individuals. The ideal is to develop close and equal relationships with the child – the parent-child relation is supposed to consist of two independent but emotionally close individuals (cf. Moqvist, 1997).

Class and children's education

Research also shows that middle-class parents have specific forms of involvement in their children's education (Ball, 2003; Crozier, 2000; de Carvalho, 2001; Hutchinson, 2006; Lareau, 1989; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998; Ribom, 1993; Vincent and Ball, 2006). For instance, middle-class parents often choose private childcare and schools for their children (Reay, 1998; Vincent and Ball, 2006). In Sweden, pre-school education and childcare (like the rest of the education system) has become increasingly decentralized and market-oriented, so that parents are now able to choose childcare. These choices have classed patterns. White, middle-class parents tend to choose private pre-schools, while parents with little higher education, in occupations with no formal qualification, and born in non-Western countries keep their children in public pre-schools (Pérez Prieto *et al.*, 2002).

One way of explaining differences in childcare choice and education is middle-class parents' cultural preferences for actively "steering" children's cognitive development. As mentioned above, Lareau (2003) argues that middle-class parents' cultural logic of concerned cultivation affects how they invest in their children's development by, for instance, letting them attend different extra-curricular activities. However, it may not only be an expression of cultural preferences, but also of financial resources – or (working-class parents') lack thereof (Lareau, 1987; Chin and Phillips, 2004; Thorne, 2001).

Another possible explanation, proposed by Basil Bernstein (1975), for middle-class parents' involvement is that parents and teachers both belong to the middle class and use the same language codes, and therefore more easily relate to the "invisible pedagogy" of the school (Bernstein, 1975). Leif Ribom's (1993) study of Swedish home-school relations confirms Bernstein's argument. He argues that working-class parents have a weak understanding of their part in the home-school collaboration, while middle-class parents are the ones most inclined to get involved in the school's activities and to make demands on educators. In a similar vein, Diane Reay (1998) shows that British working-class mothers make a clear distinction between home and school. This is not so much an expression of their not caring about their children's education, but of a feeling of lacking the necessary resources to get involved. Middle-class mothers, on the other hand, tend to make greater demands on teachers and involve themselves more in their children's education. Reay (2004) argues that today the issue of involvement has reached the point 'when parental involvement is no longer optional as parents are increasingly seen to be co-educators alongside children's teachers' (p. 76). Involvement has also become morally charged; uninvolvment is seen as an expression of 'very bad parenting' (p. 76) among middle-class parents and contemporary policy makers alike. Middle-class parents also have long-term investments in their children; through choices of childcare, education, and "enrichment activities", they realize particular classed identities and reproduce middle-class values over time (Vincent and Ball, 2006). Even though middle-class parents may choose childrearing simply so their children will be happy, it could also be seen as an expression of the ideal of concerned cultivation (Lareau, 2003). Vincent and Ball (2006) therefore argue that:

> ...the work of childrearing can appear to be increasingly intense,

increasingly commercialized, and increasingly fraught with concerns about doing the right thing and doing enough for the child. (p. 159)

Gendered parenthood

Up until now, I have just briefly mentioned gender differences when it comes to involved parenthood. It is now time to deepen the discussion about how motherhood and fatherhood are shaped in contemporary Sweden.

Motherhood ideology

In an international comparison, a great number of Swedish women, about 80 percent, are gainfully employed. Sixty-eight percent of all children up to 17 years of age and 45 percent of children between one and two years have a mother who works or studies (Statistics Sweden, 2003b). However, research shows that women still have a 'second shift' (Hochschild, 1989) when they come home. Generally, Swedish women have the main responsibility for the great bulk of childcare and household work (Björnberg and Kollind, 2005; Boye, 2008; Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Flood and Gråsjö, 1997; Magnusson 2006; Magnusson, 2008; Statistics Sweden, 2003a). It is true that men's share of household work has increased during recent years, but women still do about 64 percent of the household work and 58 percent of the childcare (Flood and Gråsjö, 1997). Cohabiting women with small children (up to seven years) spend almost twice as much time on childcare and household work as their partners do. The relation between cohabiting men and women with children older than seven years is somewhat more equal (Statistics Sweden, 2003a). The tasks that men and women do are also gender specific. Women take care of traditionally female household chores, while men are responsible for traditional male chores such as reparations of the house, the car, and bikes (Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Björnberg and Kollind, 2005; Magnusson, 2006).

In the previous section, parents' notions of childrearing were discussed as classed, but one could also take a gender perspective on this issue. For instance, Margareta Bäck-Wiklund and Birgitta Bergsten (1997) found no greater differences between working- and middle-class parents; in both groups, parents referred to children as both beings and projects (Halldén,

1991). However, they found considerable differences between women and men. The men in their study tended to see parenthood as something natural, something that more or less solves itself, and they had a more passive rearing strategy. In contrast, the women emphasized their responsibility and significance for the child and saw themselves as the creator of their child's future. The women tended to have more explicit pedagogical aims than the men did, and they were also more child-oriented in that they always placed the child at the center of interaction, while the men tended to see the child as just one family member among others.

Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten's (1997) findings could be related to Sharon Hays' (1996) argument that contemporary mothers are drawn between two contradictory ideals. On the one hand, they are expected to have a professional career; on the other, the ideal of intensive mothering is still prevalent in most Western societies. Important promoters of intensive mothering are, according to Hays, childrearing manuals and parental advice books. In her study, she shows how the ideology is predominant among American middle-class as well as working-class mothers, and that they endorse the same childrearing ideals as the experts do. But while working-class women tend to be more rules oriented and demand obedience, Hays argues that middle-class women emphasize negotiation and choice. Central to the ideology is that the mother is seen as the natural primary care giver; although fathers could help out if necessary, they are generally regarded as incompetent, because they do not understand how much it takes to care for a child.

Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson (2001) found similar ideas in their study of Swedish mothers. They argue that there are two contradictory discourses on motherhood. The first one emphasizes the mother's importance for the development of the child and that she needs to be close to and spend as much time as possible with the child. The second discourse prescribes that the woman needs to be content with her life, which is mainly done through a professional career; otherwise her unhappiness will affect the child negatively. To some extent, this discourse is in conflict with the first, which tends to give a sense of guilt. Therefore, the women in the study try to maintain separate spheres. Motherhood is seen as the primary task for women, and the aim is that the rest of the life should not affect motherhood too much. This is realized by adapting to the needs of the child:

> Caring for children in a responsible way is the everyday life project
> for all the women in this study. To be a working mother becomes

an endless project of meeting the children's needs and desires and a constant struggle to adapt everyday life circumstances to what these women understand as their children's essential needs. (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001, p. 419)

The women in their study do not see their partners as incompetent, but parenthood still ends up being the responsibility of the mother, because the working hours of the men are regarded as rigid and because the wellbeing of the children is seen as dependent on a maternal presence (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001).

Brembeck (2003) argues that traditional, intensive motherhood is now being reexamined. Young women in Sweden are no longer brought up to only become future mothers, but to realize their dreams, get an education and develop a professional career. It is true that this creates conflicts when they have children, but they work actively to have time for themselves and to share parenthood with their partners. Some women even question motherhood all together, but normally the critique does not entail a repudiation of parenthood itself; rather, it is about the possibility of choosing parenthood and the way you want to shape it (Bergnéhr, 2008).

Mothers are primary caregivers also in their children's educational matters (Crozier, 2000; Klapp Lekholm, 2004; Lareau, 1989; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998; Reay, 2005). Alli Klapp Lekholm (2004) argues that Swedish mothers assume a greater responsibility for their children's education than their partners do, regardless of how much responsibility fathers assume for household work in general. For instance, when the mother has primary responsibility for the household work, the father helps with homework only to a limited extent. Yet when he has the main responsibility for household work, she still helps the children with their schoolwork to a greater extent than her partner does. In Reay's (1995) study of British couples, half of the men were completely uninvolved, while the rest were involved in everyday schoolwork only when absolutely necessary. Even though middle-class fathers are becoming more involved in their children's education, parental involvement still means very different things to mothers and fathers. Fathers "help out" and are involved "at a distance", while their partners are given the main responsibility with few options of not being involved (Reay, 2005). Thus, parental involvement in children's schoolwork tends to become yet another part of women's unpaid care work.

Toward involved fatherhood?

If mothers throughout the 20th century have been expected to be involved in their children, it was first toward the end of the century that society began to expect fathers to assume a similar responsibility for childcare. In Sweden, this was connected to women entering the labor force and to the active promotion of the welfare state to alter gender relations. The two central components of the creation of the dual-earner family were gender-neutral parental leave and universal and publicly financed childcare (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Björnberg, 2002). The idea of public childcare is to provide support so that both parents can work, while the idea of shared parental leave is that if men use their daddy leave and get involved in childcare when the children are young, they will continue to be involved fathers throughout the childhood years. Today, the majority of Swedish children attend pre-school, about 96 percent of all children between three and five years of age (SNAE, 2005). Paternal leave has not had the same impact. Although it has been possible for fathers to take out daddy leave for over thirty years, they only use 20.7 percent of all possible days (SSIA, 2009).

Nevertheless, the ideology of involved parenthood that has dominated Swedish family policy since the 1960s seems to have had a relatively great impact on Swedish men. For instance, Lars Plantin, Sven-Axel Månsson and Jeremy Kearney (2003) show that Swedish fathers largely endorse public expectations of the "new" fatherhood. Swedish fathers say they want to be open, involved and listen to the needs of their children. We find similar tendencies in a study of men from different social and cultural backgrounds, where Thomas Johansson and Roger Klinth (2008) argue that the involved father has become a common ideal:

> Today, the notion that fathers should get involved with their children, stay at home, and help care for infants seems to be met with complete acceptance and it is almost the predominant figure of thought. (Johansson and Klinth, 2008, p. 58)

However, figures on parental leave as well as studies on the gender division of labor indicate persistent inequality. Bekkengen (2006) argues that even though men have begun to orient toward the family to a greater extent, this does not necessarily imply gender equality. Rather, it is necessary to

make an analytical distinction between a child orientation and an orientation toward gender equality. More involvement with the children does not always result in greater responsibility for household work and childcare:

> The 'new man' and child-oriented masculinity is more about the relationship between parent/dad-child than about the relationship woman-man. This may be an answer to the question of how the gender relationship can remain almost unchanged despite men's seemingly increased orientation toward family and despite far-reaching reforms (Bekkengen, 2006, p. 157).

Bekkengen's discussion is in agreement with much of the international research on fathers and involvement (e.g. Brandth and Kvande, 1998; Coltrane, 1998; Daly, 1996; Lareau, 2000). Recently, Susan Shaw (2008) has argued that men's parenthood is distinguished from women's in three ways. First, fathers' involvement and child orientation does not mean that that they devote themselves to the "intensive mothering" mothers are expected to provide. Women assume the greatest responsibility for planning and carrying out childcare (cf. Flood and Gråsjö, 1997). Second, women and men change their working hours when they have children. Women tend to decrease the amount of paid work, while men increase their hours at work. Men also have more time for themselves outside the family than women have. A third difference concerns issues of time. Mothers are also present during much of the time fathers spend with their children. Men tend to relate to the time spent with their children as time for play, while the time women spend with children is regarded as care.

In addition, the expectations on men's fatherhood are often expressed in complementary (and heterosexual) terms. For instance, the talk about "absent fathers" in Swedish social service often revolves around the idea that children – in particular boys – need biological fathers and "masculine" role models. It is argued that children have the right to have a mother and a father, and men are seen as important for their children. But they are expected to have different functions than women have, such as being active (Johansson, 2003).

In their careers today, young Swedish fathers seem to increasingly be facing similar dilemmas as their partners (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001). According to Ulf Mellström (2006), they have double loyalties, try-

ing to be involved fathers and to have a successful career at the same time. They are positioned in between a 'masculinity of the market' and a 'gender-equal parenthood'. Nevertheless, even though the fathers argue they want to be involved parents, market-oriented masculinity – with its deadlines and performance – is prioritized.

Even though men from different social groups in Sweden endorse the ideology of involved fatherhood (Johansson and Klinth, 2008), there are class differences in the understanding of how fatherhood is supposed to be carried out. In his study of Swedish men's discussions on parental leave, Lars Plantin (2007) shows that working class men understand fatherhood as a natural part of the life course, implying that they do not see children as something that radically changes their lives. In contrast, middle-class men argued that becoming a father revolutionized their lives, their self-identity and their aims of life in a radical way. Plantin argues that this affects how they use their parental leave. The middle-class fathers used more parental leave, assumed a greater responsibility at home, and brought their project orientation into fatherhood. The children became projects for the middle-class men. We also find class differences in relation to household work. The higher education and higher professional position Swedish couples have, the more the man is involved in household work (Ahrne and Roman, 1997).

****

In this chapter I have contextualized the present study through a presentation of previous studies on dual-earner middle-class families, with a particular focus on Swedish research. The review shows that the research area is relatively broad and that the issues in focus in the present dissertation have already been discussed to some extent. The vast majority of research in this area has been based on either quantitative methods or qualitative interviews. Using these methods, researchers have been able to study attitudes toward and ideologies on parenthood. Parents' practices have also been studied using self-reported data (e.g., questionnaires, time use studies, and interviews) on, for instance, home-school relations and household work. However, few have studied family life in Western societies through participant observations and still fewer using video cameras. It has been argued that participant observation is a method well suited

to acquiring a more nuanced understanding of everyday life, as it gives the researcher first-hand information on the complex ways of informants' practices (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). In addition, using a video camera when carrying out participant observation makes it possible to observe family interaction in detail and to study how socio-cultural categories and ideologies are realized in mundane interaction (Ochs *et al.*, 2006). One important contribution of the present dissertation to research on working families is therefore that it studies parents' ideologies and practices, not only through self-reported data, but also through video-based observations of the everyday life of families. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the methodology of the present study in more detail, but first I will outline my theoretical framework.

Notes

1. This part is a brief overview of parenthood and the welfare state in Sweden. For further discussion, see Bergman and Hobson (2002), Gleichmann (2004), Klinth (2002; 2008), Leira (2002), Lundqvist (2007), and Lundqvist and Roman (2008).

2. For futher discussion on their defenition of individualization, see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995; 2002). For a critical discussion on individualization theory in relation to Swedish family politics and practices, see Ahlberg, Duncan and Roman (2008).

3. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) do not specify what families they are referring to. However, many of the practices they mention seem to be located in a relatively privileged, middle-class context.

4. In Brembeck's (1992) study, lower middle-class parents mainly consisted of professionals with a university degree, working in the public sector or with media. Upper middle-class parents mostly consisted of professionals and managers in the private sector, most of them had a university degree. Working-class parents did not have any higher education; they had either skilled or un-skilled jobs.

Chapter 3
Involved parenthood and subjection

In the previous chapter, I discussed the development of contemporary parenthood in Sweden. Although there have been unequal expectations on men and women's involvement and although there are considerable differences in how parenthood is practiced in different social groups, the general trend, according to previous research, is that the social and cultural expectations on parents' involvement have increased historically. In particular, today's middle-class parents are seen – and regard themselves – as responsible for their children, and if anything goes wrong they are morally accountable. They understand parenthood as a long-term assignment,

emphasize the child's need for a close relation to both biological parents, and develop relatively "intense" rearing practices, as well as intimate relations to their children. They lead child-centered lives – apart from work, most things in life revolve around the children, their needs, education and leisure activities. All together, this makes it possible to talk about involved parenthood as a norm among middle-class parents in Sweden, a norm that affects people's everyday lives, and how they manage intimate relations. But how are norms related to people's identities and how and when do people follow norms? In the final part of this chapter, I will present two ways of understanding the individual's relation to norms – starting from the works of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler. In doing so, I will present a framework for understanding how parental identities and norms are negotiated in everyday life.

Power, norms and subjection

In *Discipline and Punishment*, Foucault (1977) analyzes how new forms of social control developed in different institutions in Western society. The ideal model for this disciplinary power was the prison, where the prisoner was controlled not so much by threat of violence as by setting up norms for how to be and behave. Foucault found similar disciplinary power through normalization in other institutions, such as the school. By supervising, measuring and examining, the school disciplined children to become pupils and what Foucault (1977) calls 'docile bodies'.

Foucault argues that contemporary power and governing have become indirect to a greater extent, and that they include the subjects themselves. According to some scholars inspired by Foucault, this novel governing has been developed in 'advanced liberal democracies' in particular (Lemke, 2002; Rose, 1993; Rose, 1999; Bloch *et al.*, 2003). When governing, people seek to control other people's behavior by structuring the field of possible action, what is possible to do, in this way causing individuals to internalize the norms and regulate themselves in line with these norms (Foucault, 1982; Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1999). Central to this critical perspective on governing is that power is not seen as repressive, but productive – power is not exercised on already existing subjects, in fact, it constitutes the subjects. By internalizing norms of correct behavior, the individual is created as a subject. For instance, by subordinating himself or herself to

the school's regulations and norms of behavior, the child becomes a "pupil", a subject position entailing certain rights and responsibilities as well as specific ways for the child to understand himself/herself. Power is also productive in that resistance comes about through the exercise of power. Resistance is understood as power as well. A pupil's resistance to being subordinated to the teacher's and school's regulations and expectations could be seen as counter-power, as it affects the professionals' actions and their possible subject positions. In that sense, power is not only exercised top-down by a state apparatus, but 'power is everywhere' (Foucault, 1978, p. 93). In other words, power is decentralized and may be found both in welfare states' paternalistic care of their citizens as well as in parental child-rearing practices (cf. Bloch *et al.*, 2003; Hultqvist and Dahlberg, 2001). Furthermore, power cannot be owned, but should rather be understood as something that is constantly circulating; it is a strategy, something that does something. People 'are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power' (Foucault, 1980a, p. 98); at the very moment they exercise power, they could be subjects of power. Exercising power, governing, is mainly done indirectly, by governing other people's conduct in 'a more or less open field of possibilities' (Foucault, 1982, p. 789). Power is exercised not through "naked" power, but by guiding possible conduct and creating social order. In this way, the teacher governs the pupils by creating a common standard for expected behavior in the classroom.

Stuart Hall (1996) argues that even though there is a development from Foucault's early, archeological, period to his later genealogical period,[1] Foucault's individuals tend to accommodate themselves to power much too easily. Disciplinary power therefore appears as a monolithic force that always effectively coordinates all social relations. In his later work, Foucault moves away from this more deterministic perspective (Foucault, 1980a; 1980b; 1982; 1985a; 1985b). In these later studies, he argues that it is not enough for power to create norms in order to discipline, but that power also needs some response from the subject (cf. Link, 2004; Macherey, 1992). A central term in talking about this response, this turning to power, is *subjection*, which Foucault (1985a) defines as 'the way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obliged to put it into practice' (p. 27). Subjection means both being subordinated and becoming a reflexive individual. Thus, the subject is

still seen as the effect of power, but power is also seen as dependent on the individual:

> The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle. (Foucault, 1980a, p. 98)

On the one hand, the subject is given existence through being regulated and subordinated to power, and on the other, power, if it is to have an effect, is dependent on the subject and its self-formation (Foucault, 1982; 1985a). Thus, in his later works, Foucault moved his focus from the subject as an effect of power to individuals' creation of themselves as moral beings in relation to a number of codes and norms. Foucault (1985a) studied how the dynamics of power make the individual responsible, how one has to 'conduct oneself' (p. 26). That is, how the individual forms himself or herself as an ethical subject in relation to the prescription of norms. It is not only about making one's behavior correspond to given moral rules, but about transforming oneself into 'the ethical subject of one's behavior' (p. 27). In order to do this, the subject needs to act upon itself by reflectively testing, supervising and improving itself.

Even though Foucault, in his the later works, opens up for a more dynamic relation between subject, norms and power, Hall (1996) argues that he never really discusses *why* people internalize and follow norms. Foucault does not theorize about 'the psychic mechanism or interior processes by which these automatic "interpellations" might be produced, or – more significantly – fail or be resisted or negotiated' (Hall, 1996, p. 12). This issue has instead been developed further and articulated more clearly by Judith Butler.

Desiring subjection

A basic premise in explaining Butler's perspective on norms is her understanding of the relation between power and the subject, which she has largely taken from Foucault's later work. The relation between power and the subject is ambivalent, to say the least. Subjection (Butler also uses the term subjectivation) is both the process by which the individual becomes a

subject, subordinated to power, but also the process that makes subjectivity and agency possible in the first place:

> Power not only acts on a subject but, in a transitive sense, enacts the subject into being. As a condition, power precedes the subject. Power loses its appearance of priority, however, when it is wielded by the subject, a situation that gives rise to the reverse perspective that power is the effect of the subject, and that power is what subjects effect. (Butler, 1997, p. 13)

Depending on what perspective you take, power seems to be just as dependent on the subject as the subject is dependent on power. Power, which first seems to be external, forcing the subject into subordination, takes on a psychic form that constitutes the self-identity of the subject. According to Butler (1997), power is neither completely outside the subject nor completely a part of the subject, but needs to be "reiterated" in order to have an effect. The subject is the place where such reiteration is carried out.

Thus, the subject is not created from nothing, but self-formation is done in a context of norms that existed before the subject and that will exist after it. There is no 'doing of yourself' outside subjection, no self-formation outside the norms that enable the different positions a subject may take (Butler, 2005, p. 17). But the norm acts neither as subordination nor as self-determination. Rather,

> It sets the stage for the subject's self-crafting, which always takes place in relation to an imposed set of norms. The norm does not produce the subject as its necessary effect, nor is the subject fully free to disregard the norm that inaugurates its reflexivity; one invariably struggles with conditions of one's own life that one could not have chosen. If there is an operation of agency or, indeed, freedom in this struggle, it takes place in the context of an enabling and limiting field of constraint. This ethical agency is neither fully determined nor radically free. (Butler, 2005, p. 19)

In other words, the norm is not something that people follow slavishly or passively, it is not the models that people try to resemble. Rather, Butler (2004) understands it as 'a form of social power that produces the intelligible field of subjects' (p. 48). Norms are therefore not so much about force

and violence, but about positive control through 'implicit logic' (p. 49) where a common standard is created. Hence, norms are not being forced upon people or internalized in a simple way, but in order to have an effect on the subject, they have to activate fantasy, in particular 'the phatasmatic attachment to ideals that are at once social and psychic' (Butler, 2000, p. 151). Thus, norms are active on a psychosocial level in that the subject idealizes and attaches itself (its *self*) through the norm of how to be and act. But it is not enough to "simply" perform the right behavior, the individual also has to learn the actual practices; the more the individual masters a practice, the more subjection is achieved:

> To master a set of skills is not simply to accept a set of skills, but to reproduce them in and as one's own activity. This is not simply to act according to a set of rules, but to embody rules in the course of action and to reproduce those rules in embodied rituals of action. What leads to this reproduction? Clearly, it is not merely a mechanistic appropriation of norms, nor is it a voluntaristic appropriation. It is neither simple behaviorism nor a deliberate project. (Butler, 1997, p. 119).

Individuals, such as children in school, do not only follow norms of behavior, but also acquire specific skills (ways of being, talking, acting, etc.), skills that have to be mastered in order for the child to become a self-regulating subject. Butler does not only see the subject as constituted and contingent, but norms are social and contingent as well. Norms do not only exercise social power, but are themselves plastic and exposed to psychic and historical changes. Their psychic effect is not achieved mechanically and does not depart from anything pre-social, but from previous social relations (Butler, 1997; Butler, 2004). Norms could be explicit, but are often implicit and are almost only seen in their effects and are characterized by the fact that they operate 'within social practices as the implicit standard of normalization' (Butler, 2004, p. 41). It is possible to make an analytical distinction between norms and the effects of norms, practices, but Butler emphasizes that norms do not have their own ontological status – they exist as norms only as long as individuals enact them in their social practices. There is no subjection outside norms. As Butler (2005) puts it:

> There is no making of oneself outside a mode of subjectivation and,

hence no self-making outside the norms that orchestrate the possible forms that a subject may take (p. 17).

The contradiction with subjection is that it creates existence and identity, on the one hand, and it reduces the field of possibilities and creates subordination, on the other. In order to be intelligible and to have agency at all, we need to be subjected. But subjection is never completely successful; the norm is unable to fully 'determine the constitutive field of the human' (Butler, 1997, p. 129), because norms are dependent on the individual in order to continue to have an effect. Thus, there is always a "remainder" in subjection, always a possibility for the individual to *not* attach himself or herself to a particular norm. However, Butler (1997) argues that subjection itself is always a prerequisite for social existence. She describes subjection as 'the subject's continuing condition of possibility' (p. 8) by discussing the child's attachment to a carer:

> ...a child tended and nourished in a "good enough" way will love, and only later stand a chance of discriminating among those he or she loves. This is to say, not that the child loves blindly [...] but only that if the child is to persist in a psychic and social sense there must be dependency and the formation of attachment [...] The child does not know what he/she attaches; yet the infant as well as the child must attach in order to persist in and as itself. No subject can emerge without this attachment. (p. 8)

In other words, attaching yourself to norms could be seen as an expression of a desire to become an identity (Butler, 1997). Butler's argument could be connected to what Anthony Giddens (1991) has called *ontological security*, a feeling of coherence and of being a stable, uniform subject (cf. Whitehead, 2002). He argues that it is a basic need of all individuals and has to be found in childhood. But in what Giddens calls 'late modernity', ontological security is fragile and has to be worked on. Attaching yourself to norms and following them could then be a way of keeping existential anxiety at bay and attaining a sense of homogeneous identity (cf. Garfinkel, 1967). Thus, in the 'passionate pursuit of recognition' (Butler, 1997, p. 113), the subject looks for signs of its existence outside itself, in norms and social categories that promise existence. According to Butler, the re-

sult is that norms operate as 'psychic phenomena' that both restrict and produce desire, that both form subjects and circumscribe their possible social life. A good example of this is found in Ylva Elvin-Nowak's (1999) study of Swedish working mothers. The mothers not only see themselves as responsible for their children, but also explicitly express a desire to be involved. But facing the discrepancy between the expectations placed on motherhood and the realities of everyday life tends to create feelings of guilt. The women often feel that they are failing to be 'good enough mothers' (Elvin-Nowak, 1999, p. 77), they have no time to be the mothers they ideally want to be, because time is scarce when they have to work.

Because norms both create subjectivity and subordination, questioning norms has certain consequences. First, the subject runs the risk of becoming unintelligible to others. According to Butler (2000), norms regulate comprehension, norms make certain social practices recognizable and visible, while others remain visible or beyond understanding. Furthermore, not only what I can do, but also who I can "be" is regulated in advance by the regimes of truth that determine what can and cannot be recognized as a proper way of life (cf. Foucault, 1980b). In other words, self-formation is accomplished in a context of different norms that negotiate who "I" am in relation to these norms. People's identities are in close relation to norms and regimes of truth: 'any relation to the regime of truth will at the same time be a relation to myself' (Butler, 2005, p. 22). Thus, second, questioning a regime of truth and a norm that regulates subjection means questioning the "truth" about oneself. If I question the regime of truth, I also question the regime in which the being and my ontological status are placed; this is a radical questioning of myself. If we follow Giddens' (1991) argument, loss of ontological security could cause existential anxiety. Consequently, norms do not only erect the frames for my behavior and my practices, but also for my relation to others and myself. The norm operates not only on my behavior, but also on the possible ways in which I could meet others and myself.

Third, breaking with norms could cause social sanctions. In order for the norm to exist, the subject has to reiterate or rearticulate the norms that have produced it. But there is a risk associated with this reiteration. If one fails to reiterate in the right way, one might be subject to further sanctions and feel 'the prevailing conditions of existence threatened' (Butler, 1997, p. 29). Concurrently, the norm has a hegemonic function, by incorporating

resistance to the norm into the actual norm. Resistance could be used as a deviant case to strengthen the logical base for the norm and the regulations (Butler, 2000; Butler, 2004). The individual who acts differently runs the risk of being not only unintelligible, but also the antithesis of normal; this individual is given a 'negative' identity, and understood as being radically different from those fulfilling the norm (Lacalu and Mouffe, 1985). For instance, a mother who does not assume responsibility for her children, or – even worse – who mistreats them is not only difficult to understand for most people, but also a shocking example of what constitutes the opposite of "normal" and "good" motherhood.

Norms, discourse and subject positions

A central term in the present dissertation is discourse, which I shall define as a domain or group of statements and its rules and structures (Foucault, 1972), which govern the way in which we can understand and speak about specific practices. Discourses are to some extent related to language, as they are articulated through talk and text (e.g., parenting manuals, family legislation, political debates), but they are also articulated through practices (e.g., rearing practices, educational practices). Discourses are in constant struggle with other discourses (Foucault, 1980a) and involve competing ways of understanding and doing parenthood. People's talk about, or practice of, parenthood is accomplished in relation to different discourses. Foucault argues that the subject is positioned in relation to these different discourses, and that discourses make some practices and identities possible to take on and others impossible (Foucault, 1980a). Yet, the subject is not entirely fixed by discourse, instead people are able to position themselves in relation to different discourses. However, the subject must speak from a discourse that is (most) intelligible, thus subjecting itself to discursive norms (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1980a; Hall, 1996). I will discuss the issue of analyzing subject positions further in the next chapter, but for now it is necessary to discuss how the term discourse is related to the term norm, as they seem to be very similar, or at least closely connected.

In the present study, norms are understood as parts of discourses. First, while discourse is a (more general) term for patterns of talk and practice that regulate what positions subjects are able to take, the term norm high-

lights the "addressive" aspects of discourses. If a discourse is a domain or groups of statements and its rules and structures, a norm could be understood as the appeal to the individual. A discourse on parental involvement, for instance, could imply specific ways of talking about parenthood and doing parenthood that may be "intense" or "active". The normative statement of such discourse could then be 'involve yourself!', because if you want to be understood as a morally "good" parent within a discourse on parental involvement, you need to be engaged in your children's everyday life. This could be compared to Louis Althusser's (1971) work on interpellation. In Althusser's example, a policeman hails a passerby on the street who turns around and recognizes himself/herself as the one who is being hailed. This act of interpellation is, according to Butler (1997), the 'discursive production of the subject' (p. 5). Encouragements from diffferent parts of the welfare state to individuals to be involved parents could be understood as the policeman's hailing.

It is important to note, however, that – following Foucault and Butler – the hailing does not work so much as a restriction, but as an *encouragement* and appeal to the individual. Particularly in Butler's work, the term seems to be used to emphasize the psychosocial aspects of discourse. As discussed above, she argues that norms relate to the psychosocial aspects of ourselves and create the desire to become subjects. Thus, norms are not only statements, but also encouragements addressing our most basic longing to be intelligible social beings – to belong (cf. Macherey, 1992) – helping us to understand ourselves as coherent subjects. Thus, norms do not work so much as the policeman's restrictive hailing, but as an instigation to attach yourself to the norm. In Butler's (1997) reinterpretation of the interpellation process, hailing is an attempt to create subjects and, consequently, interpellation may fail – the individual may not turn around when being hailed.

Negotiating parenthood in everyday life

Departing from Butler's perspective on norms and subjection, a subject position as involved parent is not completely locked and determined; parental involvement is to some extent open for negotiation. For instance, it is not taken for granted that a couple will divide household labor and childcare in terms of a traditional gender pattern. Moreover, it is not self-

evident that parents should involve themselves in their children's education and school life. In their study of family responsibilities, Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason (1993) make a distinction between explicit and implicit negotiations. What they call *explicit negotiations* are public discussions often prompted by particular needs or events, such as a family crisis. In contrast, *implicit negotiations* are not open or public, but consist of different forms of communication about the responsibilities of different family members. These occur on a day-to-day basis and over the life course. The negotiation term opens up for an understanding of people's agency and possibility to influence their own lives, indicating that they are not determined by norms and do not follow them blindly. Moreover, the gendered and generational power relations are made explicit in negotiations. Thus, negotiations need to be studied in relation to the surrounding society, thus in relation to political processes, labor market relations, and cultural notions on parenthood (Björnberg, 1992b).

Nevertheless, negotiation is a rather vague term with certain connotations, which calls for a more precise definition of the term. It tends to imply that family relations are democratic and that different family members enter negotiations on the same premises or as rational economical beings (e.g., Becker, 1991; cf. Roman, 2004). If used in this way, the term obscures power relations rather than analyzing them critically. It is important to make the dynamics of family life explicit. Parental responsibilities are open for negotiation, but family members have different preconditions. For instance, fathers' involvement tends to be more open for negotiation, while mothers' involvement is taken for granted. A second problem with the term is that it is too vague. Lars Evertsson and Charlott Nyman (2008) propose a more narrow definition, according to which negotiations only take place explicitly, outside regular mundane life, and when the conditions for the future existence of the relationships are at stake. This gives us a clearer definition, but ignores the fact that negotiations can occur on a daily basis and are not necessarily as radical as in the definition proposed by Evertsson and Nyman. Although a great deal of childcare is done without negotiation, issues such as who should take care of the dishes, pick up the pre-schooler, or put the children to bed could cause negotiation to be carried out verbally or through other forms of interaction. Moreover, in Evertsson and Nyman's (2008) definition, it is sometimes hard to distinguish negotiation concerning a mundane task from negotiation in which

the conditions of the relationship are discussed. Fairly often, questions as to the couple's future are based on extremely mundane issues. I assume that negotiations do not take place because family members are completely equal; rather, negotiations are the places where gendered and generational power relations are made visible.

To summarize, understanding involved parenthood as a norm does not only imply seeing it as a general ideal or idealized notion that is internalized in a simple way. It is much more than that. First, it is a norm that regulates the possible parenthood practices people are able to perform. But individuals also (re)produce the norm through parenthood practices and parenthood identities; norms are dependent on individuals' response to have an effect. There is always a possibility to act otherwise, to not respond, even though the individual runs the risk of being unintelligible. Second, the norm creates a sense of being a coherent subject, an identity. It meets our desire for ontological security. The relationship between the norm and subjection is an expression of the fact that governing is carried out on a personal, psychosocial level, where norms encourage the individual to attach himself/herself to the "truth" about the subject. Third – because it is possible to not respond to norms, as norms (as parts of discourses) are caught in a struggle with other, competing discourses, and because norms have to be reiterated in everyday practices – discursive subjects can be negotiated. By articulating other discourses in everyday talk and practice, individuals are able to negotiate a particular discourse on, for instance, parental involvement.

Notes

1. The works prior to *Discipline and Punishment* are generally referred to as Foucault's *archeological* period, where he aimed at historically studying the systems of the thought of knowledge without departing from the primacy of the individual subject. His focus was instead on different discursive formations in different periods. Through *genealogy* Foucault instead highlighted the complex origins of contemporary discourses with a particular focus on power relations and their effects on individuals (cf. Mills, 2003). Because later in life he focused more on subjection and ethics – in particular in the two last volumes of *History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1985a, 1985b) – most commentators argue that after his genealogical period, Foucault had a third, *ethical* period (cf. Gutting, 2002; Hall, 1996).

Chapter 4
Methodology

The Everyday Lives of Families study

The present doctoral thesis is part of a larger ethnographic study comparing family life in Italy, Sweden and the U.S., called the CELF project[1] (Aronsson and Pontecorvo, 2002), originally initiated by professor Elinor Ochs. The purpose of this larger project is to undertake an in-depth analysis of dual-earner middle-class families, using different, mainly qualitative, methods, such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The main goal is to study how families in the three settings handle their everyday life, and in particular how parents balance working fulltime and

taking care of children and the household at the same time.

Comparative and cross-national studies have a long history in the social sciences and were carried out by early sociologists such as Emile Durkheim and Max Weber (Hantrais, 1999). Comparative cross-national studies could be carried out in a number of ways, although most such research uses quantitative and statistical methods to study social trends in different countries. But qualitative methods could also be used in comparative research, because they are well suited to studying people's actual practices in relation to family life and parenthood (Smithson and Brannen, 2002). Janet Smithson and Julia Brannen (2002) make a distinction between comparative studies that are mainly conducting descriptive or deductive analyses of macro data, on the one hand, and studies, such as the CELF project, that are 'more analytical and establishes a relationship between micro- and macro-levels' (p. 11), on the other.

In the CELF project, the lives of 32 American, eight Italian, and eight Swedish working families have been documented using the same methods. At each research site, a research team of three persons has carried out participant observation with video cameras in the homes of the families. The teams have also interviewed the families, taken photographic stills of the families' houses, made floor plans, taken so-called ethno-archeological field notes, and each family has made video-taped guided tours of their own homes. All these method were carried out in more or less the same way at the three research sites. For instance, at all three sites, two ethnographers carried out the video observations in the homes of the families, but the research team in the U.S. also followed the families in their vehicles and when doing errands outside the home. The U.S. study also departed from the other two by studying family stress, using clinical methods.

By using the same methods and perspectives when studying family life, it is possible to compare the families' attitudes toward, for instance, parenthood, as well as to compare how family members interact in the different countries. But, as Smithson and Brannen (2002) have pointed out, if one is to compare qualitative data, it is also necessary to situate families' interactions and accounts in a broader societal context, which has been done in the cross-national collaborations in the project (e.g., Wingard and Forsberg, 2009). In the present dissertation, comparisons are made by relating my research findings to the research conducted by our American and Italian colleagues. Through this comparison, it is possible to detect

specific cultural differences and similarities in parental practices.

Sampling

When working with small samples, such as in this study, sampling is crucial. Traditional random sampling is often impossible, and it is difficult to attain full representativity of the people studied. While some ethnographers studying working families try to obtain as varied a sample as possible (e.g. Darrah, 2004), the CELF project has chosen a sample with as similar participants as possible in order to make cross-cultural comparisons. The aim was to obtain a sample in which all families were middle-class in a broad sense.

The basic criteria for participation of the families at all three research sites were that all couples should work fulltime, or almost fulltime (at least 75 percent), pay mortgage on their own house or row house, and have at least two children, one of whom is between eight and ten years old (the so-called "target child"). All parents worked at least 30 hours a week outside the home. The basic criteria were a starting point, but had to be specified in the different countries. In the Swedish part of the study, which has been led by Karin Aronsson, we chose to only include couples where at least one had a university degree diploma and a professional or managerial occupation, as they are central criteria according to the Swedish Socioeconomic Classification (SEI) definition of middle class (Statistics Sweden, 1982). According to the SEI, working-class (blue-collar) couples have no more than an upper secondary school degree and work within the production or the service sector; while middle-class (white-collar) couples have university or college degrees and work as professionals or managers. In all families in the present study, at least one parent has a university degree. Two fathers have only secondary school degrees. The rest of the parents have university degrees, but in two families, both parents hold very high positions in their professional life and could be regarded as "upper" middle class (cf. Plantin, 2001; Plantin, 2007, Statistics Sweden, 1982). Only ethnic Swedes participated in the Swedish part of the study, as there were not many immigrant families in the schools through which we recruited participants. This could be seen as an expression of the ethnic housing segregation that characterizes most Swedish cities, where non-Western immigrants tend to live in immigrant-dense areas consisting of

mainly apartment buildings with rental housing (Andersson, 1998).[2] In this way, the Swedish part of the study includes a homogenous sample of six nuclear families, that is, the couples are married or cohabiting and have all children in common. Two families are blended, or reconstituted, i.e., the couples do not have any common biological children. All couples are heterosexual, whereas the U.S. sample includes two sets of gay fathers. In Sweden, the criteria did not exclude gay or lesbian parents, but no such couples volunteered.

Recruiting families

In the Swedish part of the study, all families, except one, were contacted through schools with a number of pupils living in detached houses or row houses. Initially, principals or teachers were contacted and asked if it would be possible to visit a parent meeting to present the study and invite families to participate. At the meetings, the focus of the study and how it was going to be carried out were explained. The parents received a flyer with basic information about the study and how to get in contact with the research group. In some cases, the information was distributed as an attachment to the letters that schools and teachers regularly send to the families. The recruiting process was relatively unproblematic. We did not have an enormous number of families that wanted to participate (we had to turn down a few families that did not meet our sampling criteria, in that there was no child of 8 to 10 years of age or in that there was only one working parent). Yet, we had enough families to carry out the fieldwork.

The first contact from the parents was often made through e-mail, whereupon we phoned them. Over the telephone, the study was explained further, including what was expected of the participating families, and a first home visit was planned. Another research team member, Pål Aarsand, and I carried out the first visit. Over a period of a few hours, we met the entire family and discussed the study. At this visit, we gave them "the family binder" – a binder with questionnaires that the families were supposed to fill out, information about the study, contact information, and consent forms that all members had to sign before the family could participate. At this meeting, we also booked dates for the observations.

At this stage, we had obtained what Martyn Hammersley and Paul At-

kinson (1995) call *entry*, that is, the families allowed us to continue the research in their house. In order to obtain entry, good relations to the gatekeepers are crucial, as they are the people who control entry to the 'private settings' (p. 63). In our study, the gatekeepers were the parents; without their invitation we would never have been able to carry out the observations. Even though all parents agreed to participate in the study, sometimes participation was initially the project of mainly one parent in the couple; it was this parent with whom we had most contact. Similarly, all children said they agreed to participate in the project, but it was sometimes hard to tell to what extent they understood what the research was all about and how their parents had convinced them. Here, the initial meeting was crucial in ensuring that all family members wanted to participate. Before the fieldwork began, all family members had given us permission to study their everyday lives and agreed to participate in the study.

Introducing the families

In the following, I will make an initial presentation of the families who participated in the study (see Table 1 on the next page). All families live in or outside the same mid-sized Swedish city. The city has a large technology industry and a large population of middle-class families living in houses or row houses in the suburbs. But there are also large areas of apartment buildings with mainly working-class families.

The Andersson family

Both mom and dad in the Andersson family have a Master's degree in engineering and hold leading positions in high-tech companies. He works fulltime, 40 hours every week, and she works part-time, but sometimes they work more – in particular when they have to go on business trips. They have three children: Johan (12 years old), Anna (10 years old), and their youngest son, Linus, who is 6 years old and attends pre-school. The older children attend a public school close to home. They all live in a somewhat older house in a suburb. The parents alternate driving Linus to preschool; Anna sometimes gets to school on her own, but is always driven to her leisure activities (scouting, violin lessons, handball). Johan gets to school and to his leisure activities (scouting) mostly by himself.

Table 1: The families and the parents' education and occupation

Family[i]	Parents	Education and work	Children[i]
Andersson	Dad (43) Mom (41)	Both have a university degree diploma and work as engineers.	Johan (M12) Anna (F10) Linus (M6)
Bergman	Dad (48) Mom (38)	Both have a university degree diploma. They work within administration and finance.	Maria (F20)[ii] Jenny (F17)[ii] Erika (F13)[iii] Linnéa (F10) Emelie (F8)
Cederborg	Dad (35) Mom (35)	Both have a university degree diploma. They work in the public and health sector.	Lisa (F12) Philip (M10) Emil (M5)
Dahlgren	Dad (47) Mom (40)	Both have a university degree diploma. They work in primary education and law. She also runs a small business.	Niklas (M13) Andrea (F12) Jens (M9)
Eklund	Dad (41) Mom (38)	She has a uniersity degree diploma and works with education. He works as a salesman.	Marie (F16)[iv] Anders (M13)[iii] Johanna (F8) Sara (F4)
Franzén	Dad (38) Mom (38)	Both have a university degree diploma and work as engineers.	Ingrid (M8) Harald (M4) Arvid (M2)
Gustavsson	Dad (40) Mom (37)	Both have a university degree diploma, working as advisor and consultant.	Jessika (F10) Anton (M8) Mikaela (F5)
Hagman	Dad (42) Mom (39)	She has a university degree diploma and works within the public sector. He has his own construction company.	Hanna (F8) Ida (F5) Ludvig (M3)

(i) All names are fictional. (ii) Lives permanently in another city. (iii) Lives in this household every other weekend. (iv) Lives in this household every other week.

The Bergman family

The parents in the Bergman family have no child in common, but five daughters from previous marriages. The dad's oldest daughter, Maria (20), has left home and Jenny (17) lives permanently with her biological mother, but visits her father on a regular basis. His youngest daughter, Erika (13), lives in the household every other weekend. The mother in the Bergman family has two daughters, Linnéa (10) and Emelie (8), who live every other week in the Bergman house and attend a small public school. The mother takes the girls to school everyday. Both mom and dad have university degree diplomas. She works as a personnel manager, he as an economist. Both work fulltime. During the fieldwork they lived in a big central apartment in the same city as the other families, but soon moved to a detached house nearby.

The Cederborg family

The dad in the Cederborg family has a Master's degree and works fulltime as project manager in a large company. Mom is a nurse working part-time with both night and daytime shifts. Their daughter, Lisa (12), and oldest son, Filip (10), attend a public school, while Emil (5) is in pre-school three or four days a week. Lisa goes to school and her leisure activities on her own (choir, scouting); Filip gets to school by himself, but is driven to his soccer practices; the parents alternate driving Emil to preschool. They live in a suburb, in an older house.

The Dahlgren family

The dad in the Dahlgren family has a law degree and works fulltime as lawyer in a small law firm. Mom is a pre-school teacher working fulltime: part-time as teacher in an elementary school and its after-school center, and part-time running a small company. They have three children: their oldest son Niklas (13) attends a private school, while their daughter Andrea (12) and youngest son Jens (9) attend a public school. Niklas gets to school by himself; Andrea gets to school by herself, but is driven to her soccer practices; Jens is driven to school, sometimes he goes home together with his older sister. They live in a detached house in a suburb.

The Eklund family

The dad has an upper secondary school education and works fulltime as a salesman. He has two children from a previous marriage. His daughter, Marie (16), lives with him every other week and attends a public upper secondary school, while his son, Anders (13), lives with him every other weekend and attends a private school. The mom has a Bachelor's degree and is currently studying fulltime at a teacher's college while working part-time as a teacher. On weekends, she also works in a store. She has two daughters from a previous marriage, Johanna (8) and Sara (4), who live with her permanently. Johanna attends a public school while Sara is in a public pre-school. Most of the time, the mom drives the younger girls to school and leisure activities (floor ball); Marie and Anders get to school by themselves. The family lives in a row house in a suburb.

The Franzén family

Both parents hold university degrees in civil engineering and work fulltime as middle managers in larger high-tech companies. They have three children. Their daughter Ingrid (8) attends public elementary school, while their sons – Harald (4) and Arvid (2) – attend public pre-school. The parents alternate driving the children to pre-school and school; Ingrid is also driven to her leisure activities (horse riding, swimming). They live in a detached house in a suburb.

The Gustavsson family

The Gustavsson family lives in a newly built row house in the countryside outside the city. They have three children. Their oldest daughter, Jessika (10), and their son, Anton (8), attend a nearby public school. Mikaela (5) attends public pre-school. Both parents hold Master's degrees and work part-time. He works as an advisor for career development; she is a consultant for the municipality. The mom mostly drives Mikaela to preschool. Jessika and Anton take the school bus to school. After school, Jessika gets to the horse stable by herself and is later picked up by her parents. Anton takes the school bus to a friend after school and is later picked up.

The Hagman family

The Hagman family live in a detached house in a suburb. The mom has a

university degree diploma and works part-time at a government authority. The dad has an upper secondary school education and works fulltime in his own construction company. They have three children: their son, Ludvig (3) and youngest daughter, Ida (5), attend a parent-run co-operative pre-school, while Hanna (8) attends a public elementary school. Mom always drives the children to school and preschool; Hanna is driven to her horse riding.

Researching the everyday life of families

The main method used in the present study was participant observation in the home of the families over a period of a week, involving video recordings, ethno-archeological tracking, and field notes. The research team always consisted of three persons, two researchers who filmed and one who took ethno-archeological field notes. Initially, we switched the tasks between us, but after a couple of families, Pål Aarsand and I always videotaped while a third research team member, Linda Schultz, took the field notes.[3] The fieldwork was carried out between April 2003 and March 2004.

Participant observation in people's homes

Participant observation in people's homes has long been used as a way to conduct ethnographic research in non-Western settings (e.g. Mead, 1928), and there is a burgeoning number of ethnographic studies of children and adults in their homes in Western societies (e.g., Darrah, English-Lueck and Freeman, 2007; Gullestad, 1984; Hochschild, 1989; Jordan, 2006; Lareau, 2003; Norman, 1991; Willis, 1977). Researchers also increasingly use video cameras to conduct participant observations. Videotaping could be used to prevent loss of important information, which may happen when using regular field notes (Pink, 2001). It could also be used to analyze interactions and behaviors in detail. The goal then is to analyze how socio-cultural categories, such as family or parenthood, are realized in everyday interaction (Ochs *et al.*, 2006). Often, participant observation with a video camera is carried out in "public" places, such as different organizations and workplaces, to analyze interactions between adults (cf. Hindmarsh and Heath, 2007). There is also a burgeoning field of video-based studies of children's and young people's interactions in different settings, such as pre-schools (Corsaro, 2004), schools (Tholander and Aronsson, 2003), after-school

centers (Sparrman, 2005), homework clubs (Hutchinson, 2006), youth detention homes (Andersson, 2008), and during sports activities (Kremer-Sadlik and Kim, 2007). Compared to studies of children and young people in schools and other institutions, there are relatively few studies of family interaction that have used a video camera (but see Aarsand and Aronsson, 2009; Fasulo, Loyd and Padiglione, 2007; Grieshaber, 2004; Rydstrøm, 2003), which could be due to problems of gaining access to people's homes, but also to the idealized notions in Western culture and among researchers about the home as a "private" sphere and, consequently, a part of life that cannot be studied (Gubrium and Holstein, 1990).

According to Alessandro Duranti (1997), people's homes are a challenging setting in which to conduct participant observation, because it may be difficult to find the right spot to stand or sit as well as the right demeanor. One problem of studying people in their homes in Western cultures is that it may be difficult to gain access for a longer period of time, which according to traditional ethnography is necessary if participants are to feel comfortable with the researcher (Agar, 1996). Ethnographers conducting fieldwork in Western settings have tried to deal with this by either making shorter visits regularly over a longer period of time (Lareau, 2003; Grieshaber, 2004), or by following families more intensely over a shorter period of time (Darrah, English-Lueck and Freeman, 2007). At times, ethnographers using video cameras have let the families take care of the videotaping themselves (Ochs, Pontecorvo and Fasulo, 1996; Hutchinson, 2006), while others have chosen to set up stationary video cameras that the researchers manage (Relieu, Zouinar and La Valle, 2007).

Video-based observations and tracking
In the present study, the video observations were carried out on two weekdays and two weekend days. On the weekdays, the families were followed in the morning, from the time they woke up until they left for school and work. The research team then came back in the afternoon when at least one parent and child had come home, and stayed with the families until the children went to bed. On Saturdays and Sundays, we arrived in the morning when the families woke up, and stayed until lunch. On Sunday, we then came back right before dinner and spent the evening there until the children went to bed. Because the sleeping habits of the families varied, the time we spent with each family also varied. The younger children

tended to go to bed earlier, but also wake up earlier.

Somewhere between 32 and 40 hours of interaction have been documented from each family studied, all together approximately 300 hours of video. When using a video camera in research, the researcher has to make a number of techno-methodological choices. Mia Heikkilä and Fritjof Sahlström (2003) argue that, for instance, the choice of camera angle, type of microphones and whether you use a camera stand or not are crucial to the types of analyses that can be conducted. In the observations, the research team used two digital video cameras (DV-CAMs) with wide-angle lens. In the first two families, we used regular camera stands with three legs (tripods). But because the family members moved around, changed rooms quickly, and much of the interaction happened in the transition, we tended to miss quite a lot of the interaction before we had had time to put up our cameras again. In order to be more flexible, we used one-legged camera stands (so called ipods) for the rest of the families. With the new stands, we were able to move around more freely, but at the same time rest the cameras on the floor to get a steady shot. We used external, multidirectional, condenser microphones that were attached to the cameras. This produced a better sound than if we had just used the built-in camera microphone, but at times it was still hard to hear what people were saying in multiparty conversations and when there was a lot of surrounding noise. When recording, we constantly looked for the angle at which the camera could capture the participants' faces – something that makes transcribing easier, but this had to be balanced with finding a spot in the room that was least intrusive for the activity at hand and the possibility to record the activity (e.g., playing a video game).

The video taping was divided up so that one camera always focused on one child, most often the "target child" (the child between eight and ten years of age), while the other camera filmed an adult. However, this main division of labor had to be constantly renegotiated, because the family members moved between different rooms and interacted with different people. We always prioritized interaction before a sole participant who, for instance, was carrying out household chores on his/her own or watching television alone. Thus, sometimes we had to stop filming the target child and focus on other persons instead. At times, both video cameras could be videotaping the same event, for instance when the entire family was eating dinner. In these cases it was an advantage to be able to record the

same interaction from different angles, in that way focusing on different persons. The ethnographers doing the videotaping took some limited field notes, which was rather difficult as the ipod required that the researcher always held the camera with at least one hand.

Instead, the third researcher took field notes structured after an ethno-archeological model (Ochs *et al.*, 2006). The focus of ethno-archeology is on how people use time, space and artifacts in social interaction. Notes were taken on what happened in every room of the house every tenth minute, so-called tracking. The ethno-archeologist took notes on what people did, where they did it and what artifacts they used to do it, at a given moment. In this way, it is possible to get an overview of what the family members were doing when not being filmed.

Reflections on video-based observations
According to a number of introductory books on ethnographic fieldwork, a researcher could have a number of different roles in relation to the informants when conducting participant observation (e.g., Agar, 1996; Adler and Adler, 1987; Duranti, 1997; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Raymond Gold (1958) argues that the researcher could have everything from a marginal to a more involved role; one could be a complete observer, observer-as-participant, participant-as-observer, or complete participant. The idea of making this sort of division is to emphasize the difference between doing observations and doing participant observation, where the researcher is participating in the interaction. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), most ethnographers move somewhere between the two extremes in their fieldwork. They propose that the ethnographer should try to balance between participation and detachment. In our fieldwork, we tended mostly to become observers-as-participants, for three reasons.

First, in the families our main focus was on the videotaping, and we often wore headphones, which meant that we clearly positioned ourselves as non-participants, people busy doing recordings, rather than conversationalists. Thus, the cameras positioned us as "passive" observers. As Susan Grieshaber (2004) describes her fieldwork experience, 'operating the video camera required two hands and an awareness of what was happening that was not being filmed' (p. 83). Second, we never became full participants or "insiders", but were considered as temporary guests in the house and were referred to as the 'film chaps', 'the researchers' or 'the guests'. The

families often said that they initially felt somewhat uncomfortable in our presence, but that they relaxed and 'almost' missed us when we stopped coming. Third, the goal was to study the families interacting, not our interaction with the families, we therefore often deliberately took on the role of observers. But this does not mean that we did not participate. It is true that we were quiet most of the time, but we were nevertheless constantly present.

The use of video in participant observation has raised issues of validity, in particular regarding whether the researcher and the video camera affect participant behavior. Video-based observations have often been seen as either highly problematic (affecting and distorting the interaction too much) or as unproblematic (the participants quickly forget the camera). Helen Lomax and Neil Casey (1998) argue that both attitudes are inaccurate – the first because it undermines the whole idea of video observations by trying to validate them with interviews, the second because it is hard to tell when a person is affected by the camera and not – except in the case of 'obvious camera behaviors' (Duranti, 1997, p. 118), such as smiling at or playing with the camera. But I would argue that instead of just noticing the camera consciousness of the participants, one should rather assume that the researcher and the camera are always part of the videotaped activity. Thus, the camera could be understood as having some agency, in that it has an impact on the social situation and what knowledge is being produced (Barad, 2007; Latour, 1999) and positions the researcher as a researcher. As Sarah Pink (2001) puts it: 'an ethnographer with a video camera is a person with a video camera, the camera becomes part of its user's identity' (p. 79). The camera and the researcher could also be understood as – using Latour's (1999) term – delegates of the research community. A delegate is a human or non-human actor that takes another actor's place when that actor is not physically present. Because the video data are transcribed and presented in, for instance, this thesis, readers of the present text could be understood as overhearers or bystanders to the family interactions (Goffman, 1981). A parental account or behavior cannot therefore be seen as simply directed to the children, but also to the participant observer and everybody else that the participant imagines could look at the material. A participant could position herself as "mom" and at the same time try to be a "research object" (Lomax and Casey, 1998). This could cause the participant to try to present herself as a morally "good" parent and to therefore

avoid conflicts or being too aggressive, on the one hand, or it could cause the participant to feel she cannot be too good a parent if she is to appear as a credible research object, on the other. Thus, being an informant is about being able to handle relations, not only to the other participants, but also to the researchers.

Above, I described how we gained entry to all the families, but although we had entry, we did not always get *access* to all the interactions or information we wanted (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Gaining entry to a place does not necessarily mean having access to all interaction in that place: 'Not all parts of the setting will be equally open to observation, and not all may be willing to talk' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 79). Thus, we had to negotiate about access to interactions. Most informants told us that they felt somewhat uncomfortable and awkward at the beginning, because they did not know what to do when we were in the house. Encouraged by us, they tried to continue doing the mundane chores they usually do, and they said they fairly soon got used to our relatively silent presence. The adults normally ignored us, just asking practical questions about the filming and making comments about their everyday life. Initially, many children were shy in front of the cameras and the researchers for the first few hours, but later they occasionally used the cameras as toys and the researchers as buddies by, for instance, singing and dancing in front of the camera or by occasionally sitting beside the researcher and pretending to videotape (cf. Sparrman, 2005).

Questionnaires

At the first meeting with the families, questionnaires that gave some basic information about their living conditions and everyday life were handed out. Every child was given a brief questionnaire, but the parents filled this out for the children who could not read or write. The questionnaires mainly focused on daily routines; among other things, the informants were asked to describe a regular week. The parents were given similar questionnaires and, in addition, they were asked about their social networks. The questionnaires were used as a basis for further discussion in the interviews.

Interviews

Some weeks after the video-based observations, the research team retur-

ned to the families to conduct individual interviews with the parents and the target child. These interviews were semi-structured; they covered a number of themes, but were conducted in the form of conversations. Semi-structured interviews are used to understand the behavior of members of a society (Fontana and Fey, 1994). In the interviews, the focus was therefore set on obtaining the participants' subjective perspective on their own lives in an attempt to understand their everyday lives. Adults and children were asked to describe what a regular week looks like, their relationship with other family members, and their participation in household work. In addition, parents were asked questions about the work-family balance, childcare, and their children's education. Once, parts of the interview were conducted with both parents at the same time. The children were interviewed separately about daily routines and the use of information technology (e.g., video games, computer). Once, on their own request, two children in one family were interviewed together. Moreover, the research team members carried out unstructured informal interviews with parents and children on and off during the videotaped observations, in particular when one researcher was alone with a family member. We asked them to clarify something or comment on what they were doing. Parents also often initiated these informal interviews themselves, commenting or reflecting on what they were doing. Both the semi-structured and unstructured interviews not only gave a general sense of the participants' everyday lives, but also their perspectives on and notions of ideal family life, parenthood, and childhood.

A relation similar to the one between researcher, video camera and informant in participant observations can also be found in research interviews. Following Briggs (1986), Kvale (1996) and Mischler (1996), among others, interviews (just like observed events) are understood as social actions (cf. Heyl, 2007). According to George Mischler (1986), an interview is a co-constructed production of knowledge, where its local organization is crucial. Because the interview is seen as a social action, the interview analyses cannot focus on whether the information is true or false; rather they should be studied as a place in which participants construct themselves and others as moral agents (Atkinson and Coffey, 2002). This does not imply that the interviews cannot be used to acquire an understanding of family relations, but that the statements cannot be validated in terms of their truthfulness. I therefore do not contrast contradictions between

interviews and actions in order to get at "the truth" through triangulation. Rather, I understand the contradictions as different forms of subject positions that are part of the discursive struggles between informants as well as between researcher and informants.

It has been argued that children and adults have different linguistic and cognitive competences and therefore different possibilities to express themselves (cf. Punch, 2002; Woodhead and Faulkner, 2000), which has implications when conducting interviews. There is of course a point in this, but there are also considerable differences between different adults and different children (even of the same age), and children's developmental stages are not universal (Woodhead, 1998). Others have argued that children's statements are produced in relation to hegemonic adult ideologies and that the voices of children are always heard 'through the culturally constructed childhood' (Alldred, 1998, p. 155; cf. James, Jencks and Prout, 1998). While I agree with this perspective, it has to be mentioned that the statements of adults, too, are affected by predominant notions of, for instance, parenthood. Although some parents on some occasions positioned themselves as more involved parents than other family members argued they usually are (cf. Chapter 6), all were honest about their shortcomings and explicitly reflected on their parenting and what I as a researcher thought about it. Nevertheless, the interviewer has often – in relation to both adults and children – a superordinate position, which has to be considered. This asymmetry is not constant, but fluctuates during the course of a fieldwork or an interview, in that, for instance, the participant can choose to some extent what to say or show to the researcher (Cotterill, 1992). At the same time, it is the researcher who conducts the analyses and represents the data and, consequently, has control and a better general view of the results of interviews and interactions (Eder and Fingerson, 2002).

Tour guides and photographic stills
As discussed, we have documented the Swedish families using a number of methods, though here I am not using all the data collected. Two types of empirical data collected are not analyzed in the present thesis: the videotaped house guides that the target child and one parent did of their house, and the still photographs that we took of the house (approximately 100 of each house). There are photos both of the exterior and interior of the hou-

ses; every room has been photographed in detail. The photographs and the videotaped house tours are analyzed when researchers in the CELF project study the material culture of the families (e.g. Arnold and Lang, 2007; Graesch, 2008), but will not be analyzed in the present dissertation.

Documents

In addition to the main methods of this thesis – videotaped observations and interviews – I have chosen to collect different documents to use in my study. In particular, the documents are school letters that teachers have sent home to the parents with the pupil. I asked two families to collect school letters during a semester. Altogether, 32 school letters from four teachers sent home with four children have been collected. The children are between 9 and 12 years of age and attend third, fourth or sixth grade in primary school. These letters have been analyzed and discussed in Chapter 7. Moreover, in Chapter 8, I draw on analyses of 22 articles (1999–2004) in *Lärarnas tidning* ('The Teachers Magazine') that discuss homework and/or parental involvement. The biggest Swedish teachers' union, Lärarnas riksförbund, publishes the magazine. The magazine articles, together with an analysis of the National Curricula, work as a complement to the video recordings and interviews and offer us an understanding of the ideas that characterize contemporary discourse on home-school relations in Sweden.

Ethical considerations

Participant observation with a video camera puts the researcher in particular moral dilemmas with regard to fieldwork relationships. The ethical guidelines of the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) have been followed in the present study. The researcher is required to inform the participants about the purpose of the study, the participants have the right to informed consent, that is, to decide about their participation, information about the participants should be handled with confidentiality, and the collected data are supposed to be used for research purposes only. The Research Council also has more particular guidelines for research using videotaping (HSFR, 1996).[4] Just as in the general guidelines, these mainly focus on the part of the research conducted before and after the fieldwork. As argued elsewhere (Aarsand and Forsberg, 2009; Aarsand

and Forsberg, in press), it is important to critically assess ethical issues throughout the entire research process. Issues of privacy are pivotal in all research and crucial when conducting participant observations in people's homes, as participants often regarded the home as a "private" sphere.

To deal with the ethical dilemmas of privacy, we employed a number of strategies. These strategies stretch from the initial meetings with the parents and families, through the week of observations, and continue to decisions about how to present our video data at conferences and in publications.[5]

First, when meeting the family and planning the week of observations, we discussed the issue of privacy. We described to the families how the week would proceed, and how other families had experienced being observed and videotaped. During these discussions, we told the families that they could ask us to turn off the cameras or ask to edit certain parts of the videotapes afterwards whenever they wanted. We also encouraged family members to close the door behind them if they wanted to be alone in order to change or to talk in private. Because all children were not always present at this first meeting, we repeated this on the first day of filming. Through this encouragement, we to some extent gave them the responsibility to be gatekeepers to what they felt was too private to film or observe. The families closed the doors now and then, but there were only a few occasions when they explicitly asked us to leave, or to turn off the camera; they have never asked us to edit any video-taped interactions afterwards. Teenagers were the family members who closed the door at times and, consequently, the ones we sometimes did not have access to.

Our second way of dealing with children's (and adults') privacy was by not entering bedrooms and bathrooms whether the door was open or closed. At times, children and parents left the doors open, or we followed family members into an open room, and on the way in we realized that the child or the adult was changing clothes, at which point we retreated and waited outside. Parents and children also often left the doors open to the bathroom when children were bathing. At such times, we stayed outside and only entered when explicitly asked to do so.

Third, we sometimes walked out of rooms on request or when we felt it was inappropriate to stay. One example of this was when ten-year-old Anna wanted to be alone, while changing into her pajamas. Besides Anna and her mother, one of us researchers was there with a camera. After a

short discussion between the mother and Anna about the cleaning up, the mother encouraged Anna to get ready for bed. Then Anna turned to her mother and whispered something in her ear, which was impossible for the researcher to hear. But considering the mother's reaction, Anna raised the issue of having to change clothes when there was a male researcher with a video camera in the room. The mother answered: 'Mm, you could come to my room and change to your dressing gown.' The researcher immediately reacted to this and said: 'Well, I'll go out. It's fine, just tell me. It's fine, just tell me, you know.' The mother responded positively to this offer, and they both left the room so that Anna could change alone. This situation shows how privacy is negotiated; initially, the researcher had access, but later had to leave the room. Anna indicated that the situation was changing because she had to get undressed, and hearing the mother's comment, he interpreted this as a matter of privacy and left the room. In this example, the child's perspective was the determining factor for the researcher's departure.

Fourth, ethical issues were also raised after the fieldwork, in particular issues of how to deal with all the data – video taped interactions, interviews and questionnaires – afterwards. Here, we have followed ethical guidelines on national and international levels arguing that data should be handled with confidentiality and only used for research. The Swedish Research Council's guideline for research with videotaped material suggests that no information about the participants' identities may be left on the tapes, although the problems of un-identifying video material are discussed (HSFR, 1996). If it is not possible to un-identify, the tapes should be taken care of in the same way as clinical material. The researcher must also be careful regarding how he/she uses the videotapes; if they are to be shown for teaching purposes or at conferences, the participants must give special permission. In the present study, use of the collected data has been restricted to the members of the research team. Moreover, in all publications the names and identities of family members have been altered to ensure anonymity.

Methods of analysis

The analytical process was informed by my research questions and perspectives, but was not a deductive inquiry. Rather, as is the case in a great

deal of qualitative research, the research process was characterized by moving back and forth between the empirical material, previous research and theoretical perspectives.

Activity logs

In order to get an overview of the video data, I coded it on the basis of a number of reoccurring daily routines and behaviors. Every new "scene" and topic is described in a relatively detailed manner and given codes to make it to easier to find in the material. The project in general, and my research interests in particular, guided the choice of code words, such as "school" (all school practices and all talk about school), "bedtime" (parents helping the children to bed and talk about going to bed), "conflict" (negotiations and disputes between different family members), and "household" (different kinds of chores). The coding of the data was co-coordinated with that of the other researchers in the larger CELF project. On the basis of the coding categories, descriptions and the field notes, it was possible to find relevant pieces of interaction for further analysis. Together with the ethno-archeological field notes, the coding has also made it possible to get an overview of the course of events during, for instance, an afternoon or over several days.

The next step in the analysis was to look through the video data, choosing and transcribing the particular practices of interest, which were guided by previous research and my theoretical interest in power, subjectivity, and parents' involvement. Some practices were relatively well defined and easy to find, such as homework talk and reading of school letters. In these cases, I transcribed all interactions. Other practices, such as household work, were just as easy to find, but it was hard to transcribe all those instances because there were too many of them; parents do household work repeatedly during a regular day. In these cases, I first looked through this group of practices to get a general sense of how they unfold in the families, and then I chose to focus on and transcribe the interactions that interested me the most. Thus, I mostly looked for instances in which parental involvement was negotiated in some way (between parents, between parents and children, and parents and teachers). To some extent, at times, this generated a slight bias toward problematic cases, in that something is seen only when it becomes a subject of discussion. In daily life, parental involvement is not constantly negotiated, but rather mostly taken for granted.

Transcription

The detail and level of transcription is crucial to what sort of analysis is to be made. Elinor Ochs (1979) argues that transcription is "theory" in that it guides, or rather, should be guided by, the theoretical perspectives of the research. Transcriptions do not simply reflect what the video camera recorded (and neither is the video tape a simple reflection of interaction); instead, they are a construction and a simplification of the information on the tape, made from a certain perspective. There is no possibility to represent all information in a transcript; instead, the researcher has to choose what is interesting and necessary to show depending on his/her theoretical interests. At the same time, doing and presenting a rather detailed transcription of an interaction is a way of creating some transparency in the analysis (Potter, 2003). Interviews were not logged, but transcribed in their entirety. The interviews as well as the chosen interactions were transcribed at a relatively detailed level, including pauses and intonations, following a simplified and modified version of the transcription protocols Atkinson and Heritage (1984) have developed (see transcription notation in Appendix A). This helped us find small details in the interactions. Yet, in the different articles that make up the present dissertation, the interactions are not always presented as transcripts, and when presenting transcripts, they are kept as simple as possible. There are two major reasons for this. First, at times, they are rather lengthy interactions that would take up too much space in a research article. The second reason is the issue of readability. It is true that detailed transcriptions could increase transparency, but they could also prove to be too technical, hard to read, and, consequently, not transparent at all.

Data analysis

The next step in the data analysis was to read the transcripts and repeatedly watch the videotapes. When doing this, my analytical focus has been on how people position themselves and others in relation to different discourses, both when talking about parenthood and doing parental practices. In both cases, the focus has been put on what Karin Aronsson (1998) has called 'identity-in-interaction', that is, how identities are locally construed in face-to-face interaction. Following Margaret Wetherell (1998), the aim has also been to study how mundane identity-in-interaction relates to broader cultural norms. This analytical approach is closely related to my interest in norms and subjectivity. As discussed in Chapter 3, the individual's identity,

or rather, its subjectivity is closely related to discursive norms. In order to study the interrelation between norms and subjects, poststructuralist perspectives on identity have been employed throughout the study. According to Stuart Hall (1996), poststructuralists view identity as undergoing a constant process of construction. Identities are never unified, but fractured and fragmented. Poststructuralist scholars not only criticize the notion of people having a stable core – the self, but they also argue that people's subjectivities are produced in relation to discursive practices and power struggles. As Julian Henriques and her colleagues argued in *Changing the Subject*: '...subjects are dynamic and multiple, always positioned in relation to discourses and practices and produced by these' (1984, p. 3). This implies that people's identities – as, for instance, parents – are not once and for all given, but negotiated in everyday life. Parenthood is then seen as being in:

> ...a continually changing ontological state. It is a site of competing discourses and desires that can never be fully and neatly shaped into a single "identity", and that involved oscillation back and forth between various modes of subject positions even within the context of a single day. (Lupton and Barclay, 1997, p. 16)

Identities are constructed by subjects who are trying to, or rather being forced to, make themselves intelligible within different discourses. On the one hand, the subject is positioned, forced to act in certain ways 'within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time' (Butler, 1990, p. 33). Yet on the other hand, as Butler (1990; 1997) has shown, this is not once and for all given, it needs to be constantly repeated and worked on in order to be taken-for-granted. As a result, that which is an effect of discursive practices appears as "natural". For instance, what is seen as a natural way of doing parenthood is, following Butler, the result of discursive struggles and the 'reiteration' of specific parental subjectivities. In sum, discursive norms of parenthood are viewed as something that people simultaneously relate to, reconstruct and use in everyday life by positioning themselves and others in relation to specific discourses and norms of parenthood (Davies and Harré, 1990; Grieshaber, 2004; Henriques *et al.*, 1984). As discussed in Chapter 3, these positions are not entirely voluntary, but they

are imbedded in discursive power struggles; the subject not only takes up different positions, it has to take up positions within given discourses.

An important aspect of the present study is its inclusive view of discourse, in which "everything" is discourse in the sense that it is impossible to understand or talk about the social outside discourse (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). It is by speaking from different discursive positions that subjects make themselves understandable. In the present doctoral thesis, the inclusive perspective causes me to understand language and nonverbal expressions, but also family practices, as parts of discourse (cf. Morgan, 1996). The consequence of such a perspective is that both statements and practices are seen as positions in discourses and co-constructions between informants and the researcher. In other words, studying and analyzing parenthood practices is not epistemologically different from studying parents' talk about these practices – they are all subject positionings made in relation to different discourses and different interactional settings. However, there are empirical differences between the two, as there is often a discrepancy between what people do and what they say they do. Video-based participant observations do not reveal the "objective truth" about family practices or what parents "really" do (in contrast to talk about these practices). But they do give the researcher a first-hand experience, which yields rich data on how discourses on parenthood are articulated and negotiated in everyday life.

Toward an analysis of parental subjectivity
Let me give an example of how such an analysis of the subject positions of talk and practices could be carried out. The overarching theme of the present dissertation is childcare and parental involvement. As shown in particular in the first study, parents prioritize their children before many other things in life. This also includes exercise and working out. Out of sixteen parents, only a few parents (two women and three men) exercise at all. These parents try to see to it that their exercise does not collide with childcare by either training during working hours, early mornings, or exercising with the children. In the case of the family where the children live in their household every other week, the parents take the opportunity to exercise during the weeks without children. For most parents, regular training is postponed to a possible future, as the father in the Eklund family:

> I wish there were time enough to get out and train and walk a god-

damn fast long walk, but you don't get that time, there's no time. So then you have to say that you'll do it later in life, that you have to refrain from it at the moment.

The father then explains that he likes to take a walk with the family, but these walks are not as quick and do not give as good exercise as he would like to get, because the younger children cannot keep up with his pace. At the same time he argues that these long walks are important to maintaining family relations:

> Because then it feels like you verbally solve the problems of the world. The one who wants to walk hand-in-hand – who want to hold my hand and talk about what she did at pre-school yesterday can do that; or if Marie wants to talk about some homework, or Anders about a football problem, then they'll do it. Then you stop for some hot dogs or sandwiches or something. You are shielded from the surrounding world of telephones and friends that come to the door and all that. Then you can be together in a simple [*bonnaenkelt*] way. When you have your rubber boots on and a fleece jacket and you're out in the woods you do it. And then you're natural.

In these interview excerpts, the father positions himself in relation to discourses on *health* and *fitness* and *involved parenthood*. Previous research has shown that in Western society there are predominant discourses on the significance of leading a healthy life through physical exercise and a sound diet (Johansson, 2006; Olsson, 1999). Embodiment and morality are intimately connected (Rydstrøm, 2003); for instance, in Wesern society, an overweight body is seen as a sign of poor character (Featherstone, 2007). In other words, the cultural norm could be said to be that you should be tender and slim, well trained and eat healthy food. The father positions himself in relation to this norm through his expressed wish to have more time for exercise, but also by displaying that he is in fact doing some exercise – he takes long walks with his children. This leads us to the second subject position, the one as an involved parent. As shown in Chapter 2, there is a predominant discourse implying that parents should be involved in their children in different ways, for instance by prioritizing them and developing close relationships with them. The norm could be said to be that if you want to be a "good" parent, you need to be involved and child-

centered. Here, the father does it in different ways. First, he argues that he prioritizes his children before his own health, that training simply is not a part of his current life phase. He then tells me that he takes long walks in the forest with his family. There, he takes time and talks with the children about their personal problems. The focus is set on the children and the family; because they are in the woods, they are screened from the rest of the world, which is argued to intrude on family time. This interaction is described as 'simple' (*bonnaenkelt*). In other words, there is nothing affected in this fellowship; rather, he positions himself as developing a close relationship with his children while out in the woods. The long walks represent what Talcott Parsons (Parsons and Bales, 1955) argued was part of the expressive functions of the family, to give closeness and intimacy in a world that demands too much. According to Parson, working life demanded too much of the individual; here, it is the children's friends that disrupt family time.

Analyses of subjectivity and positions are key elements in all four articles in the present study. In the first article (Chapter 5), the focus is set on the different household strategies parents employ to manage time and childcare on a daily basis. The three strategies identified – delegating, alternating and multitasking – to some extent do solve some of the dilemmas the parents face. But they also have unforeseen consequences. In particular, as in all practices people are involved in, parents produce different subjectivities when employing household strategies. The focus of the analysis was therefore set on what subjectivities parents produce, as well as on their attachments to cultural norms regarding involved parenthood. The second article (Chapter 6) also studies household work and childcare, but explores the gendered aspects of parental subjectivity by studying how men negotiate their parenthood with their partners and children. In particular, the focus is on how the men position themselves as involved fathers in relation to different – and somewhat contradictory – discourses on father involvement. The two final articles take a closer look at parental subjectivities in home-school relations. In the third article (Chapter 7), a number of weekly school letters are analyzed, focusing on what expectations teachers have regarding parents' involvement. In poststructuralist terms, it is an analysis of how teachers position the parents and prescribe their involvement, a subject position that is constructed as genderless – all parents, regardless of gender, should be involved. Nevertheless, it is in particular the mothers

who take up this subject position and involve themselves in their children's education and rearing. In the fourth article (Chapter 8), a discourse on parents' involvement in children's homework is identified, as well as how parents and children position themselves within this discourse. Here, "aged" (or generational) subject positions are investigated. The discourse that prescribes parental involvement positions children as being in need of parents' help and guidance. At the same time, children are expected to become independent individuals and do homework by themselves, which creates a dilemma for parents concerning how they should show their involvement when both involvement and non-involvement are expected simultaneously.

Notes

1. CELF is an abbreviation for Center on the Everyday Lives of Families. The project was initiated by professor Elinor Ochs at University of California Los Angeles and has been funded by Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The Italian part of the project is lead by professor Clotilde Pontecorvo at Università di Roma "La Sapienza", and the Swedish part by professor Karin Aronsson at Linköpings universitet. Publications from the project directly relevant to work-family research include Klein, Izqierdo and Bradbury (2007), Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh (2007), and Saxbe, Repetti and Nishina (2008); see also special issues in *Discourse and Society* (Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik, 2007) and *Text and Talk* (Tannen and Goodwin, 2006).

2. In contrast, the U.S. part of the CELF project, which was conducted in Los Angeles, had a number of Latino, Asian and Afro-American families that participated in the study.

3. In the first two families, two additional research assistants helped us, Sally Chesterton and Pija Johansson.

4. Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet, HSFR (The Scientific Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences), was made part of Vetenskapsrådet (Swedish Research Council) in 2001. There are no guidelines for video-based research published later than 1996 (HSFR, 1996), while the general ethical guidelines were published in 2002 (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002).

5. The discussion is based on Aarsand and Forsberg (in press).

Chapter 9
Concluding discussion

The aim of this study has been to undertake an investigation of parental involvement and everyday practices in eight Swedish middle-class families where both parents work fulltime (or almost fulltime). Throughout the dissertation, I have shown how the participants position themselves in relation to a norm that encourages them to become involved parents. Initially, I argued that the norm included, among other things, expectations that parents should assume responsibility for their children, and spend as much time as possible with them, in this way developing close relationships with their children. However, involved parenthood is given

specific meanings depending on social context and gender. In the following, I discuss the main findings of the present study in relation to my theoretical perspectives, and sketch some possible explanations for why involved parenthood seem to be so important for these parents.

Time *for* and time *with* children

In brief, you could say that the parents in the present study put their children above everything else. Even though considerable time is spent at the workplace, the time outside paid work is devoted to the children, and they are prioritized above, for instance, the parents' own leisure activities. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, in order to spend as much time as possible with their children and be able to work fulltime at the same time, the parents employ different household strategies, such as delegating, alternating and multitasking. These strategies help the parents to use their time efficiently and to be as involved as possible. Through delegation of childcare, both parents can be gainfully employed as well as have time to do household chores, spend time on other leisure activities, and spend time with their partner. Nevertheless, the dilemma associated with delegating too much is that the parents do not spend much time with the child. They may also run the risk of being understood as irresponsible and uninvolved if they let the child stay too long at preschool or spend too much time in front of the television or the computer.

One way of solving this dilemma is to alternate, that is, parents share responsibility and divide up childcare as if it were a relay race. In this way, parents are able to both work *and* be involved. In the nuclear families in this study, alternating is often employed when parents take turns leaving and picking up children at preschool. While one parent is taking care of morning routines, the other one is already working. This parent then picks up the child at preschool and prepares dinner, while the other one comes home from work later in the evening.

In sum, the child is central to how the parents structure their everyday lives. The parents leave and pick up at preschool, leave and pick up at the children's leisure activities, prepare dinner for their children and take care of the dishes afterwards. The parents help the children with homework, clean their rooms, put them to bed, read bedtime stories, and make sure they have clean clothes in the morning. On weekends, the parents like to

spend time with the children, going out for a walk in the forest, playing games, baking, or having a 'Cozy Friday' in front of the television. The results of this study are in accordance with previous research on middle-class parenthood in Sweden – to a great extent, parents lead child-centered lives and are involved parents (cf. Björnberg and Bäck-Wiklund, 1990; Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997; Kugelberg, 1999; Moqvist, 1997).

However, I want to specify and problematize what this involvement implies. First, as presented in Chapter 6, I want to make a distinction between parents' household work, childcare, and time spent with children. All these areas might be seen as parts of parents' involvement. Not all, but a great deal of *household work* may be seen as care work, in that it largely concerns helping, feeding and nurturing the child (De Vault, 1991). *Childcare* is related to direct care of children, through, for instance, homework assistance, reading bedtime stories, bathing children, or driving them to different activities. Finally, parents are involved when they spend *time with the child*; ideally, this is time in which the parent is devoted to and focused on the child.

This division is nevertheless somewhat problematic, as the different categories blend into each other and may be accomplished at the same time – parents may engage in multitasking (see Chapter 5). For instance, the time when a parent reads a bedtime story may be seen both as childcare and spending time with the child, because the parent is devoting his/her time solely to the child. Ideally, homework assistance is to be seen as spending time with the child, but in practice this seldom seems to be the case (as seen in Chapter 8). Similarly, cooking and baking are not only household work and childcare, but potentially also time spent with the child, as in the example in Chapter 5, where all Eklund family members are baking Christmas cookies together. However, in most cases, the parents in the present study do not orient to cooking as time spent with children, but as household work and/or childcare. This, I would argue, results from a specific understanding of what spending time with children is supposed to involve.

A number of researchers have shown that time with children, or what in the Anglo-Saxon world is referred to as "family time", is based on an ideological construction in which quality is supposed to compensate for lack of quantity. Researchers have shown that during family time, American parents understand it as not enough to be in the proximity of the

child, but this time has to be "quality time", such that the parents shield themselves off from the "outer world" and spend undivided time with their child (cf. Daly, 2001; De Vault, 2000; Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh, 2007). The parents in the U.S. part of the CELF project often talk about family time, something that is neither found among the Swedish parents nor among the Italian parents (Kremer-Sadlik, Fatigante and Fasulo, 2008). Yet, as seen in Chapter 5, the Swedish parents often talked about 'Cozy Fridays' and other, similar, practices that could be compared to the American notion of family time. Moreover, most parents differentiated between time with children and time doing household work and childcare. Some argued that they want to be more 'involved' instead of taking care of household work and childcare. The parents do not only make this division in the interviews, but they also seem to do so in their everyday practices. They orientate toward both homework assistance and cooking as chores requiring efficiency, not as "family time" or time with children. Yet it is important to point out that even though time with the child represents ideal parenthood, it is probably the least common parental practice – at least on weekdays.

In other words, there seems to be a discrepancy between the parents' talk about ideal family life and their descriptions of how they live everyday "reality". This discrepancy is similar to what John R Gillis (1996) has described as 'families we live *with*' and 'families we live *by*'. The latter refers to ideal ways of spending time with the family, which is supposed to be characterized by intimacy and time spent with each other and the children. Particularly notions of family holidays, such as Christmas, are filled with ideas about what family relations are supposed to look like. At the same time, Gillis argues, most people's everyday family life is far from the ideal family; the families we live with are very different indeed.

I would like to talk about parenthood in relation to Gillis' (1996) terms. The parental subject that the parents desire, the involved parent, is characterized as spending a great deal of time with the children, where Cozy Fridays and walks in the forest are symbols of the good family life. Yet, in our eight families, parenthood in practice is instead characterized by a great deal of care work. The discrepancy between ideal life and the lived mundane life – the experience the parents often have that it is difficult to live up to the desired norm – seems to give at least some of the present parents a somewhat guilty conscience for not spending enough time with their children (cf. Elwin-Novak, 1999; Hoschschild, 1997), even if they

spend a great deal of time working for the child. I would therefore like to differentiate between parents' time *with* their children and parents' time *for* their children, which includes childcare and great amounts of household work. While both "types" of time are child centered, among the parents in the present study the first represents the ideal way of being an involved parent. Thus, there seems to exist different "degrees" of involvement, where spending time *with* the child is regarded as "more" involved time than spending time doing household chores *for* the child. Now let us take a closer look at one part of parents' time for their children – parents' involvement in their children's education.

Parenthood and school

Even though parents' involvement in their children's education may be seen as part of childcare, the parents give it a meaning somewhat different from other types of childcare, as demonstrated in Chapters 7 and 8. Here it is possible to make a distinction between parents' involvement in their children's *rearing* and parents' involvement in their children's *learning*. Parents are given (and assume) responsibility in both areas, but in different ways. Both parents and teachers place the main responsibility for the children's educational development on the teacher. They are employed to teach the children and, as "teaching experts", are able to give clear directives to the parents about how they can help their children, for instance with homework. Here, parents are expected not only to check that homework has been done, but also to follow the same didactic principles used by the teachers – and parents themselves take these duties more or less for granted.

In most families, parental involvement in homework implies a relatively great amount of work: Parents continuously remind their children that homework needs to be done, provide them with material, control that homework has been done and that the children know the content of their homework (cf. Wingard and Forsberg, 2009). It is the children who are supposed to do the actual homework, but the parents are responsible for it being done. To some extent, this involvement collides with one of the explicit goals of homework – teaching children independent work and autonomy. Parental control positions the children as irresponsible, whether the children are responsible or not. This tends to lead to conflicts, particu-

larly when older children start making demands for their own autonomy. Another explanation for homework being so conflict laden is that it is more or less non-negotiable. It is an assignment given by someone else and that the parents neither have complete responsibility for nor control over. Homework therefore seems to be a must. Its goal may be the educational development of the child, but in everyday family life, it is just another part of childcare, yet another chore to be done. Third, the conflict is caused by the different orders of priority of parents and children. While parents prioritize homework above many other things, children prioritize play and other activities. Parents want their children to do their homework the first thing after school, while the children usually want to postpone homework as much as possible. In homework research, homework is often understood as a way to enhance children's learning, but as has been shown, it is also a social activity in which negotiations and conflicts are central.

When it comes to children's behavior in school, parental involvement is somewhat different in nature. Here, parents are seen as having the main responsibility for rearing, and as "rearing experts" they expect teachers to communicate how their children behave in school. When discussing issues of rearing, the teacher does not communicate any explicit expectations as to how parents should get involved; rather, they describe the kind of assistance they need from the parents. But explicit appeals are seldom needed – parents assume their responsibility and discipline their children anyway. This implies that teachers (as the delegates of the welfare state) and parents share the responsibility for rearing the children.

The increased expectations on parental involvement in contemporary education could be seen as a manifestation of the notion that parents as citizens have gained greater influence in one of the institutions of the welfare state, but also that parents have been given greater responsibility for their children and in that sense greater empowerment. The increased influence is double-sided. On the one hand, it is about an increased freedom, where the individual is given the right to decide over his/her own life (or the lives of his/her children). On the other hand, it could be argued that the state has developed new techniques of governing so that it now controls the individual by integrating the individual into the governing practice (Cruikshank, 1999; Rose, 1996). What seems to be increased self-determination could simultaneously be understood as increased control, as teachers are given insight into the "inner" relations of the family through

the intimate home-school collaboration (Donzelot, 1979). At the same time, I would interpret the teachers' ways of expressing themselves in the school letters as implying that home-school collaboration has made them more sensitive to parents' opinions, and that parents in fact indirectly govern and control teachers' behavior. In line with previous research, one could therefore argue that parents and teachers mutually discipline each other (cf. Crozier, 1999; Vincent and Thomlinson, 1997). Who disciplines whom largely depends on whether the particular issue at hand concerns the educational development of the child or whether it concerns the child's behavior. As seen in Chapter 7, one possible explanation for why parents so willingly assume responsibility for disciplining their children is that teachers frame problems in the classroom as issues of bad behavior and not as an effect of poor teaching, which may also be the case. Parents and teachers discipline each other, but they also discipline and control the child together, which shows that children have relatively little influence over home-school relations. Children are not only given a passive role in home-school relations, but they are also understood as irresponsible and in need of adult supervision. In other words, it does not seem as though increased parental influence in home-school relations has been matched by increased influence on the part of children (cf. Edwards, 2002).

Involved parenthood and class

Previous research has shown that parenthood to a great extent is inter-wined with class and that social background influences both parents' notions of childhood and their parental practices (e.g., Brembeck, 1992; Halldén, 1991; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998 Ribom, 1993; Vincent and Ball, 2006). Even though I have not focused on the issue of class throughout this dissertation, it is appropriate to briefly discuss in what ways we can understand the families in this study and their parenthood as enactments of a middle-class ethos, as the ideal (involved) parenthood in relation to school and parents' childcare can largely be understood as the parenthood of the middle classes (cf. Gillies, 2005). Mike Savage (2000) argues that class identity, as well as other forms of subjectivity, can be seen in people's practices and their talk about these practices. In the present study, class formation was particularly prevalent in relation to parents' (particularly mothers') involvement in children's education and fathers' orientation

toward a gender-equal and involved fatherhood.

The "intense" parenthood of the middle class, where the mother's warmth and care is seen as crucial to the development of the child, has its roots in the emerging bourgeois of the late 19th century (Frykman and Löfgren, 1987; Hays, 1996). This ideology spread during the 20th century to other social classes, yet research shows that middle-class parents orient to a higher degree to, for instance, the child as a "project" (Halldén, 1991) and the need for "concerned cultivation" (Lareau, 2003) – two terms coined to highlight the notion that parents' monitoring is crucial to their children's development. To a great extent, parents in the present study engage in similar parental practices and ideologies as do parents represented in previous research (e.g., Brembeck, 1992; Halldén, 1992; Lareau, 2003; Moqvist, 1997). Brembeck (1992) argues that parents from the lower middle class have an explicit ambition that their children should become independent individuals. In similar terms, Beverly Skeggs (2004) relates the wish – and the possibility – to create autonomous and self-regulating subjects to the middle classes. Even though parents in the present study orient toward fostering independent subjects, children's autonomy tends to collide with parents' wishes to be involved, for instance in the children's homework (cf. Solomon *et al.*, 2002).

In the present study, the idea that parental involvement is crucial to children's development was significantly enacted in relation to children's education and learning: Many parents have made deliberate choices of schools for their children, others are deeply involved in their children's pre-school (through parental cooperatives), others put explicit demands on teachers, and all have visited and plan to visit their children in school. Also at home, the parents orient toward middle-class ideals concerning child development by, for instance, assuming responsibility for their children's homework.

The parents' middle-class subjectivity was also enacted in the fathers' involvement (see Chapter 6). Previous research has shown that social background is crucial when parents use their "daddy leave" (which affects future involvement), and participation in household work and childcare (Ahrne and Roman, 1997; Boye, 2008; Plantin, 2001). According to Plantin (2007), middle-class men tend to orient toward a gender-equal parenthood and the child as a pivotal part of their self-formation. The men in this study allow their children to take a great deal of space in everyday life;

they often prioritize them before their own leisure activities, and assume responsibility for the children's education, childcare, as well as for house-hold work. The practices of these middle-class fathers are partly about creating themselves as child-centered and gender-equal subjects. This is also the case in relation to the presence of the researcher, as seen in the example with the father in the Gustavsson family. Assuming responsibility for household work in front of the researcher and his video camera may be a way of displaying involved and gender-equal parenthood for the re-searchers and others outside the family. The researcher is a part of a larger 'scientific apparatus' (Barad, 2007) and a representative of discourses that are predominant in academia and – as a public authority – in some parts of the welfare state (cf. Aarsand and Forsberg, in press). In other words, the scientific apparatus creates a subject position the father in the Gustavsson family is able to take in order to make himself intelligible as a "dad" in a supposedly "gender-equal" society. If not before, fatherhood becomes a reflexive project for this father when he is being studied, where he governs his behavior so that his subjectivity corresponds to a norm of involved fatherhood. This is not to say that he is not assuming responsability for household work otherwise. Rather, my point is that the subject position the father takes corresponds to the ideal subjects presented in Swedish family policy and educational policy, where parents are expected to be involved and men and women to be equal. In other words, this particular man (as many other contemporary Swedish men) is trying to live up to social and cultural expectations concerning parental involvement.

The mother as the involved parent

As we have seen, both mothers and fathers are involved in the everyday life of their children. However, involvement has somewhat different mea-nings for them. Even though the parents in the present study seem to be somewhat more on an equal footing than parents in other Swedish studies (Boye, 2008; Flood and Gråsjö, 1997; Statistics Sweden, 2003a), the wo-men still assume greater responsibility for household work and childcare than the men do. The men are involved in all areas of family life, but they never assume the main responsibility – not for the planning nor for the accomplishment – for household work and childcare.

First, as shown in Chapter 7, the involved parent in school is almost

always a mother. All fathers are involved to some extent, but they seldom assume the main responsibility for the educational work in the home. In interviews, four couples say that they share work relatively evenly, while the other couples say that it is the mother who assumes the main responsibility. That homework to a disproportionate degree falls on the women could be explained by the fact that parents initiate homework activities when they pick up the children, or when they come home, and because most mothers work shorter hours, they are the ones who see the child first (cf. Wingard, 2006; Wingard and Forsberg, 2009). The parents do not give any clear-cut explanations for why the mothers are more involved, and neither mothers and fathers nor teachers argue that this is a particularly female task. Instead, mothers' involvement is taken for granted. Thus, the educational work in the home seems to contain two contradictory logics. On the one hand, the involved parent has no "gender" – teachers do not expect mothers to be more involved, and in school letters they address "parents" in general. Likewise, the parents do not consider it to be a specific female practice; helping children with homework or choosing schools is not described in terms of masculinity/femininity. On the other hand, it is something that tends to fall on the women, which the parents explain with that the mothers have a greater interest in educational matters, a generally greater need to "be in control", or that they want to have an influence on their children's everyday lives.

Second, as seen in Chapter 6, the mothers are always the ones who assume the greatest responsibility for household work and childcare, they take most responsbility working *for* their children. As in educational work, none of the parents argue that this is a female task, quite the contrary, both men and women argue that they want to do their fair share. In the interviews, the parents comply with an idea of gender equality in household work and childcare, and observations confirm that men do get involved in most chores in the household. Yet a disproportional amount of work falls on the women; they are the ones who most often assume the main responsibility. Moreover, some chores are divided by gender. Men almost always assume the main responsibility for technical apparatuses, such as maintenance of cars, bikes, the house, and computer; women have exclusive responsibility for buying clothes.

When it comes to spending time *with* the children, most parents seem to share this relatively evenly and it is highly prioritized. However, time

with children is also gendered to some extent. Not too rarely, men spend time with their children by playing video games or working out with their children, while it is mothers in particular who read bedtime stories with their children (cf. Abrahamsson, 2007; Aarsand and Aronsson, 2009).

Resistance to involved parenthood

Even though all parents in the present study attach themselves to a norm of involved parenthood, the norm is not supposed to be seen as non-negotiable. As Butler (1997) points out, in order for the norm to have effect, the subjects must enact it. This implies that subjects have possibility to act differently. Foucault (1978) talks about this agency in terms of resistance: 'Where there is power, there is resistance' (p. 95). Here, the term resistance may lead one's thoughts to deliberate and reflexive action. But Foucault (1978) argues that resistance is just as complex and diversified as the forms of power it reacts against. Resistance, then, does not always need to be deliberate, unified, nor reflexive; rather, it is made up of all forms of non-conformist practices, such as avoidance, reluctance, inertia, and it is not necessarily exercised from the bottom–up, but from numerous 'points of resistance' (Foucault, 1978, p. 96). Resistance may be expressed in direct, explicit resistance, but it is doubtful whether subjects will show resistance if a norm has a hegemonic position. Here, resistance is more likely to take on the nature of renegotiation or reluctance. In the present study, resistance to involved parenthood is expressed in three areas.

First, resistance is seen in the men's fatherhood practices. The fathers position themselves mostly as involved fathers, both in the interviews and in observed practices. Yet there are moments of resistance. As discussed in Chapter 6, this is largely done by articulating and drawing on other strong discourses. To that discussion I might add that men are able to continue to be understood as involved in their children, without necessarily being involved in childcare and household work. Spending time *with* children could be used as an account for not taking time *for* children, not assuming full responsibility in other areas of parental involvement.

There is also resistance to involved parenthood on the part of the children. In this study, this resistance has mainly been identified in relation to parent involvement in the schooling of older children, including conflicts about homework, where older children are hesitant about letting their

parents know what school work they have. Children's resistance is also manifested in that older children are not overly keen on having their parents visit them during the school day. The teachers also understand this, which is why they arrange "open house" on evenings so that the parents can come and meet the teachers in the classroom and get a sense of how school life is arranged.

Although the school expects parents to be involved, it sets limits on involvement. The clearest example in this study is homework, where parents are expected to see to it that children do their homework and in some cases help out, but they are never allowed to do their children's homework. Instead, schoolwork is supposed to teach children self-regulation and to create autonomous subjects. As seen, however, this discourse collides with involved parenthood.

Why become an involved parent?

By describing parental practices in eight Swedish middle-class families, I have shown how they can largely be understood as child centered and gender equal, where the notion of involvement is central. Furthermore, I have discussed how involved parenthood is created and negotiated by showing how it changes in meaning depending on social context and gender. Finally, I have also discussed how the participants relate to the norm, and at times resist it. But despite this resistance, I would argue that involved parenthood is a norm with a hegemonic position among these middle-class parents – in terms of explicit ideals as well as in terms of everyday parental practices. The focus of this dissertation has been on how parenthood is constructed, but in these final pages I will discuss some possible explanations for why the parents – particularly the women – to such a great extent position themselves in line with a norm of involved parenthood.

A first possible explanation for why parents choose to be involved can be found in the fact that involved parenthood is a norm with a hegemonic position. Expectations concerning involvement have long been placed on mothers, where Swedish family policy throughout the 20th century has regarded it as natural that mothers should assume the main responsibility for their children (Lundqvist, 2007). In the 1960s, the state also started to put demands on fathers' involvement, where "daddy leave" has been

argued to be the first step toward men's further involvement in children and childcare. Increasingly, the school has also expected parents to be involved in their children. While family politics have focused on creating gender-equal relations in everyday parental practices, educational policy has mainly spelled out parents' formal involvement (school boards, choice of school, and parent-teacher meetings) and has not put explicit demands on fathers.

Thus, the Swedish welfare state has explicitly tried to have an impact on parenthood in an attempt to make it more involved and gender equal, establishing norms that serve as encouragements to live up to the constructed ideal parenthood. But I do not see the relationship between encouragments from different parts of the welfare state and the parents' practices as being directly connected, that is, that the parents' involvement is a direct expression of the welfare state's norms. As discussed above, idealized notions about involved parenthood are widespread in Swedish culture, as well as among the parents in this study. It is therefore hard to determine what is the hen, and what is the egg, that is, whether parents are involved because, for instance, teachers expect them to be, or because the parents themselves "really" *want* to be involved. We appear to end up in the same circle as Butler's discussion on the relationship between norms and subjects. Depending on what perspective you take, the norms seem to be just as dependent on the subejcts as the subject is dependent on the norms. My aim has not been to find casual connections, but what we may establish is that the same discourse found in, for instance, the media, policy documents, and teachers' letters to parents is enacted also in the everyday lives of these middle-class families. However, involved parenthood is not hegemonic in the sense that it is non-negotiable or that parents follow it blindly. As Butler (1997) argues, discourses are never completely successful in their normalization. Even if norms have universalizing aims, individuals are never entirely subjected to them (cf. Butler, 2000; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985).

A second possible explanation relates to the fact that involved parenthood is a normative discourse deeply embedded in Swedish (middle-class) society and that it has a long tradition in the Western world. As discussed in Chapter 2, the idea of parents' importance for their children is closely connected to the emerging bourgeois class in the late 19th century. During the 20th century, this ideal was "democratized" and spread among other

social groups, so that what a hundred years ago was a specific middle-class phenomenon is now a general societal ideal.

These ideals have characterized much of the family research throughout the 20th century (cf. Roman, 2004), but may have been expressed most distinctly in Christopher Lasch's (1977) book entitled *Haven in a Heartless World*. According to Lasch, the family may have lost its productive function, but it still has a reproductive function and is meant to give emotional stability and cohesion in a time characterized by alienation. But, as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) argue, in times when relations could terminate at any moment, long-lasting stability can no longer be promised in couple relationships. Instead, the focus is increasingly placed on the child. The child not only offers emotional closeness, but through everyday routines – through spending time for and with the child – a sense of coherence and stability may be rendered (cf. Bäck-Wiklund and Bergsten, 1997).

Foucault has argued that to be a subject is to "belong" (cf. Macherey, 1992). In other words, the subject is not an isolated being, but to be subjected is to bind yourself to other subjects and to 'the global process which constitutes him [sic] as it normalizes him [sic]' (Macherey, 1992, p. 181). Thus, enacting yourself as an involved parent is a way to to belong; it is a way to create both intimacy with your children and to receive recognition from other parents and society at large. However, the emotionality and intensity of contemporary Swedish parent-child relations are rather unique in a historical and cultural perspective. For instance, even though the mother was seen as the emotional center of the bourgeois family, far from all middle-class mothers in the late 19th century tried to develop the intimate relations that many middle-class parents in present-day Sweden try to live up to (Frykman and Löfgren, 1987; Kugelberg, 1999).

Finally, I would argue that the investment in parenthood could be explained by the notion that involved parenthood is a morally embedded subject position, it is connected to how people understand themselves as moral beings. None of the parents in this study positioned themselves as uninvolved. On the whole, the parents were greatly involved in their children's education, in childcare, and tried to spend a great deal of time both *for* and *with* their children – even though the men did not assume as much responsibility as the women did. When I challenged their non-involvement in a particular area, the fathers always pointed out practices

proving that they were in fact involved in other areas – almost always that they spent time being with their children. If we follow Butler's (2005) argument, one possible explanation could be that both the men and women have attached themselves to the norm to the extent that a great part of their existence, their ontology, is based on the "truth" that they are good parents. And as good parents they involve themselves – and want to involve themselves – in their children's everyday lives.

References

Aarsand, Pål (2007) *Around the Screen: Computer Activities in Children's Everyday Lives* (Diss). Linköping: Department of Child Studies, Linköping University.

Aarsand, Pål and Aronsson, Karin (2009, in press) Computer gaming and territorial negotiations in family life. *Childhood.*

Aarsand, Pål and Forsberg, Lucas (2009) De öppna och stängda dörrarnas moral: Dilemman i deltagande observation med videokamera. In Anna Sparrman, Jakob Cromdal, Ann-Carita Evaldsson and Viveka Adelswärd (eds.) *Den väsentliga vardagen: Några diskursanalytiska perspektiv på tal, text och bild* (pp. 148–168). Stockholm: Carlssons.

Aarsand, Pål and Forsberg, Lucas (in press) Producing children's corporeal

privacy: Ethnographic videotaping as material-discursive practice. *Qualitative Research.*

Abrahamsson, Emma (2007) *Sagostunder som socialiseringspraktik* (Unpublished M.A. thesis). Linköping: Department of Behavioral Sciences and Learning, Linköping University.

Adelswärd, Viveka, Evaldsson, Ann-Carita and Reimers, Eva (1997) *Samtal mellan hem och skola*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Adler, Patricia A. and Adler, Peter (1987) *Participant Roles in Field Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Agar, Michael (1996) *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. New York: Academic Press.

Ahlberg, Jenny, Duncan, Simon and Roman, Christine (2008) Actualising the "democratic family": Swedish policy rhetoric versus family practices. *Social Policy* 15(1):79–100.

Ahrne, Göran and Roman, Christine (1997) *Hemmet, barnen och makten: Förhandlingar om arbete och pengar i familjen* (SOU 1997:139). Stockholm: Fritzes.

Alldred, Pam (1998) Ethnography and discourse analysis: Dilemmas of representing the voices of children. In Jane Ribbens and Rosalind Edwards (eds.) *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives* (pp. 147–170). London: Sage.

Allard, Karin, Haas, Linda and Hwang, Philip C. (2007) Exploring the paradox: Experiences of flexible working arrangements and work-family conflict among managerial fathers in Sweden. *Community, Work and Family* 10(4):475–493.

Althusser, Louis (1971/2001) Ideology and ideological state apparatuses: Notes towards an investigation. In *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (pp. 85–126). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Andersson, Kjerstin (2008) Constructing young masculinity: a case study of heroic discourse on violence. *Discourse and Society* 19(2):139–161.

Andersson, Roger (1998) Socio-spatial dynamics: Ethnic divisions of mobility and housing in post-Palme Sweden. *Urban Studies* 35(3):397–428.

Arandell, Teresa (2001) The new care work of middle class mothers: Managing childrearing, employment, and time. In Kerry J. Daly (ed.) *Minding the Time in Family Experience: Emerging Perspectives* (pp. 163–204). Amsterdam: JAI.

Arnold, Jeanne E. and Lang, Ursula (2007) The changing landscape of home: Trends in home-based leisure and storage among working American families. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 28(1):23–48.

Aronsson, Karin (1998) Identity-in-interaction and social choreography. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31(1):75–89.

Aronsson, Karin and Pontecorvo, Clotilde (2002) *Everyday Lives of Working Families: Italy, Sweden and the United States* (Research proposal to the Alfred P.

Sloan Foundation). Linköping and Rome: Linköping University and Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza".

Atkinson, Paul and Cofffey, Amanda (2002) Revisiting the relationship between participant observation and interviewing. In Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (eds.) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method* (pp. 801–814). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Atkinson, J. Maxwell and Heritage, John (1984) Transcript notation. In J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage (eds.) *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversational Analysis* (pp. ix-xvi). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Axelsson, Christina (1992) *Hemmafrun som försvann: Övergången till lönearbete bland gifta kvinnor i Sverige 1968–1981* (Diss). Stockholm: Swedish Institute for Social Research.

Bager-Charleson, Sofie (2003) *The Parent's School: Narrative Research about Parental Involvement in School* (Diss). Lund: Department of Education, Lund University.

Ball, Stephen (2003) *Class Strategies and the Education Market: The Middle Class and Social Advantage.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Balli, Sandra J., Demo, David H. and Wedman, John F. (1998) Family involvement with children's homework: an intervention in the middle grades. *Family Relations* 47(2):149–157.

Barad, Karen (2007) *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Beck, Ulrich (1997) Democratization of the family. *Childhood* 4(2):151–168.

Beck, Ulrich and Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (1995) *The Normal Chaos of Love.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beck, Ulrich and Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (2002) *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences.* London: Sage.

Beck, Ulrich and Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (2004) Families in a runaway world. In Jacqueline Scott, Judith Treas and Martin Richards (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Families* (pp. 499–514). Oxford: Blackwell.

Becker, Gary (1991) *A Treatise on the Family.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bekkengen, Lisbeth (2002) *Man får välja: Om föräldraskap och föräldraledighet i arbetsliv och familjeliv.* Malmö: Liber.

Bekkengen, Lisbeth (2006) Men's parental leave: a manifestation of gender equality or child-orientation? In Lena Gonäs and Jan Ch. Karlsson (eds.) *Gender Segregation: Division of Work in Post-Industrialized Welfare States* (pp. 149–162). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bempechat, Janine (2004) The motivational benefits of homework: a social–

cognitive perspective. *Theory Into Practice* 43(4):189–196.

Bergman, Helena and Hobson, Barbara (2002) Compulsory fatherhood: the coding of fatherhood in the Swedish welfare state. In Barbara Hobson (ed.) *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and Social Politics of Fatherhood* (pp. 92–124). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bergnéhr, Disa (2007) Love and family: Discussions between Swedish men and women concerning the transition to parenthood. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 8(1). Electronic document, retrived March 13, 2007, from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/1-07/07-1-23-e.htm.

Bergnéhr, Disa (2008) *Timing Parenthood: Independence, Family and the Ideal Life* (Diss). Linköping: Department of Child Studies, Linköping University.

Bernstein, Basil (1975) *Class, Codes and Control (Volume 3): Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions.* London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Billig, Michael, Condor, Susan, Edwards, Derek, Gane, Mike, Middleton, David and Radley, Alan (1988) *Ideological Dilemmas: A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking.* London: Sage.

Björnberg, Ulla (1992a) Parents' ideals and their strategies in daily Swedish life. In Ulla Björnberg (ed.) *European Parents in the 1990s: Contradictions and Comparisions* (pp. 83–101). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Björnberg, Ulla (1992b) Tvåförsörjarfamiljen i teori och verklighet. In Joan Accker, Annika Baude, Ulla Björnberg, Edmund Dahlström, Gunnel Forsberg, Lena Gonäs, Harriet Holter and Arne Nilsson (eds.) *Kvinnors och mäns liv och arbete* (pp. 153–218). Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

Björnberg, Ulla (2002) Ideology and choice between work and care: Swedish family policy for working parents. *Critical Social Policy* 22(1):33–52.

Björnberg, Ulla and Bäck-Wiklund, Margareta (1990) *Vardagslivets organisering i familj och närsamhälle.* Göteborg: Daidalos.

Björnberg, Ulla and Kollind, Anna-Karin (2005) *Individualism and Families: Equality, Autonomy and Togetherness.* London: Routledge.

Bloch, Marianne N., Holmlund, Kerstin, Moqvist, Ingrid and Popkewitz, Thomas S. (eds.) (2003) *Governing Children, Families, and Education: Restructuring the Welfare State.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Blomqvist, Åsa (2004) The choice revolution: Privatization of Swedish welfare in the 1990s. *Social Policy and Administration* 38(2):139–155.

Boye, Katarina (2008) *Happy Hour? Studies on Well-Being and Times Spent on Paid and Unpaid Work* (Diss). Stockholm: Swedish Institute for Social Research.

Brandth, Berit and Kvande, Elin (1998) Masculinity and childcare: the reconstruction of fathering. *Sociological Review* 46(2):293–313.

Brannen, Julia (2005) Time and the negotiation of work–family boundaries: Autonomy or illusion? *Time and Society* 14(1):113–131.

Brannen, Julia and Nilsen, Ann (2005) Individualisation, choice and structure:

a discussion of current trends in sociological analysis. *Sociological Review* 53(3):412–428.

Brembeck, Helene (1992) *Efter Spock: Uppfostringsmönster idag* (Diss). Göteborg: Etnologiska föreningen i Västsverige.

Brembeck, Helene (2003) De "nya" mödrarna. In Magareta Bäck-Wiklund and Thomas Johansson (eds.) *Nätverksfamiljen* (pp. 100–117). Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Briggs, Charles L. (1986) *Learning How to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of Interview in Social Science Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butler, Judith (1990/1999) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Butler, Judith (2000) Competing universalities. In Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (pp. 136–181). London: Verso.

Butler, Judith (2004) *Undoing Gender.* New York: Routledge.

Butler, Judith (2005) *Giving an Account of Oneself.* New York: Fordhamn University Press.

Bygren, Magnus, Gähler, Michael and Nermo, Magnus (eds.) (2004) *Familj och arbete: Vardagsliv i förändring*. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.

Bygren, Magnus and Duvander, Ann-Zofie (2006) Parents' workplace situation and fathers' parental leave use. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68(2):363–372.

Bäck-Wiklund, Margareta and Bergsten, Birgitta (1997) *Det moderna föräldraskapet: En studie av familj och kön i förändring.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Cameron, Mindy (2001) Sweden's commitment to children and families. *Seattle Times* June 3. Electronic document, retrieved October 25, 2008, from: http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=20010603&slug=mindy03.

Carlson, Dawn S., Kacmar, K. Michele and Williams, Larry J. (2000) Construction of initial validation of multidimensional measure of work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 56(2):249–276.

Chin, Tiffani and Phillips, Meredith (2004) Social reproduction and child-rearing practices: Social class, children's agency, and the summer activity gap. *Sociology of Education* 77(3):185–210.

Christensen, Pia (2002) Why more "quality time" is not on the top of children's lists: the "qualities of time" for children. *Children and Society* 16(2):77–88.

Coltrane, Scott (1998) *Gender and Families.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge

Press.

Corsaro, William (2004) *The Sociology of Childhood* (2ⁿᵈ ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Cotterill, Pamela (1992) Interviewing women: Issues of friendship, vulnerability, and power. *Women's Studies International Forum* 15(5/6):593–606.

Crow, Graham (1989) The use of the concept of "strategy" in recent sociological literature. *Sociology* 23(1):1–24.

Crozier, Gill (1997a) Empowering the powerful: a discussion of the interrelation of government and consumerism with social class factors and the impact of this upon parent interventions in their children's schooling. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 18(2):187–200.

Crozier, Gill (1997b) Parents and schools: Partnership or surveillance? *Journal of Educational Policy* 13(1):125–136.

Crozier, Gill (1999) Parental involvement: Who wants it? *International Studies in Sociology of Eductaion* 9(3):219–238.

Crozier, Gill (2000) *Parents and Schools: Partners or Protagonists?* Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Crozier, Gill and Reay, Diane (eds.) (2005) *Activating Participation: Parents and Teachers Working Towards Partnership*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Cruikshank, Barbara (1999) *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Daly, Kerry J. (1996) Spending time with the kids: Meanings of family time for fathers. *Family Relations* 45(4):466–476.

Daly, Kerry J. (2001) Deconstructing family time: From ideology to lived experience. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63(2):283–294.

Darrah, Charles (2004) Ethnography and working families. In Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes, Ellen Ernst and Stephen Sweet (eds.) *Work and Family Handbook: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives and Approaches* (pp. 367–385). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Darrah, Charles, English-Lueck, Jan A. and Freeman, James (2007) *Busier Than Ever! Why American Families Can't Slow Down*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

David, Miriam (1993) *Parents, Gender and Education Reform*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Davies, Bronwyn and Harré, Rom (1990) Positioning: the discursive production of selves. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20(1):43–63.

Dean, Mitchell (1999) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society.* London: Sage.

de Carvalho, Maria E. P. (2001) *Rethinking Family–School Relations: A Critique of Parental Involvement on Schooling.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

De Vault, Marjorie L. (1991) *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Vault, Marjorie L. (2000) Producing family time: Practices of leisure activity beyond the home. *Qualitative Sociology* 23(4):485–503.

Dencik, Lars (1989) Growing up in the post-modern age: On the child's situation in the modern family, and on the position of the family in the modern welfare state. *Acta Sociologica* 32(2):155–180.

Dencik, Lars (2001) Living in modern times: Implications for the lives of children and their families (Reports from Centre for Childhood and Family Research, no. 4). Roskilde, Denmark: Department of Psychology, Roskilde University.

Donzelot, Jaques (1979/1997) *The Policing of Families.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Departementsserien (2001:57) *Barnafödandet i fokus – från befolkningspolitik till ett barnvänligt samhälle.* Stockholm: Fritzes.

Duranti, Alessandro (1997) *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eder, Donna and Fingerson, Laura (2002) Interviewing children and adolescents. In Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein (eds.) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method* (pp. 181–201). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Edgell Becker, Penny and Moen, Phyllis (1999) Scaling back: Dual-earner couples' work-family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61(4):995–1007.

Edley, Nigel and Wetherell, Margaret (1999) Imagined futures: Young men's talk about fatherhood and domestic life. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 38(2): 181–194.

Edwards, Rosalind (2002) Introduction: Conceptualising relationships between home and school in children's lives. In Rosalind Edwards (ed.) *Children, Home and School: Regulation, Autonomy or Connection?* (pp. 1–23). London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Edwards, Rosalind and Alldred, Pam (2000) A typology of parental involvement in education centring on children and young people: Negotiating familisation, institutionalisation and individualisation. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 21(3):435-455.

Edwards, Rosalind and David, Miriam (1997) Where are the children in home–school relations? Notes towards a research agenda. *Children and Society* 11(3):194–200.

Edwards, Rosalind, Bäck-Wiklund, Margareta, Bak, Maren and Ribbens McCarthy, Jane (2002) Step-fathering: Comparing policy and everyday experience in Britain and Sweden. *Sociological Research Online* 7(1). Electronic document, retrieved May 22, 2007, from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/1/edwards.html.

Elvin-Nowak, Ylva (1999) The meaning of guilt: a phenomenological description

of employed mothers' experience of guilt. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 40(1):73–83.

Elvin-Nowak, Ylva and Thomsson, Heléne (2001) Motherhood as idea and practice: a discursive understanding of employed mothers in Sweden. *Gender and Society* 15(3):407–428.

Engwall, Kristina (2005) *Drömmen om den rätta: Från singel till förälder.* Stockholm: Institute for Future Studies.

Epstein, Joyce L. (1995) School/family/community partnerships: Caring for the children we share. *Phi Delta Kappan* 76(9):701–712.

Eriksson, Lars (2004) *Föräldrar och skola* (Diss). Örebro: Örebro universitetsbibliotek.

Evertsson, Lars and Nyman, Charlott (2008) Myten om den förhandlande familjen. In Anne Grönlund and Björn Halleröd (eds.) *Jämställdhetens pris* (pp. 45–81). Umeå: Boréa.

Fasulo, Alessandra, Loyd, Heather and Padligione, Vinzenso (2007) Children's socialization into cleaning practices: a cross-cultural perspective. *Discourse and Society* 18(1):11–33.

Featherstone, Mike (2007) *Consumer, Culture and Postmodernism* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Finch, Janet (2007) Displaying families. *Sociology* 41(1):65–81.

Finch, Janet and Mason, Jennifer (1993) *Negotiating Family Responsabilities.* London: Routledge.

Flood, Lennart and Gråsjö, Urban (1997) Tid för barn, tid för arbete: en undersökning av svenska hushålls tidsanvändning. In Göran Ahrne and Inga Persson (eds.) *Familj, makt och jämställdhet* (pp. 159–188). Stockholm: Statens offentliga utredningar.

Fontana, Andrea and Fey, James H. (1994) Interviewing: the art of science. In Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 361–376). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Forsberg, Lucas (2007a) Homework as serious family business: Power and subjectivity in negotiations about school assignments in Swedish families. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28(2):209–222.

Forsberg, Lucas (2007b) To be an involved parent: Managing time and care in Swedish dual-earner families. Paper presented at the *8th Annual Conference of the European Sociological Association,* Glasgow, Scotland, September 3–6, 2007.

Forsberg, Lucas (2007c) Involving parents through school letters: Mothers, fathers and teachers negotiating children's education and rearing. *Ethnography and Education* 2(3):273–288.

Forsberg, Lucas (2007d) Negotiating involved fatherhood: Household work, childcare and spending time with children. *NORMA: Nordic Journal of*

Masculinity Studies 2(2):109–126.

Foucault, Michel (1972) *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel (1977/1995) *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel (1978/1990) *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel (1980a) Two lectures. In Colin Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (pp. 78–108). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel (1980b) Truth and power. In Colin Gordon (ed.) *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (pp. 109–133). New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel (1982) The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry* 8(4):777–795.

Foucault, Michel (1985a) *The History of Sexuality. Volume 2: The Use of Pleasure.* London: Penguin.

Foucault, Michel (1985b) *The History of Sexuality. Volume 3: The Care of the Self.* London: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel (1991) Governmentality. In Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 87–104). Hemel Hempstead: Harverster Wheatsheaf.

Frykman, Jonas and Löfgren, Orvar (1987) *Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Gal, Susan (2002) A semiotics of private/public distinction. *differences* 13(1):77–95.

Garfinkel, Harold (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Gauthier, Anne H., Smeeding, Timothy M. and Furstenberg, Frank F. Jr. (2004) Are parents investing less time in children? Trends in selected industrialized countries. *Population and Development Review* 30(4):647–671.

Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillies, Val (2005) Raising the ”meritocracy”?: Parenting and the individualization of social class. *Sociology* 39(5):835–853.

Gillis, John R. (1997) *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gleichmann, Lee (2004) *Föräldraskap mellan styrning och samhällsomvandling: En studie av syn på föräldrar och relation mellan familj och samhälle under perioden 1957–1997* (Diss). Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Goffman, Erving (1981) *Forms of Talk.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania

Press.

Gold, Raymond L. (1958) Roles in sociological field observation. *Social Forces* 36(3):217–223.

Gonäs, Lennart (2002) Balancing family and work: to create a new social order. *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 23(1):59–66.

Graesch, Anthony (2008) Material indicators of family busyness (Working paper no. 49). Los Angeles: Center on Everyday Lives of Families, UCLA.

Grieshaber, Susan (2004) *Rethinking Parent and Child Conflict.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Gubrium, Jaber F. and Holstein, James A. (1990) *What is Family?* Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Gullestad, Marianne (1984) *Kitchen-Table Society: A Case Study of Family Life and Friendship of Young Working-Class Mothers in Urban Norway.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gutting, Gary (2002) Foucault's philosophy of experience. *boundary 2* 29(2):69–85.

Haas, Linda and Hwang, Philip (2007) Gender and organizational culture: Correlates of companies' responsiveness to fathers in Sweden. *Gender and Society* 21(1):52–79.

Hall, Stuart (1996) Introduction: Who needs "identity"? In Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1–17). London: Sage.

Hallberg, Daniel and Klevmarken, Anders N. (2003) Time for children? A study of parents' allocation. *Journal of Political Economy* 16(2):205–226.

Halldén, Gunilla (1991) The child as project and the child as being: Parents' ideas as frames of reference. *Children and Society* 5(4):334–346.

Halldén, Gunilla (1992) *Föräldrars tankar om barn: Uppfostringsideologi som kultur.* Stockholm: Carlssons.

Halldén, Gunilla (2007) Synen på barn och relationen mellan barn och föräldrar. In Gunilla Halldén (ed.) *Den moderna barndomen och barns vardagsliv* (pp. 41–59). Stockholm: Carlssons.

Hammersley, Martyn and Atkinson, Paul (1995) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* London: Routledge.

Hantrais, Linda (1999) Contextualization in cross-national comparative research. *The International Journal of Research Methodology: Theory and Practice.* 2(2):93–109.

Hays, Sharon (1996) *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood.* New Haven, CA: Yale University Press.

Hearn, Jeff (2002) Men, fathers and the state: National and global relations. In Hobson, Barbara (ed.) *Making Men Into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and Social Politics of Fatherhood* (pp. 245–272). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hearn, Jeff (2004) From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men. *Feminist Theory* 5(1):49–72.

Heikillä, Mia and Sahlström, Fritjof (2003) Om användning av videoinspelning i fältarbete. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* 8(1/2):24–41.

Hellsten, Jan-Olof (1997) Läxor är inget att orda om: Läxor som fenomen i aktuell pedagogisk litteratur. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* 2(3):205–220.

Hellsten, Jan-Olof (2000) *Skolan som barnarbete och utvecklingsprojekt: En studie av hur grundskoleelevers arbetsmiljö skapas – förändras – förblir som den är* (Diss). Uppsala: Department of Education, Uppsala University.

Henriques, Julia, Hollway, Wendy, Urwin, Charlotte, Wenn, Carolyn and Walkerdine, Valerie (eds.) *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subectivity*. London and New York: Methuen.

Henwood, Karen and Procter, Joanne (2003) The "good father": Reading men's accounts of paternal involvement during the transition to first-time fatherhood. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42(3):337–355.

Heyl, Barbara Sherman (2007) Ethnographic interviewing. In Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland and Lyn Lofland (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography* (pp. 369–382). London: Sage.

Hindsmarsh, Jon and Heath, Christian (2007) Video-based studies of work practice. *Sociological Compass* 1:156–173.

Hirdman, Yvonne (1989) *Att lägga livet tillrätta: Studier i svensk folkhemspolitik.* Stockholm: Carlssons.

Hochschild, Arlie (1989) *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home.* New York: Penguin.

Hochschild, Arlie (1997) *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Hollway, Wendy (1984) Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In Juliet Henriques, Wendy Hollway, Charlotte Urwin, Carolyn Wenn and Valerie Walkerdine (eds.) *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subectivity* (pp. 227–263). London and New York: Methuen.

Hoover-Dempsey, Kathleen V., Battiato, Angela C., Walker, Joan M. T., Reed, Richard P., DeJong, Jennifer M. and Jones, Kathleen P. (2001) Parental involvement in homework. *Educational Psychologist* 36(3):195–209.

HSFR (1996) *Etik: God praxis vid forskning av video.* Stockholm: Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet.

Hultqvist, Kenneth and Dahlberg, Gunilla (eds.) (2001) *Governing the Child in the New Milleneum*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Hutchinson, Kirsten (2006) *Rethinking Homework in Contemporary Australia: A Feminist Sociocultural Analysis* (Diss). Geelong, Australia: Deakin University.

Hydén, Margareta (2001) For the child's sake: Parents and social workers discussing

conflict-filled parental relations after divorce. *Child and Family Social Work* 6(1):115–128.

Hyman, Jeff, Scholarios, Dora and Baldry, Chris (2005) Getting on or getting by? Employee flexibility and coping strategies for home and work. *Work, Employment and Society* 19(4):705–725.

Hwang, Philip (1987) The changing role of Swedish fathers. In Michael E. Lamb (ed.) *The Father's Roles: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (pp. 115–138). Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Härenstam, Annika and Bejerot, Eva (2001) Combining professional work with family responsability: a burden or blessing? *International Journal of Social Welfare* 10(3):202–214.

James, Allison, Jencks, Chris and Prout, Allan (1998) *Theorizing Childhood.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Janouch, Katerina (2007) Jag är inte Fredriks hönsmamma! *Mama* 1:2007. Electronic document, retrieved October 21, 2008, from: http://www.mama. nu/reportage/artiklar/2007/jag-ar-inte-fredriks-honsm/index.xml.

Jarvis, Helen (1999) The tangled webs we weave: Household strategies to co-ordinate home and work. *Work, Employment and Society* 13(2):225–247.

Jencks, Chris (2000) Zeitgeist research on childhood. In Pia Christensen and Allison James (eds.) *Research With Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 62–76). London: Falmer Press.

Johansson, Thomas (2003) Fathers – the solution or part of the problem? Single mothers, their sons and social work. In Søren Ervø and Thomas Johansson (eds.) *Among Men: Moulding Masculinities, Volume 1* (pp. 312–322). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Johansson, Thomas (2006) *Makeovermani: Om Dr Phil, plastikkirurgi och illusionen om det perfekta jaget.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Johansson, Thomas and Klinth, Roger (2008) Caring fathers: the ideology of gender equality and masculine positions. *Men and Masculinities* 11(1):42–62.

Johnson, Jim (a.k.a. Bruno Latour) (1988) Mixing humans and nonhumans: the sociology of a door closer. *Social Problems* 35(3):298–310.

Jordan, Amy B. (2006) Make yourself at home: the social construction of research roles in family studies. *Qualitative Research* 6(2):169–185.

Keogh, Jayne (1996) Governmentality in parent-teacher communications. *Language and Education* 10(2/3):119–131.

Klapp Lekholm, Alli (2004) Föräldrars oavlönade pedagogiska arbete. In *Nära gränsen? Perspektiv på skolans arbetsliv* (pp. 183–220). Malmö: National Institute for Working Life.

Klein, Wendy, Izquierdo, Carolina and Bradbury, Thomas (2007) Working relationships: Communicative patterns and strategies among couples in everyday life. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 4(1/2):29–47.

Klinth, Roger (2002) *Göra pappa med barn: Den svenska pappapolitiken 1960–95*. Umeå: Boréa.

Klinth, Roger (2008) The best of both worlds? Fatherhood and gender equality in Swedish paternity leave campaigns 1976–2006. *Fathering* 6(1):20–38.

Kremer-Sadlik, Tamar and Kim, Jeemin Lydia (2007) Lessons from sports: Children's socialization to values through family interaction during sports activities. *Discourse and Society* 18(1):35–52.

Kremer-Sadlik, Tamar and Paugh, Amy (2007) Everyday moments: Finding "quality time" in American working families. *Time and Society* 16(2/3):287–308.

Kremer-Sadlik, Tamar, Fatigante, Marilena and Fasulo, Alessandra (2008) Discourses on family time: the cultural interpretation of family togetherness in Los Angeles and Rome. *Ethos* 36(3):282–309.

Kristjánsson, Baldur (2001) *Barndomen och den sociala moderniseringen: Om att växa upp i Norden på tröskeln till ett nytt millennium* (Diss). Stockholm: HLS förlag.

Kristoffersson, Margaretha (2002) *Föräldrainflytande i grundskolan: En undersökning av nio lokala styrelser med föräldramajoritet i grundskolan*. Umeå: Department of Education, Umeå University.

Kugelberg, Clarissa (1999) *Perceiving Motherhood and Fatherhood: Swedish Working Parents with Young Children* (Diss). Uppsala: Department of Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala University.

Kugelberg, Clarissa (2003) Barn – jovisst, men först en trygg försörjning. In Christina Garsten and Kerstin Sundman (eds.) *Moderna människor: Antropologiska perspektiv på samtiden* (pp. 61-85). Malmö: Liber.

Kugelberg, Clarissa (2006) Constructing the deviant other: Mothering and fathering at the workplace. *Gender, Work and Organization* 13(2):152–173.

Kvale, Steinar (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.

Laclau, Ernesto and Mouffe, Chantal (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto and Bhaskar, Roy (1998) Discourse theory vs. critical realism. *Alethia* 1(1):9–14.

Lareau, Annette (1987) Social class differences in family-school relationships: the importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of Education* 60(2):73–85.

Lareau, Annette (1989) *Home Advantage: Social Class and Parental Intervention in Elementary Education.* London: Falmer.

Lareau, Annette (2000) My wife can tell me what I now: Methodological and conceptual problems in studying fathers. *Qualitative Sociology* 23(4):407–433.

Lareau, Annette (2003) *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race and Family Life.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Larsson, Jörgen (2007) Om föräldrars tidspress – orsaker och förändringsmönster: En analys av Statistiska centralbyråns tidsdata (Forskningsrapport nr. 139). Göteborg: Sociology Department, Göteborg University.

Lasch, Christopher (1977) *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged.* New York: Basic Books.

Latour, Bruno (1999) *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Leira, Arnlaug (2002) *Working Parents and the Welfare State: Family Change and Policy Reform in Scandinavia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lemke, Thomas (2002) Foucault, governmentality, and critique. *Rethinking Marxism* 14(3):49–64.

Leonard, Lori (2005) Where there is no state: Household strategies for the management of illness in Chad. *Social Science and Medicine* 61(1):229–243.

Liljeström, Rita and Kollind, Anna-Karin (1990) *Kärleksliv och föräldraskap.* Stockholm: Carlssons.

Link, Jürgen (2004) From the "power of the norm" to "flexible normalism": Considerations after Foucault. *Cultural Critique* 57(1):14–32.

Lomax, Helen and Casey, Neil (1998) Recording social life: Reflexivity and video methodology. *Sociological Research Online* 3(2). Electronic document, retrived February 7, 2006, from: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/3/2/1.html.

Lundqvist, Åsa (2007) *Familjen i den svenska modellen*. Umeå: Boréa.

Lundqvist, Åsa and Roman, Christine (2003) Önska, välja och vilja: Om beslutet att skaffa barn. *Sociologisk forskning* 40(1):12–33.

Lundqvist, Åsa and Roman, Christine (2008) Construction(s) of Swedish family policy 1930–2000. *Journal of Family History* 33(2):216–236.

Lupton, Deborah and Barclay Lesley (1997) *Constructing Fatherhood: Discourses and Experiences.* London: Sage.

Macherey, Pierre (1992) Towards a natural history of norms. In *Michel Foucault Philosopher* (pp. 176–191). New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Magnusson, Eva (2005) Gender or equality in the lives of Nordic heterosexual couples with children: No well-paved avenues yet. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3):153–163.

Magnusson, Eva (2006) *Hon, han och hemmet: Genuspsykologiksa perspektiv på vardagslivet i nordiska barnfamiljer.* Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Magnusson, Eva (2008) The rhetoric of inequality: Nordic women and men argue against sharing housework. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 16(2):79–95.

McNeal Jr., Ralph B. (1999) Parental involvement as social capital: Differential effectiveness on science achievement, truancy, and dropping out. *Social Forces* 78(1):117–144.

Mead, Margaret (1928/2001) *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of*

Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation. New York: Harper Collins.

Medved, Caryn E. (2004) The everyday accomplishment of work and family: Exploring practical actions in daily routines. *Communication Studies* 55(1): 28–145.

Mellströn, Ulf (2006) Nytt faderskap i skärningspunkten mellan produktion och reproduktion? *Socialvetenskaplig tidskrift* 13(2):114–127.

Milkie, Melissa A., Mattingly, Marybeth J., Nomaguchi, Kei M., Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Robinsson, John P. (2004) The time squeeze: Parental statuses and feelings about time with children. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66(3):739–761.

Mills, Sara (2003) *Michel Foucault.* London: Routledge.

Mills, Sara (2004) *Discourse.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Mischler, George E. (1986) *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative.* Cambridge: Harvard Univerisity Press.

Moberg, Eva (1961) Kvinnans villkorliga frigivning. In Hans Hederberg (ed.) *Unga liberaler: Nio inlägg i idédebatten* (pp. 68–86). Stockholm: Bonniers.

Moen, Phyllis (1989) *Working Parents: Transformations in Gender Roles and Public Policies in Sweden.* Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Moqvist, Ingeborg (1997) *Den kompletterande familjen: Föräldraskap, fostran och förändring i en svensk småstad* (Diss). Umeå: Department of Education, Umeå University.

Morgan, David H. J. (1996) *Family Connections: An Introduction to Family Studies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mullis, Ina V. S., Martin, Michael O., Gonzalez, Eugenio J. and Chrostowski, Steven J. (2004) *TIMSS 2003 International Mathematics Report: Findings From IEA's Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study at the Fourth and Eighth Grades.* Chestnut Hill, MA: TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center, Boston College.

Myrdal, Gunnar and Myrdal, Alva (1934) *Kris i befolkningsfrågan.* Stockholm: Bonniers.

Nordenmark, Mikael (2002) Multiple roles – a source or burden: is it possible to combine paid work with family life in a satisfactory way? *Gender, Work and Organization* 9(2):125–145.

Nordenmark, Mikael (2004) *Arbetsliv, familjeliv och kön.* Umeå: Boréa.

Norman, Karin (1991) *A Sound Family Makes a Sound State: Ideology and Upbringing in a German Village* (Diss). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Näsman, Elisabeth (1999) Sweden and the reconciliation of work and family life. In Laura den Dulk, Anneke van Doorne-Huiskes and Joop Schippers (eds.) *Work-Family Arrangements in Europe* (pp. 131–150). Amsterdam: Thela Thesis.

Ochs, Elinor (1979) Transcription as theory. In Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (eds.) *Developmental Pragmatics* (pp. 43–72). New York: Academic Press.

Ochs, Elinor and Kremer-Sadlik, Tamar (2007) Introduction: Morality as family practice. *Discourse and Society* 18(1):5–10.

Ochs, Elinor, Pontecorvo, Clotilde and Fasulo, Alessandra (1996) Socializing taste. *Ethnos* 61(1/2):7–46.

Ochs, Elinor, Graesch, Anthony, Mittman, Angela, Bradbury, Thomas and Repetti, Rena (2006) Video ethnography and ethnoarcheological tracking. In Marcie Pitt-Catsouphes, Ellen Ernst and Stephen Sweet (eds.) *Work and Family Handbook: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives and Approaches* (pp. 387–409). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ohrlander, Kajsa (1987) *När barnet fick en kropp: Om statsmaktens försök att ändra folkliga traditioner inom barnavården från 1700-talets mitt till 1900-talets mitt.* Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Olsson, Ulf (1997) *Folkhälsa som pedagogiskt projekt: Bilden av häslouppplysning i Statens offentliga utredningar* (Diss). Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Pahl, Ray E. and Wallace, Claire (1985) Household work strategies in economic recession. In Naneke Redclift and Enzo Mingione (eds) *Beyond Employment: Household, Gender and Subsistence* (pp. 189–227). Oxford: Blackwell.

Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F. (1955) *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Passanisi, Åsa (2006) ”För mig tog det tid innan det klickade”: Filippa Reinfeldt om kärleken till Fredrik – och nya lvet som fru till statsministern. *Aftonbladet* October 19, 2006. Electronic document, retrieved October 21, 2008, from: http://www.aftonbladet.se/wendela/article445203.ab.

Peréz Prieto, Héctor, Sahlström, Fritjof, Calander, Finn, Karlsson, Marie and Heikkilä, Mia (2002) Together? On childcare as a meeting place in a Swedish city. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 47(1):43–62.

Perry-Jenkins, Maureen, Repetti, Rena L. and Crouter, Ann C. (2000) Work and family in the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62(4):981–998.

Persson, Sven (1994) *Föräldrars föreställningar om barn och barnomsorg* (Diss). Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.

Pink, Sarah (2001) *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research.* London: Sage.

Plantin, Lars (2001) *Män, familjeliv och föräldraskap.* Umeå: Boréa.

Plantin, Lars (2007) Different classes, different fathers? On fatherhood, economic conditions and class in Sweden. *Community, Family and Work* 10(1):93–110.

Plantin, Lars, Månsson, Sven-Axel and Kearney, Jeremy (2003) Talking and doing fatherhood: On fatherhood and masculinity in Sweden and England. *Fathering* 1(1):3–26.

Platzer, Ellinor (2006) From private solutions to public responsibility and back

again: the new domestic services in Sweden. *Gender and History* 18(2):211–221.

Potter, Jonathan (2003) Discourse analysis and discursive psychology. In Paul M. Camic, Jean E. Rhodes and Lucy Yardley (eds.) *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design* (pp. 73–94). Washington: American Psychological Association.

Pratt, Geraldine and Hanson, Susan (1991) On the links between home and work: Family-household strategies in a buoyant labour market. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 15(1):55–74.

Punch, Samantha (2001) Household division of labour: Generation, gender, age, birth order and sibling composition. *Work, Employment and Society* 15(4):803–823.

Punch, Samantha (2002) Research with children: the same or different from research with adults? *Childhood* 9(3):321–341.

Ramqvist, Karolina (2006) Pappamakten. *Arena* December 2006, pp. 14–17.

Reay, Diane (1995) A silent majority? Mothers in parental involvement. *Women's Studies International Forum* 18(3):337–348.

Reay, Diane (1998) *Class Work: Mothers' Involvement in Children's Schooling.* London: University College Press.

Reay, Diane (2004) Education and cultural capital: the implications of changing trends in education policies. *Cultural Trends* 13(2):73–86.

Reay, Diane (2005) Doing the dirty work of social class? Mothers' work in support of their children's schooling. *Sociological Review* 53(s2):104–116.

Relieu, Marc, Zouinar, Moustafa and La Valle, Natalia (2007) At home with video cameras. *Home Cultures* 4(1):45–68.

Reinfeldt, Fredrik (2006) Statement of Government Policy 6 October 2006. Electronic document, retrieved April 26, 2007, from http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/07/15/51/71d8a385.pdf.

Ribbens McCarthy, Jane (2005) Negotiating public and private: Maternal mediations of home–school boundaries. In Gill Crozier and Diane Reay (eds.) *Activating Participation: Parents and Teachers Working Towards Partnership* (pp. 59–82). Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Ribbens McCarthy, Jane, Edwards, Rosalind and Gillies, Val (2000) Moral tales of the Child and the Adult: Narratives of contemporary family lives under changing circumstances. *Sociology* 34(4):785–803.

Ribom, Leif (1993) *Föräldraperspektiv på skolan – en analys från två håll* (Diss). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Roman, Christine (2004) *Familjen i det moderna: Sociologiska sanningar och feministisk kritik*. Malmö: Liber.

Rose, Nikolas (1993) Government, authority and expertise in advanced liberalism. *Economy and Society* 22(3):282–299.

Rose, Nikolas (1996) Authority and the genealogy of subjectivity. In Paul Heelas, Scott Lash and Paul Morris (eds.) *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity* (pp. 294–327). Oxford: Blackwell.

Rose, Nikolas (1999) *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rydstrøm, Helle (2003) *Embodying Morality: Growing Up in Rural Northern Vietnam.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Sandin, Bengt (2003) Barndomens omvandling – från särart till likart. In Bengt Sandin and Gunilla Halldén (eds.) *Barnets bästa: En antologi om barndomens innebörder och välfärdens organisering* (pp. 221–240). Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposium.

Savage, Mike (2000) *Class Analysis and Social Transformation.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Sawicki, Jana (1991) *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body.* New York: Routledge.

Saxbe, Darby E., Repetti, Rena L., and Nishina, Adrianne (2008) Marital satisfaction, recovery from work, and diurnal cortisol among men and women. *Health Psychology* 27(1):15–25.

Sayer, Linda C., Bianchi, Suzanne M. and Robinson, John P. (2004) Are parents investing less in their children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology* 110(1):1–43.

Schneider, Barbara and Waite, Linda J. (2005) Why study working families? In Barbara Schneider and Linda J. Waite (eds.) *Being Together, Working Apart: Dual-Career Families and the Work-Life Balance* (pp. 3–17). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selser, Claudia (2008) ¿Hoy a quién le tocaba? *Viva: La Revista de Clarín* April 20, pp. 6–14.

Shaw, Martin (1990) Strategy and social process: Military context and sociological analysis. *Sociology* 24(3):465–473.

Shaw, Susan M. (2008) Family leisure and changing ideologies of parenthood. *Sociology Compass* 2:1–16.

Sjöberg Larsson, Kristina (2003) Mamma, pappa, styvpappa – barn: Föräldraskap i länkande familjesystem. In Margareta Bäck-Wiklund and Thomas Johansson (eds.) *Nätverksfamiljen* (pp. 83–99). Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Skeggs, Beverly (1997) *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable.* London: Sage.

Skeggs, Beverly (2004) *Class, Self, Culture.* London: Routledge.

Smith, Dorothy (1998) The underside of schooling: Restructuring, privatization, and women's unpaid work. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education* 4(1):11–29.

Smithson and Brannen, Julia (2002) Qualitative methodology in cross-national

research. In Julia Brannen, Suzan Lewis, Ann Nielsen and Janet Smithson (eds.) *Young Europeans, Work and Family: Futures in Transition* (pp. 11–29). London: Routledge.

Solomon, Yvette, Warin, Jo and Lewis, Charlie (2002) Helping with homework? Homework as a site of tension for parents and teenagers. *British Educational Research Journal* 28(4):603–622.

SOU (1997:121) *Skolfrågor – om en skola i en ny tid: Slutbetänkande från Skolkommittén*. Stockholm: Nordstedts.

Sparrman, Anna (2005) Video recordings as interaction: Participant observation of children's everyday life. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 2(3):241–255.

Statistics Sweden (1982) *Swedish Socioeconomic Classification (SEI)*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.

Statistics Sweden (2003a) *Time for Everyday Life: Women's and Men's Time Use 1990/91 and 2000/01*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.

Statistics Sweden (2003b) *Children and their Families 2001*. Stockholm: Statistics Sweden.

Statistics Sweden (2009) Medelålder vid första barnets födelse. Electronic document, retrieved January 13, 2009, from: http://www.scb.se/templates/tableOrChart____142439.asp.

Strandh, Mattias and Nordenmark, Mikael (2006) The interference of paid work with family life in different social policy contexts: Perceived work–household conflict in Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. *British Journal of Sociology* 57(4):597–617.

Strathern, Marilyn (2005) *Kinship, Law and the Unexpected: Relatives are Always a Surprise.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Swedish National Agency for Education (1994/2003) *Curriculum for the Compulsury School System, the Pre-School and the Leisure-Time Centre: Lpo 94* (SKOLFS 1994:1).

Swedish National Agency for Education (2005) *Children, Pupils, and Staff – National Levels: Official Statistics for Pre-School Activities, School-Age Childcare, Schools, and Adult Education* (Report 260:2). Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Swedish National Agency for Education (2006) *Descriptive Data on Pre-School Activities, School-Age Childcare, Schools and Adult Education in Sweden 2006* (Report 283). Stockholm: Swedish National Agency for Education.

Swedish Social Inscurance Agency (2009) Försäkringsanalys föräldrapenning. Electronic document, retrieved January 4, 2009, from: http://www.forsakringskassan.se/omfk/analys/barnfamilj/foraldrap/#ju.

Tannen, Deborah and Goodwin, Marjorie H. (2006) Introduction to special issue on "Family discourse, framing family". *Text and Talk* 26(4/5):407–409.

Tholander, Michael and Aronsson, Karin (2003) Doing subteaching in school

groupwork: Positioning, resistance, and participation frameworks. *Language and Education* 17(3):208–234.

Thorne, Barrie (1992) Feminism and the family: Two decades of thought. In Barrie Thorne with Marilyn Yalom (eds.) *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions* (pp. 3–30). Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Thorne, Barrie (2001) Pick-up time at Oakdale elementary school: Work and family from the vantage points of children. In Rosanna Hertz (ed.) *Working Families: The Transformation of the American Home* (pp. 354–376). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tyrkkö, Anja (1999) *I skärningspunkten mellan arbetsliv och föräldraskap: En studie om livsformer i 1990-talets Sverige* (Diss). Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet.

Tyrkkö, Anja (2002) The intersection between working life and parenthood: a literature review. *Economic and Industrial Relations* 23(1):107–123.

Vetenskapsrådet (2002) *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning*. Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet.

Vincent, Carol and Ball, Stephen (2006) *Childcare, Choice and Class Practices: Middle-Class Parents and their Children*. London: Routledge.

Vincent, Carol and Tomlinson, Sally (1997) Home–school relationships: the swarming of disciplinary mechanisms? *British Educational Research Journal* 23(3):361–377.

Vincent, Carol and Marin, Jane (2005) Parents as citizens: Making the case. In Gill Crozier and Diane Reay (eds.) *Activating Participation: Parents and Teachers Working Towards Partnership* (pp. 113–136). Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Walkerdine, Valerie, Lucey, Helen and Melody, June (2001) *Growing Up Girl: Psychosocial Explorations of Gender and Class*. London: Palgrave.

Wallace, Claire (2002) Household strategies: Their conceptual relevance and analytical scope in social research. *Sociology* 36(2):275–292.

Wennberg, Mårten (2006) *Familjernas möjligheter – agenda för en bättre familjepolitik: Slutrapport från moderaternas familjepolitiska arbetsgrupp*. Electronic document, retrieved April 4, 2008, from: http://www.moderat.se/material/pdffiler/moderat_8608.pdf.

Wesslén, Gunnar (2006) Ny politik, nytt jobb, nytt liv... Nu ska Fredrik Reinfeldt resa och lära. *Kupé* December 2006, pp. 22–24.

Westlund, Ingrid (2004) *Läxberättelser: Läxor som tid och uppgift*. Linköping: PIUS, Department of Behavioural Sciences, Linköping University.

Wetherell, Margaret (1998) Positioning and interpretative repetoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse and Society* 9(3):387–412.

Whitehead, Stephen (2002) *Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Whitty, Geoff, Power, Sally and Halpin, David (1998) *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State, and the Market.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Willis, Paul (1977/1993) *Learning to Labour: How Working-Class Kids Get Working-Class Jobs.* Hamphsire: Ashgate.

Wingard, Leah (2006) Mentioning homework first in parent-child interactions. *Text and Talk* 26(4/5):573–596.

Wingard, Leah and Forsberg, Lucas (2009, in press) Parent involvement in children's homework in American and Swedish dual-earner families. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Advanced access, doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2007.09.010).

Winslow-Bowe, Sarah (2007) Work-family intersections. *Sociology Compass* 1:385–403.

Woodhead, Martin (1998) Psychology and the cultural construction of children's needs. In Allison James and Alan Prout (eds.) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (pp. 63–84). London: Routledge.

Woodhead, Martin and Faulkner, Dorothy (2000) Subjects, objects or participants? Dilemmas in psychological research with children. In Pia Christensen and Allison James (eds.) *Research With Children: Perspectives and Approaches* (pp. 9–35). London: Falmer Press.

Appendix A

Transcription notations

?	inquiring intonation
!	rising intonation
.	falling terminal intonation
(.)	micro pause
(1.0)	pause, in seconds
=	latching between utterances
[	overlapping speech
<u>word</u>	stressed word
°word°	speech in low issue
WORD	speech in high amplitude
:	prolonged syllable
[...]	part of the transcription omitted
[word]	comments made by the transcriber
(word)	uncertain transcription
xxx	inaudible

Appendix B

List of publications

Study I (Chapter 5)

Forsberg, Lucas (in press) Managing time and childcare in dual-earner families: Unforseen consequences of household strategies. *Acta Sociologica*.

Study II (Chapter 6)

Forsberg, Lucas (2007) Negotiating involved fatherhood: Household work, childcare and spending time with children. *NORMA: Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 2(2):109–126.

Study III (Chapter 7)

Forsberg, Lucas (2007) Involving parents through school letters: Mothers, fathers and teachers negotiating children's education and rearing. *Ethnography and Education* 2(3):273–288.

Study IV (Chapter 8)

Forsberg, Lucas (2007) Homework as serious family business: Power and subjectivity in negotiations about school assignments in Swedish families. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28(2):209–222.