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Making (unequal) families: gender, class and family practices in Santiago de Chile

by

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Acknowledgements

It's winter, but sunny outside. It seems there are some similarities today with when I started to think about this project in Santiago, during my summer holidays – a lot of traffic noise, children on vacation enjoying the playground and nice weather. This has been an amazing and challenging journey, a dream that became an ambition, and I feel happy about completing it. Many people have been with me during these years, warming my life like the winter sun, bringing me joy and confidence. I would like to thank all of them here.

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Declaration of Authorship

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor Philosophy in Sociology. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree to any other university or higher education institution or as any part of any other submission to the University of Warwick, and I have referenced all sources of information used in this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis examines how far the heteronormative family in Chile is being challenged and the possibilities for building more egalitarian families. It uses a combination of qualitative methodologies: in-depth interviews and observation in participants' homes and analysis of family photography. Taking a feminist approach to investigating gender relations in families, the thesis is the first in Latin America to adopt Morgan's (1996) framework of 'family practices' and Finch's (2007) concept of 'displaying family'. The 25 middle-class and 20 working-class participants live in six types of families: married, cohabiting, stepfamilies, same-sex partnerships, lone parents and people living alone.

The empirical investigation covers three kinds of family practices. First, practices that are important in constituting participants' understanding of family: taking responsibility, offering support and coming together to celebrate the people and animals who participants count as family. Second, gendered divisions of labour and the allocation of resources: men's better employment opportunities give them greater access to money and leisure time than women while the home is women's domain, although some men said they valued their role as a *padre presente*. Third, family photography is a practice that preserves other family practices and represents what participants value in their family life.

Heterosexual middle-class and working-class families hold similar understandings of family and gender divisions of labour, although middle-class women benefit from employing *empleadas* and middle-class men contribute more to childcare. Middle-class families 'display family', along with their class status, with expensive holidays and restaurant meals. Working-class families value opportunities to 'do family', but have fewer opportunities to display family in public and are concerned to maintain respectability.

Overall, the thesis finds that 'doing family' usually depends on doing gender, so there is little opportunity to challenge heteronormative expectations. However, gay and lesbian families and a few heterosexual families are creating new family practices which challenge heteronormative gender divisions, with lesbian participants in particular exploring new ways of making family.

Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
CEO	Chief Executive Officer.
DIY	Do-it-yourself.
FONASA	*Fondo Nacional de Salud* (National Health Fund).
INE	*Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas* (National Statistical Institute).
ISAPRE	*Instituciones de Salud Previsional* (Social Health Insurance).
NGO	Non-governmental organisation.
OAS	Organisation of American States.
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
SERNAM	*Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* (National Women's Service).
UN	United Nations.

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To my parents, Patricia and Antonio, my unconditional love

To myself, my achievement

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis is based on a qualitative study that explores whether the heteronormative family is being challenged in Chile. It aims to explore the possibilities of building more egalitarian family relationships and whether family practices that support egalitarian gender relations are emerging. In other words, I seek to understand the different ways in which people make family in contemporary Latin America, specifically in Santiago the capital of Chile. The sociological importance of this study is that it explores family life in an industrialised country outside the Global North and does so from a feminist perspective using the lens of 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996, 2011b). Thereby, it develops a perspective that broadens family studies in Chilean sociology which has, hitherto, focused on the family as a social institution. An approach which foregrounds 'family practices' enabled me to analyse ways of 'doing family' as a set of practices in which my participants engaged with regularity, and through which they constituted 'family'. It also enabled me to examine the wider meanings of family life with a focus on 'doing' rather than 'being' family (Ribbens & Edwards, 2011). Furthermore, this thesis adopts a feminist approach to address the gender, class and sexual hierarchies and power relations implicit in 'family practices'.

This chapter describes the context in which family life takes place in Chile looking both at the legal and policy context and occupational structure. It discusses the authoritarian power vested in the 1980 Constitution, a legacy of the Pinochet dictatorship (hereafter referred to as 'the dictatorship'), its effect on family life and the possibilities of progressive change. It describes demographic changes and changes in policy and family law, patterns of employment and occupational structure. I argue that there is a contradiction in Chilean society between authoritarian and patriarchal norms

entrenched in the 1980 Constitution – originating with the dictatorship and the Catholic Church – and certain laws and policies that are more liberal and provide a space for a wider variety of family forms in Chile's post-dictatorship democracy. This means that Chilean culture is contradictory in relation to family life; in that, there is a tension between different normative assumptions about the family and the forms that families should take. This is the contemporary context within which my participants live and make decisions and choices about their domestic and personal lives.

This chapter is organised into five main sections. First, I discuss my reasons for wanting to research family life, then I outline the demographic trends, patterns of family formation and household composition that characterise Chilean society. I go on to discuss occupational structure, women's employment and social class and the main laws and policies relating to women and gay rights that shape family life. Finally, I summarize the thesis structure.

1. Research motivations

1.1 Childhood

When I was about eight years old, I remember sitting with my younger brother (four years old) at the back of my parents' blue Fiat 147 while my mother drove to a business meeting in another part of Santiago. As a technical agriculturalist who had been fired during the dictatorship, the new democratic regime of 1990 brought fresh job opportunities and she decided to start a small gardening business. The car was packed with tools and materials, such as spades, flowers, saplings and a lawn mower. The car was taken over for 'the business' and there was not much space for us to sit. Looking back now, I sense that it was hard for my mother to balance family responsibilities and

paid work. At the time, my father was working in a lab from 7.00 a.m.; he used to say goodbye to us when my brothers and I had just woken up, and he came back around 7.00 p.m. He worked outside the city in a coal-fired power plant. Every day a shuttle bus from his company picked him up and brought him back home[1]. He used to cook on Sundays, a special fish recipe that he learnt while he was learning sailing. I enjoyed seeing my father cooking in the kitchen, telling me the stories of the special ingredients he used; it was as if, I felt, I was in his lab at work with him. The cooking had a procedure: everything was measured out properly, such as the salt, pepper, butter, and the oven had to be a special temperature. He liked cooking and I liked to be with him.

As a child I wanted to have more time with my dad and mum, and maybe just have more time to do things together and for them to place less importance to their jobs. Both my parents worked because they feared financial insecurity, and also due to their sense of responsibility and desire for achievement. I understood that two parents working was not 'normal' because the mothers of my friends at school and in my neighbourhood did not do paid work, and my mother was not considered a 'good enough' mother because she chose to work.

1.2 Working life: interviewing working mothers

Later I worked as a research assistant in two feminist research centres in Santiago, which gave me an insight into the potential of social research. In this research I interviewed women about employment, family, public policy and trade unions, and they talked about the difficulties of doing paid work and having a family life. I wondered if they faced the same issues that my mother had faced 30 years previously,

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[1] He also used to work night shifts each month, for a week at a time. My grandmother, from my mother's side, used to come to help my mother to look after us during my father's night shifts. My grandmother lived in a rural town, Cañete, which was about a four-hour journey by bus to our home.

or whether things had changed in Chile. I wondered why it is so difficult for women to enjoy a full life, or why they are unable to enjoy both work and family, and whether paid work and family are incompatible. I also wondered about men's family roles and whether it was still an exception for a father to cook on a Sunday. Most of the time, research conclusions in the studies undertaken by research centres where I worked were similar, that 'the family' was oppressing women, yet many women still wanted to have children and live as part of a couple. This led me to think that we needed to go much further in understanding what women and men feel they gain from family life as well as what they would change. And we needed to know whether people believe it is possible to establish different ways of living in Chile.

In 2010, the same year I was interviewing working women, the country celebrated the bicentennial anniversary of independence from Spanish colonization. That year, politicians and intellectuals published opinions on how Chileans had changed in the 21st century. For instance, they wrote about the general acceptance of women's employment, but also stories expressing concerns about Chileans' unwillingness to support their relatives during times of need (Encuesta Bicentenario, 2010). However, despite these alleged changes, the stories of the women that I interviewed seemed similar to my family memories whilst growing up, such as grandmothers looking after grandchildren because the children's mothers were working, and because fathers were the breadwinner and childcare was difficult to organise. To me, these narratives showed contradictions between what women told me in interviews and what the ruling class assumed. Clearly, different pictures of how people relate to their families existed in Chile, and so we needed to look closer at what family meant to them.

1.3 Working life: teacher

Three years later, I was working as a teacher[2] in a university, lecturing 22 hours per week. During the exam period, one of my female students asked me if she could bring her son (three years old) to the exam because her nursery had closed after regular classes had ended for the year[3]. The student told me that her mother worked in a department store and on the day of the exam was not free to help her with childcare[4]. This situation reminded me that women had to manage childcare arrangements, including reconciling timetables which ignore childcare responsibilities. I discussed this situation in my monthly department meeting and my male co-workers disagreed with the way I had handled it, saying that teachers should not give 'privileges' to particular students to deal with such 'personal problems'. I felt that it was cynical to see 'privilege' where I saw an entrenched 'inequality' in which even the university failed to provide appropriate facilities to their own students. My male colleagues prioritised the casualisation of our own work contracts (which I also acknowledged) and did not think this left room for addressing students' care responsibilities.

The motivations for my research arose from these experiences, leading me to ask what families had in common and how – and why – families seemed to differ so much. But

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[2] My contract was fixed for a single semester, so I was hired every semester for four consecutive years. As my contract was fixed and finished the last day of my teaching, I was not entitled to qualify as an employee within the organisation. I did not have access to benefits, such as paid holidays, insurance healthcare, a cooperative-housing loan, bonuses for publications and conference funding, but I was enrolled in the pension scheme. My status as a teacher implied certain responsibilities, such as attending departmental meetings as unpaid overtime; this consisted of a two-hour meeting once a month plus a four-hour meeting at the end of each semester with the head of the department. In Chile, the academic year is split into two semesters, from March to July, and then from August to mid-December. Full time academics and staff work in January, but everyone has compulsory summer holidays in February, so the university is closed.

[3] The university exam period was different from lecturing hours.

[4] I agreed that the student could do to the exam later after the other students had finished it, and bring her son with her, so as not to disturb the other students. The son played with toys provided by his mother whilst she sat the exam and I kept my eye on him.

also, I thought about myself and whether I could imagine myself living differently from 'the family'. Would it be accepted? I decided to explore my own questions about families with other feminists to try and understand the complexities. However, I felt that research into this field in Chile was too narrowly focused on heterosexual women and employment (Chapter 2), and I wanted to explore the wider picture of people's lives.

In the following sections, I discuss the context of family life in Chile and set the scene within which my participants live and make families. I begin with wider demographic trends, including family formation and household composition because they provide an insight into the patterns of family life.

2. Modernising family life: demographic changes and family formation

In post-dictatorship democratic Chile (1990 – present), there were indicators of shifts towards modern demographic trends, patterns of family formation and changes in household composition which resembled countries of the Global North, but which, upon examination, reflected local circumstances and differences in opportunities. Demographic change was particularly pronounced in declining fertility rates, which had fallen below replacement levels (Palma & Scott, 2018; Ramm & Salinas, 2019) and late fertility structure with a peak of fertility in women aged between 30 and 34 years of age (INE, 2018a), although teenage fertility was persistently high (Palma & Scott, 2018; Ramírez et al., 2017).

Chile was one of the first countries in South America which experienced a sharp decrease in the overall fertility rate from the 1960s[5], which, has been suggested, was indicative of a demographic transition to what has been termed an advanced stage of declining mortality and declining fertility (Arriagada, 2004a, 2004b; Larrañaga, 2006; Ramm, 2013). At the time of this research, the total fertility rate was 1.7, similar to the UK and the US, see Figure 1.1 (OECD, 2018, 2019b). Life expectancy at birth was 79 years for men and 82 for women, with most of the population – 87% – living in urban areas (INE, 2019; Ramm & Salinas, 2019).

As seen in Figure 1.1 the downward trend in the number of children per woman persisted into the 21st century. At the beginning of the 1960s women had on average five children, this decreased to 1.9 by 2000. Comparatively, the US and the UK had fertility rates of 2.7 and 3.7 respectively in 1960, but by 1975 fertility rates had decreased to 1.7 and remained low. Although women were having fewer children, delaying the age at which they had their first child and sometimes not having any children (Arriagada, 2004a; PNUD, 2010), motherhood remains an important role in women's identities and source of womanhood (Mora, 2006; Undurraga, 2013).

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[5] In 1968, there was a policy to introduce birth control. Family planning was the result of modernisation by targeting policy on family poverty, responsible motherhood and the protection of women's lives (Pieper Mooney, 2009).

Figure 1.1 Trends in fertility rate in Chile, the United Kingdom and the United States (2000 – 2017)
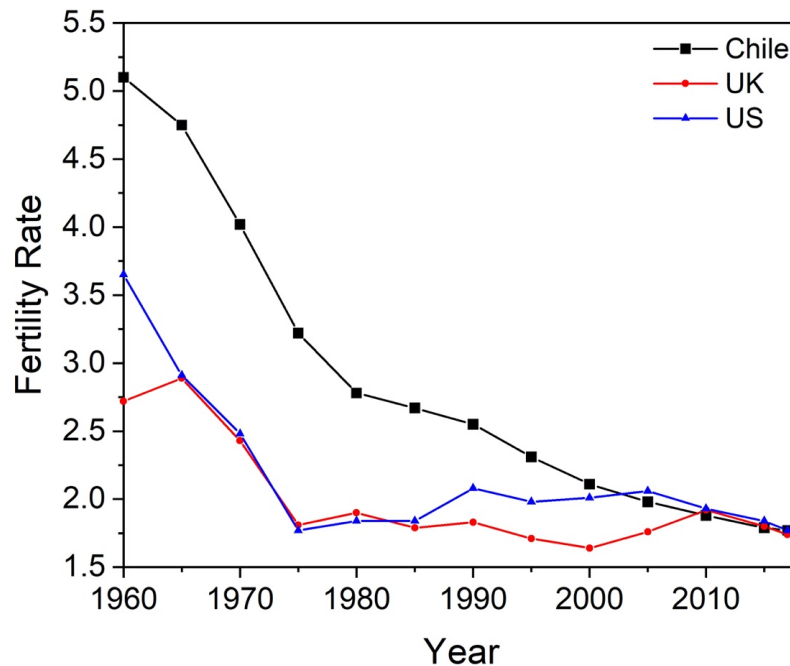
Sources: Own calculations from data available from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Family Database from 1990 to 2015.
Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm#structure (OECD, 2018, 2019b).
* Fertility rate is defined as the 'the average number of children born per woman over her child-bearing lifetime given current age-specific fertility rates and assuming no female mortality during reproductive years' (OECD, 2018).

In the last three decades, patterns of family formation have changed such as late and falling rates of marriage (Palma & Scott, 2018), with increasing cohabitation, divorce and extra-marital births (Ramm, 2016; Salinas, 2011). Thus the proportion of children born out of wedlock climbed from 34.3% in 1990 to 67.7% in 2010 (Palma & Scott, 2018), and there has been a decrease in the proportion of people who were married. In 2000, there were 66,607[6] marriages in Chile, 4.4 per 1000 people, declining to 3.4 per 1000 people in 2016 (INE, 2004, 2019; OECD, 2019a). Over this time, age at first marriage increased from 25 to 34 years for women and from 28 to 37 years for men (INE, 2010b, 2018d). Despite declining marriage, this form of family was considered

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[6] This number include people who were single, widowed or had had a previous marriage annulled at the time of getting married.

by the Chilean people to be a modern institution, a symbol of respectability and the best environment for children (Herrera, 2006b; Salinas, 2010).

A rise in cohabitation was associated with a tendency towards late marriage (Salinas, 2011). Traditionally, cohabitation[7] had been observed amongst people with low income and low education, i.e. a sector of the working class (Binstock et al., 2016; Ramm, 2013; Therborn, 2004). Now, however, cohabitation had become more frequent among better-off, more highly educated young Chileans, with a high social status (Ramm & Salinas, 2019; Salinas, 2010). In 2011, nearly 50% of 25- to 29-year-old women with higher education were cohabiting (Binstock et al., 2016). However, it cannot be known if these figures included cohabiting lesbian women.

Those patterns of family formation reflected the slow pace of change in practices and class differences. It seemed that unmarried middle-class women did not reject marriage but preferred to postpone it because this gave them more freedom to end a co-residential relationship (Ramm & Salinas, 2019). Furthermore, middle-class mothers who were cohabiting were able to provide for their children through their own employment (Salinas, 2016). In contrast, unmarried working-class women may have planned to get married eventually, but being single mothers facilitated their access to social welfare provisions, thereby improving their living conditions. Thus, cohabitation was triggered by material and practical motivations, women of both

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[7] Anthropologists, sociologists and family historians have suggested that cohabitation as a form of family union in Chile was historically not rare, but its prevalence was lower than in other Latin American countries. The co-existence of marriage and cohabitation as a dual family system since Spanish colonization created a second-order family in which an indigenous woman of lower social class was allowed to cohabit with a Spanish or upper-class white man who was already married and had a legal wife and children. This meant that the dual family system paralleled the social class hierarchy. Both of a man's families were recognised and their children accepted as legitimate. However, the two types of union differed in status and legal rights, with fewer privileges accorded to the women and children in cohabitation arrangements. Children born outside marriage were usually employed by the father's family as workers and had no legal rights to claim paternity (Binstock, Cabella, Salinas, & Colás, 2016; Milanich, 2009; Montecinos, 2007; Therborn, 2004).

classes who postponed marriage, but for different reasons and neither was against marriage per se (Ramm & Salinas, 2019).

Since provisions for divorce were initiated in 2004, the number of divorces has increased significantly. In 2006, 10,123 people divorced and by 2016 this had increased to 48,635 (INE, 2020), although the divorce rate is the lowest of all the OECD countries. For instance, in 2010 it was 0.1 per 1,000 people in Chile compared to 2.1 per 1,000 people in the UK (OECD, 2019c). Civil partnership, introduced for opposite- and same-sex couples in 2015, has increased. There were 2,218 civil partnerships in 2015: 71% of this total were opposite-sex couples, 16% were gay couples, and 13% were lesbian couples. In 2016, this increased to 7,259 civil partnerships: the proportion of opposite-sex couples increased to 78% of the total, whilst the proportion of gay and lesbian couples decreased to 12% and 10%, respectively (Registro Civil, 2017). Trends for same-sex couples are difficult to discern because they were not completely visible or consistent in official statistics. This may be related to heteronormative assumptions that inform the way statistics are collected; this assumption had been the case from the beginning of the post-dictatorship democracy and has persisted over time and means that some family forms have been rendered invisible.

There have also been changes in household composition in recent decades. Broadly, single-person households, lone-parent households and households made up of couples without children increased over this period. In contrast, the proportion of households composed of couples with children and extended family households decreased (see Table 1.1). Thus, the percentage of family-households with children decreased from 41.6% to 28.8%, whilst the proportion of people living by themselves rose slowly

between 1992 and 2002, but increased sharply thereafter to 17.8% by 2017. The available statistics do not provide further data on families, meaning that same-sex family households remain overlooked.

Table 1.1 The percentage of households by type of household

Households[*]	Census 1992	Census 2002	Census 2017
Family household with children[1]	41.6	37.4	28.8
Family household without children[2]	7.5	9.9	12.6
Lone-parent household[3]	8.6	9.7	12.7
Single-person household[4]	8.5	11.6	17.8
Extended family household[5]	23.6	21.9	19.0
Couple, with or without children and one or more un/related adults[6]	4.3	3.2	2.5
Non-nuclear household[7]	5.9	6.3	6.6
Total	100	100	100

Sources: Information for 1992, 2002, 2012 and 2017 Population Census (*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas*) (INE, 1993, 2003, 2010a, 2018d). Information for 1992 and 2002 (INE, 2010a, p. 4). Information for 2012 and 2017 (INE, 2018d, p. 26).

* The head of the household refers to a man or a woman considered by other members as the head of the household because of economic, kinship, age or authority reasons. All couple relationships within households are implied to be heterosexual, as there is no mention of same-sex relationships or sexual identity in the censuses.
1 *Nuclear biparental con hijos*: The household comprises the head of the household, his/her spouse, partner or civil partner and children or stepchildren.
2 *Nuclear biparental sin hijos*: The household comprises the head of the household, his/her spouse, partner or civil partner and no children or stepchildren.
3 *Nuclear Monoparental con hijos*: The head of the household is a lone parent and her/his children or stepchildren
4 *Unipersonal*: The head of the household is one person or one-person household.
5 *Hogar extendido*: The head of the household, his/her spouse, partner or civil partner, with or without children or stepchildren and at least one family member.
6 *Hogar compuesto*: The head of the household, her/his spouse, partner or civil partner with or without children or stepchildren and at least one person who is not related to the head of the household. Domestic servants living in the household are not included.
7 *Sin núcleo familiar*: Two or more unrelated people living together without children.

The statistics above provide an insight into the trends in types of households and living arrangements. However, these official statistics are limited because of their assumption that a family consists of a man, a woman and their children – a nuclear family. The figures overrepresent this type of household and make other living arrangements invisible. Any fluidity in terms of who people consider to be their family or household is not incorporated in the census, and consequently the statistics are limited because of the way in which they are constructed and presented. Information is lacking about people living in other ways, such as friends sharing a house or a gay couple living together without children, nor do they specify whether the couples they refer to are a man and a woman, or same-sex partnerships.

Since the 1990s, the proportion of female-headed households in relation to the total number of households has almost doubled: from 25.3% in 1992 to 41.6% in 2017 (INE, 2010a, 2018d). Whether this trend is to women's advantage or indicates a decline in male authority will be considered in this thesis (Chapter 4).

Amongst lone-parent households, 84% were headed by women in 2017 (INE, 2018e) and 15.4% of these households were categorised as 'poor households' (CM, 2016). In Chile, female-headed households are socioeconomically disadvantaged in comparison with male-headed households, and living in a household without an adult man is often a predictor of poverty (Chant, 2002; Salinas, 2011). This situation is because women have lower levels of education, lower participation in paid work and lower earnings (CM, 2016).

The above transformations in families are similar to those in the Global North: fewer people with dependent children, more single-person households, fewer extended family households, increasing divorce and cohabitation, decreases in marriage and a

falling fertility rate. There is, however, an overall problem with the statistics since they are based on normative assumptions about particular types of family formation, and thus render alternative ways of living invisible. For this reason, research is needed to understand how people are living in Chile and this is what I explore in this thesis. In the next section, I will describe the occupational structure characterising the Chilean workforce; I focus on female employment because of the importance of paid work for women's position in the family.

3. Changes in occupational structure (1990 – present)

In this section, I discuss changes in occupational structure and women's employment. This is important for my thesis because of the interconnections between paid work and family life; particularly in so far as they shape gender divisions of labour within families. I take an intersectional approach to make visible existing gender and class hierarchies in contemporary Chile.

3.1 Gendered workforce

In the last three decades, occupational structure has shifted towards service jobs which are coded feminine and away from manufacturing and heavy industry[8] which are coded masculine. Thus, by 2015 the service sector represented 60.7% of the total workforce, and within this sector women accounted for over 60% of employees. In contrast, men represented 29.3% of the service sector (OIT, 2017). This change meant

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[8] In 1992, the recorded workforce was predominantly urban and 30.3% of the total workforce worked in the service sector which was the largest employment sector in the Chilean economy. Within this sector 56.8% of the workforce were women and this was the largest source of female employment. In contrast, over 50% of the male workforce was split between agriculture, manufacturing and the service sectors. This meant that male employment was spread between different areas, whilst the female labour force was more concentrated. However, the growth of the service sector reflected a tertiarisation in the economy and a shift from industrialisation and male employment in heavy industry to services and female employment (Mauro, Godoy, & Diaz, 2009).

more white-collar jobs, a reduction in jobs based on manual labour and increasing levels of women's employment.

The occupational structure for the period that I conducted my fieldwork is shown in Table 1.2. The figures show that occupational structure is gendered with the highest managerial and professional occupations and manual occupations having a higher proportion of men, and office employees and retail workers a higher proportion of women (INE, 2017a, p. 2). Exceptions are scientific professionals and intellectuals as well as technicians and professional middle levels which have almost equal proportions of women and men.

Table 1.2 The gender composition of occupational groups (%)

Occupation[*]	Men (%)	Women (%)
Professional, government professional and management	72.9	27.1
Scientific professionals and intellectuals	50.4	49.6
Technicians and professional middle levels	50.5	49.5
Office employees	37.5	62.5
Sales workers, service workers	33.0	67.0
Farming and fishing skilled workers	85.0	15.0
Operators, handcraft art workers, painting	85.0	15.0
Operators in mining and others such as miners, builders	91.9	8.1
Unskilled workers, non-qualified workers	54.3	45.7
Others (unidentified)	88.7	11.3

Source: Own calculations based on *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas*, Bulletin of Employment (INE, 2017a, p. 2).

[*]I translated the occupations as they appear in the official statistics.

Furthermore, Table 1.3 shows the proportion of the male and female workforce at different levels of the occupational structure.

Table 1.3 The proportion of women and men in each occupational group (%)

Occupation	Male Workforce (%)	Female Workforce (%)	Total Workforce (%)	
Professional, government professional and management	2.8	15.1	2.3	MIDDLE CLASS
Scientific professionals and intellectuals	11.0	13.9	12.7	
Technicians and professional middle levels	10.1	12.7	11.7	
Office employees	5.4	23.8	8.5	WORKING CLASS
Sales workers, service workers	8.4	1.4	14.8	
Farming and fishing skilled workers	5.8	4.9	4.0	
Operators, handcraft art workers, painting	19.7	1.8	13.5	
Operator in mining, like a miner or builder	14.3	24.8	9.1	
Unskilled workers, non-qualified workers	21.1	0.2	22.7	
Others (unidentified)	1.2	1.5	0.8	

Source: Own calculations based on *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas*, Bulletin of Employment (INE, 2017a, p. 2)

Whilst there is a higher proportion of the female workforce than the male workforce in middle-class jobs[9], a higher proportion of men occupy top level professional and management positions, 2.8% of men compared with 1.5% of women. The largest sector for women's employment lies in working-class jobs, concentrated in particular occupations, such as office workers and service sector workers, where 36.5% of women compared to 13.8% of men are employed. Working-class jobs are a male dominated sector, including manual occupations such as mining, farming, fishing and unskilled work; these working-class jobs represent the highest proportion of employment for men in the occupational structure in Chile.

The growth of the service sector since the 1990s has brought with it an increase in women's jobs. In 1992 the female labour force participation rate was 25%, whereas by 2017 this had increased to 40%, although Chilean women's participation in the labour force, at 51.7%, is lower than average in Latin American countries (ILO, 2019, p. 100). Figure 1.2 shows that the proportion of men in the labour force decreased from 70.5% in 1992 to 60% in 2017. Among the reasons for this are that fewer manual jobs are available and more young men are studying; this has decreased the gender participation gap in the labour force (OIT, 2017).

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[9] The rationale for categorising these jobs into middle class and working class is based on their contracts and salary. Middle-class jobs refer to workers with permanent positions, indefinite contracts and the majority with higher education degrees. Working-class jobs refer to fixed-term contracts, hourly paid positions and the majority with only secondary education completed (Todaro & Yañez, 2004, p. 111).

Figure 1.2 Labour force participation rates by sex. Chile 1992 – 2017*
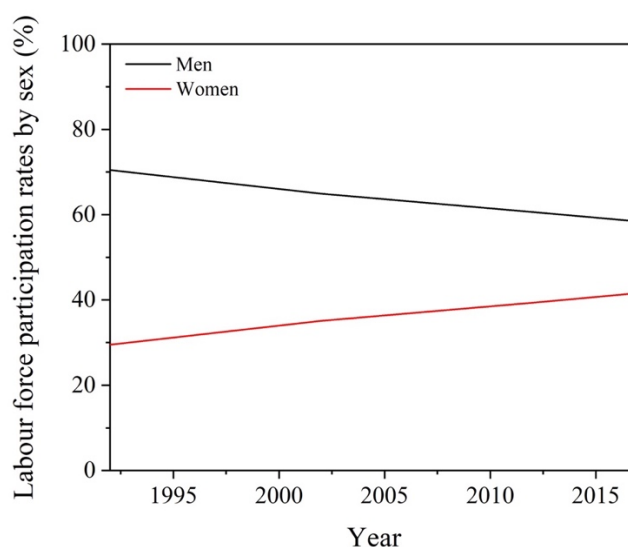
Despite increasing numbers of women in the workforce they are disadvantaged relative to men. Women's working conditions remain poor, with a lack of job security, casualisation (Galvez & Sanchez, 1998; Mauro et al., 2009; OIT, 2017), and high levels of gender-based violence (Undurraga & López, 2020). Women's average salary is 20% to 30% lower than men's average salary, and the gap between workers with higher education is greater (PNUD, 2010). Chile has one of the highest gender pay gaps amongst the OECD countries with a pay gap of 21.1% compared to the average of 14.1% (OECD, 2017).

Furthermore, women tend to have more precarious jobs and spend more hours a week on domestic work than men, 5.89 hours compared with 2.74 (INE, 2016). Women with higher levels of education are more likely than less highly educated women to participate in the labour force, have full-time jobs and be able to afford childcare

(Madero-Cabib, Undurraga, & Valenzuela, 2019). Women with lower levels of education are more likely to leave the formal workforce and engage in informal work, due to caring responsibilities for children or elderly relatives (CM, 2018; INE, 2018b). This is because the Chilean labour market is organised around the ideal masculine worker who works full time and is always available, willing to work long working hours, without care responsibilities or breaks in his career, and it is hard for most women to sustain such jobs (Undurraga, 2013). One of the reasons for this is that employers assume that women will not be in the labour market if they have childcare responsibilities, and therefore work hours are not tailored to fit their needs (Undurraga, 2019).

There is also evidence that gay men and lesbians are disadvantaged in the labour market. For instance, LGBTIQ people face discrimination during the hiring process (Undurraga, 2019). In a study by Fundacion Iguales (2016) over 50.4% of people who identified as gay or lesbian say they found it very difficult to find a job. The embodiment of a different sexual identity and questions about private life in job interviews are the main barriers for gay and lesbian people in Chile, despite this type of discrimination being illegal since the 2010 Equality Act (Fundacion Iguales, 2016).

This discussion shows that the occupational structure in Chile is gendered, with men over-represented in the top and bottom levels and women over-represented in the middle, and that the labour market marginalises women, gay men and lesbians. These multidimensional inequalities affect people and their opportunities in society. This is relevant for family life because access to particular jobs gives people status, and access to the resources associated with paid work underpins social inequalities and shapes

family life. I now turn my attention to social inequalities; particularly, inequalities of class.

3.2 Social inequalities

Chile is one of the most inequitable societies in the world; income distribution remains the most unequal within the OECD countries and shows extreme levels of wealth concentration (Oxfam, 2013; Sehnbruch, 2007; Torche, 2005). This is despite Chile having experienced economic growth (Winn, 2004), political stability (Drake & Jaksic, 1999), being a high-income country, being one of the wealthiest countries in Latin America (World Bank, 2018) and joined the OECD in 2010. Social inequality is entrenched in Chilean society, affecting people differently and positioning them at different levels in wider social relations, and whilst some Chileans experience advantages because of this, others are disadvantaged in their everyday life (PNUD, 2017). Sociologists argue that a consideration of social class allows an exploration of these differential experiences and I focus on social class in this section (Espinoza, Barozet, & Méndez, 2013; Mendez & Gayo, 2019).

As a result of the authoritarian legacy in Chilean sociological thought (Chapter 2), discussions of class have been neglected and, as a result, much research is needed (Espinoza et al., 2013). Sociologists argue that the best way forward is to look at work because of the importance of paid work in mobilising material resources for the well-being of households (Barozet, 2018; Torche & Wormald, 2004). Furthermore, occupational structure is critical to people's access to income and underpins class structure (Barozet & Fierro, 2011; Espinoza & Barozet, 2009; Torche & Wormald, 2004). Sociologists do not, however, agree on the interpretation of data regarding occupational class, with some arguing that Chile is predominantly middle class, while

others see it as largely working class. Those who argue for its being middle class argue that the workforce is 'unequal but fluid' (Torche, 2005) and while there is no mobility within the top positions, the middle ranges of the occupational structure are fluid and over 45% of the workforce is classified in middle-class occupations. Others, however, argue that Chile's 'service economy' cannot be considered as providing middle-class occupations because casualisation is widespread and working conditions are much more precarious than in the Global North; this means that almost 50% of the workforce is working-class (Barozet, 2017; Barozet & Fierro, 2011; Espinoza et al., 2013).

I agree with the latter argument. As discussed earlier, my analysis of official statistics in Table 1.3 shows that 26.6% of the workforce hold middle-class jobs, with men occupying positions at the highest level and women in professional jobs; that is, 23.3% of the workforce are in upper working-class positions, which are heavily female dominated; and 49.3%, or almost half the workforce, are in working-class jobs (manual labour) which are male dominated (INE, 2017a). This is important for my study because it indicates, firstly, that Chilean society is not overwhelmingly middle class and, secondly, provides a context for class inequalities within which my participants engage in family life.

The successful discourse of the ruling class which proposes that Chile is a middle-class society based on 'equal opportunities' (Marambio, 2017) helps to sustain unequal social relations (Hutchinson et al., 2014), and to create a middle-class cultural identity (Méndez, 2008). By 2015, over 70% of urban Chileans self-identified as middle class because they considered that middle-class status involved: 1) having an occupation, 2) completion of some education, either high school, technical college or university, and 3) accessing higher levels of consumption than their own parents (Barozet, 2017).

Furthermore, they judged their social position, economic resources and standard of living to be better than that of their family of origin (PNUD, 2017). Whether this self-identification is to people's advantage or indicates other forms of vulnerability is debatable. More research is required on class and families because the lack of research has rendered certain (re)productions of inequalities invisible; this is one of the issues I explore in my thesis.

In the next section, I turn my attention to another important aspect of the context of Chilean family life – the growth in rights of intimate citizenship framed by policy and law.

4. Progress towards intimate citizenship rights (1990 – present)

In this section, I discuss the interplay between state and families which shapes the institutional framework in which my participants live. First, I focus on the 1980 Constitution because it constrains the possibility of legal change, I then discuss mainstream gender policy and, finally, the main changes in family law.

4.1 The 1980 Constitution

Modern Chile is underpinned by a political constitution that was created in the wake of the dictatorship. The 1980 Constitution shapes the institutional rules of what is possible to change, address and maintain in society (Heiss, 2017). In other words, it reflects the distribution of power in social relations and institutions at the time it was written, and therefore limits what laws can be passed. The Chilean Constitution was written by eight middle-class, Catholic, right-wing men and approved under a

fraudulent referendum which did not meet the minimum conditions of a democratic election, such as freedom of information and secret balloting (Fuentes, 2013).

The 1980 Constitution[10] acknowledges that 'the family' is the basic core of Chilean society (Junta de Gobierno, 1980), and defines marriage, i.e. the heteronormative family, as a social institution brought into being through the civil act of marriage. 'The family' is defined as a solemn and indissoluble contract between a man and a woman which unites them forever with the purpose of living together, procreating and providing each other with mutual help (Cienfuegos, 2015). Therefore, a family is legally understood as heterosexual, monogamous, co-resident and reproductive, i.e. based on a heritage of Catholic teachings on the control of sexuality through marriage, which gives the man authority over his wife and children as the basis of family relationships (Cienfuegos, 2015; Ramm & Salinas, 2019; Therborn, 2004).

In 1990, electoral democracy returned to Chile, although the authoritarian legacy was preserved in the 1980 Constitution, which was fully enacted in 1990. This means that the authoritarian principles of the dictatorship are preserved even in a democratic Chile. This constitution is the main obstacle impeding the democratic process by which the will of the people translates into law and public policy (Heiss, 2017, p. 471; Heiss & Szmulewicz, 2018), and, therefore, intensifies the tension between the

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[10] This constitution has been massively contested in Chile, and a referendum in October 2020 rejected the authoritarian 1980 Constitution and create a new one fit for a democratic regime. In March 2020, the Congress approved the Chilean Constitutive Convention which will write a new constitution. This Chilean Constitution will be drafted by a body composed on the basis of gender equality, made possible because of feminist constitutional attorneys, feminist campaigners, grassroots women's movements and women MPs, who voted for this change, with the exception of a few members of the right-wing party in power at the time of the 1980 Constitution. The referendum was postponed from April to October 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic. The President considered postponing it again to 2021 but, faced with social unrest, Piñera and the ruling party were obliged to develop health and safety procedures which enabled the referendum to take place on 25th October 2020. The result of the referendum was almost 80% in favour of changing the 1980 Constitution by a people-led body. The new constitution will be in place by 2022 (Servicio Electoral, 2020).

maintenance of an authoritarian society and the possibilities of change demanded by its citizens (Heiss, 2020, p. 11). Nonetheless, over time considerable social change, some political rights and openness have been enshrined in laws and policy; despite the fact that the family as defined in the constitution is at odds with some of these legislative and policy changes. In particular, the social position of women and children has improved due to family equality reforms granting married women and mothers equal rights with men.

4.2 SERNAM and gender policy

Since the 1990s, Chile has signed up to a number of important international conventions as a member of the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation of American States (OAS). Inspired by changes in family law in European countries led to the promotion of human rights for women, children and sexual minorities (Htun, 2003). For example, in 1990 Chile signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW[11]) and, in 1994, it signed The Inter-American Convention of *Belém do Pará*: on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women[12]. Therefore, crucial reforms to a body of normative laws recognised the human rights of women, sexual minorities and children, promoting more equal opportunities and less overt discrimination in Chile (Humanas, 2006). These reforms were the basis to create SERNAM[13] (National Women's

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[11] The convention covers three dimensions of women's situations. Civil rights and the legal status of women are dealt with in detail. In addition, it is concerned with the dimension of human reproduction and with the impact of cultural factors on gender relations (UN, 2020).

[12] The Convention of Belém do Pará defines violence against women, establishes that women have the right to live a life free of violence and that violence against women constitutes a violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms (OAS, 2020).

[13] The Chilean democratic regime is a presidential regime, which means that legislation is initiated and led by government. The role of congress is to oppose or approve government legislation with minimum adjustments before they become law. The political agenda of SERNAM depends on the president in

Service), which is the institution responsible for the implementation of equal rights legislation for women, and the promotion of laws to tackle gender inequality and discrimination against women.

SERNAM developed policies on gender mainstreaming, advocated women's rights bills and led reforms on domestic violence, the equality of legitimate and 'illegitimate' children, women's rights in marriage, constitutional equality, workplace discrimination and women's political rights (Htun, 2003; Morán, 2013; Waylen, 2009). However, SERNAM's progressive agenda on sexuality and reproductive rights was limited by the Catholic Church with the support of the Christian Democrat Party and conservative politicians (Haas, 2010; Morán, 2013). This resulted in a contradictory outcome of the democratisation process (Waylen, 2009).

Before the first regime of Michelle Bachelet[14] (2006 – 2010), there was a strong political consensus across right- and left-wing parties to perpetuate traditional gender roles, embodied in the heteronormative family, as the basis of social order (Ramm & Gideon, 2019). This consensus was reinforced by the ruling class trying to avoid anything which might provoke conflict with the Catholic Church; such conflict could threaten the stability of the democratic regime (Htun, 2003).

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power and one of its roles is to support gender and women legislation to be promoted by the government and discussed in congress. Sometimes, the president has the power to pass legislation without congress's approval. The creation of SERNAM was made possible by the activities of women who participated in fighting against the dictatorship and feminist and women's movements which pressured the post-dictatorship regime.

[14] Bachelet was the first female president and second Socialist in contemporary Chilean politics to govern the country. She governed twice between 2006-2010 and 2014-2018. During Bachelet government, a Socialist Secretary and then a Communist Secretary was in charge of SERNAM, whereas previously it was ruled by a Christian Democrat Party, although Socialists and Christian Democrats were part of the central-left coalition.

With Bachelet, policies began to be more liberal in their treatment of single-parent families. Bachelet's social policy supported a more liberal approach to morality; women became frequent beneficiaries of social benefits and single women (primarily mothers) exceeded married women as beneficiaries of social housing (Ramm & Gideon, 2019; Stevenson, 2012; Undurraga, 2011). However, although policy has shifted from 'the family' to families, it is still focused on households with children as beneficiaries of state welfare. Moreover, while it is possible for the state to offer single mothers the support they need, this does nothing to make it possible for women to support their families through their own earnings. It does not challenge the idea that, to be comfortable, households should include a male wage-earner, possibly supplemented by the woman partner's earnings. Some sociologists argue that this ongoing policymaking was framed by political 'maternalism' [*maternalismo*] which refers to the way modern welfare infrastructures are underpinned by assumptions about traditional gender roles and relations (Ramm & Gideon, 2019).

After 15 years of developing gender policies by SERNAM, during the second Bachelet government (2014 – 2018) limited policies were introduced concerning sexual and reproductive rights and civil rights for gay and lesbian people. This change arose because of the work of femocrats in SERNAM and the support of LGBTIQ and feminist movements that actively promoted and campaigned for gay and women's rights (Waylen, 2016, p. 203). However, the effectiveness of this pressure for change was limited by the institutional constraints discussed above, which remained in contemporary Chile.

4.3 Intimate citizenship and family law

Considering the legal changes in family law chronologically shows that there have been some limited reforms since the 1990s, but that Chile remains a conservative society regarding family. It preserves the 1980 Constitution, upholding normative forms of family life, the codes of the Catholic Church and conservative ideas about the moral and social disintegration of society (Haas, 2010, p. 146). This constrains people's personal and family lives by allowing only marginal change to society including limited intimate citizenship rights. Despite this there have been significant changes, the first of which involved legislation on domestic violence and the end of legal discrimination against children born outside of marriage, followed by new laws on divorce and civil partnership, then parental rights and women's reproductive rights. I look at these in turn.

4.3.1 Domestic violence and filiation

Among the first attempts at family reform were efforts to address domestic violence. In 1994, the first law on domestic violence was established. In the nineties the legislation applied only to couples that were married. In 2005, the law was modified so that domestic violence was understood to have a broader meaning; kin relations and cohabiting couples are now covered by this law, as well as children, elderly people and women (Lepin, 2015). In 2017, this law was updated to protect heterosexual men, gay men and lesbians; it also recognised that intimate violence could occur in teenage relationships and between adults in intimate relationships who do not live together (Casas, 2018).

In 1998, the Filiation Act was passed providing more equal rights for children and parents. First, it gives the same legal status to children born within and outside marriage, eliminating the notion of legitimate, illegitimate, and natural children to establish the equality of all children before the law (Cienfuegos, 2015). Second, the law grants mothers equal parental rights [*patria potestad*], including the right to make decisions regarding minor children, manage their property, and the duty of being responsible for them. Third, the law establishes paternity to ensure that men provide for their biological child/ren (Htun, 2003). In 2006, this led to the regulation and protection of economic support from the father for his biological children and it allowed women, regardless of their marital status, to demand child support payments from the biological father.

In 2013, shared custody[15] was approved to govern the custody of children after parents' divorce. The law changed the previous right of the mother to be the main personal carer of children if the marriage ended. The new regulation focusses on the child's best interests, with the right to be fostered and nurtured by both parents. The parental regime has to be agreed and signed by both parents, this includes the frequency and length of time each parent spends with the child. The law is based on the principle of co-responsibility and parental equality [*igualdad parental*] for the care of children by both parents after divorce or separation (Congreso Nacional, 2013).

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[15] The law was introduced on Father's Day and also regulates child support. Alimony is no longer required to be paid as both parents are responsible for the children if they have shared custody. This is because the children live with both parents in different households.

4.3.2 Marriage, divorce and civil partnership

In post-dictatorship democratic Chile there are three different marital property regimes to regulate assets, inheritance and property between the two parties. The default marriage regime is the community regime[16] [*sociedad conyugal*]. This marital property law defines the husband as the designated manager, and women relinquish the right to manage the property they own prior to marriage and the property they inherit or gain during the marriage (Ramm & Salinas, 2019). Upon the ending of the marriage, each spouse retains their inherited property and any other property they owned before marriage. Any property acquired during marriage is retained by the owner of the property. The second marriage system, for which couples can opt, is separation of property [*separación de bienes*], under which men and women individually have the right to control their property, that inherited and acquired during the marriage. Upon termination of marriage, each spouse retains the property they gained in the marriage (Congreso Nacional, 2020). In 1994, a more egalitarian marriage regime option was introduced, called *participación en los gananciales*; under this system husband and wife are each recognised as the legitimate executors of their personal property during marriage (Htun, 2003). If marriage breakdown occurs, all property acquired by both spouses for the duration of marriage is combined and split equally between the two spouses.

In 2004, the Law of Divorce replaced the earlier procedure for ending a marriage (annulation/*nulidad*), which was legal, but was actually an annulment, as permitted by the Church, not a divorce. The annulment involved an agreement between solicitors, witnesses, the couple and a judge that the marriage never happened (UDP, 2003).

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[16] This regimen 'granted women exclusive control over the income earned from independent work, the only property women may dispose of without their husband's authorization' (Htun, 2003, p. 138).

However, even the Divorce Act of 2004 presents impediments to divorce. For instance, even if both spouses agree to divorce, they have to wait a year to file for divorce, and if one spouse disagrees the other can file for divorce only after three years of living apart (Ramm & Salinas, 2019). Marriage regulates the responsibilities, rights and property of marriage partners, but it also constrains women's rights in some property regimes. It also implies a family-orientated ideology which promotes women as the main carers in family relationships and, because of this, they are less able to accrue property and wealth by working (Chapter 5). Marriage by default maintains male authority and operates as an institution within which the three different property regimes position women at a greater disadvantage than men. The property law shows that people can choose to be liberal, but outdated patriarchal arrangements and views which see women as men's dependants are respected and protected. Divorce remains a process that is not straightforward and does not necessarily benefit and protect women's choices.

Gay and lesbian couples' access to the rights and benefits conferred by marriage are not resolved yet. In 2008, same-sex marriage was brought for discussion to congress, which also contemplated a filiation law for gay and lesbian parents and their legal recognition under adoption law. Although same-sex marriage has not been passed as family law yet, in 2017 the Constitutional[17] Committee of Congress discussed it and it is pending governmental support to become family law (Fundacion Iguales, 2018b). Meanwhile, a Civil Partnership Agreement Law was passed in 2015, under which both same-sex and heterosexual couples can sign a civil contract which confers legal recognition of their partnership. Under the terms of civil partnership, the property

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[17] Conservative forces, Catholic and Evangelical churches, right-wing parties, and organisations rely on the norm that as constitution defines marriage between a man and a woman, same-sex marriage is 'unconstitutional', and as a consequence goes against the institutional roots of Chilean society.

regime by default is separation of property [*separación de bienes*], which is the same as the second and more egalitarian marriage option than *sociedad conyugal*. The couple manage individually their property acquired during the civil partnership, and if one of them passes away, the other partner has the right to keep the property. This form of union is therefore assumed in law to be more egalitarian than marriage.

Other measures to protect gay and lesbian individual rights also exist. In 2010, anti-discrimination legislation was passed to protect people against discrimination on the basis of their gender identity, sex and sexual orientation. This law was mainly intended to extend human rights to LGBTIQ people in Chile (Fundacion Iguales, 2018a).

4.3.3 Parental rights

A number of workplace rights have been introduced to support gender equality. In 2011, parental leave reform extended paid maternity leave[18] to 24 weeks, granting mothers the right to stay at home with their children for twice as long as previously allowed; it increased the coverage of workers in less stable employment relationships; and it established better income replacement subsidies. The extension of maternity leave to six months strengthens women workers' rights by protecting women's employment, the health of mothers and the right of a child to be cared for by their mother. Nevertheless, only mothers are entitled to a significant amount of parental leave in their own right, restricting progress towards a more egalitarian distribution of parenting. The reform allows a mother to transfer up to six weeks of the new leave period to the father, but does not guarantee any individual rights for fathers or specific incentives for male take-up. The father's parental leave depends on the mother's rejection of maternity leave for herself, based on negotiation between couples, and

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[18] Maternity leave also granted six weeks before the end of pregnancy.

fathers in their own right only retain the previous compulsory five days of paternity leave (Aguayo, Barker, & Kimelman, 2016; 2012, 2017). From 2011 to 2016 only 0.2% of parental subsidies were transferred to fathers (Superintencia Seguridad Social, 2016).

4.3.4 Women's reproductive rights

Contemporary birth-control policy and the regulation of fertility emerged in the 1960s as a public health reform to improve the living conditions of women and the welfare of poor households. The availability of birth control has coincided with an overall reduction in the number of children born per woman (recall Figure 1.1) and may also have helped mothers return to the labour market. However, some measures, primarily regarding abortion and the morning-after pill, have been rejected by policymakers until recently. Finally, in 2013, emergency contraception became available for all women[19] under the National Healthcare System. Young women aged 14 and above are allowed to request the 'morning-after pill' without their parents' consent[20].

In 2017, abortion became legal for the first time under three limited circumstances: if the mother's life is at risk (therapeutic abortion), if there is a lethal foetal malformation, or if the pregnancy is the outcome of rape. This bill was passed by conservative forces in congress only because it includes the right of 'conscientious objection' to participating in the termination of pregnancy for health practitioners. This means that medical professionals are allowed to object to participating in a termination if it goes against their moral beliefs. Nearly 50% of gynaecologists, over

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[19] Distribution is allowed for young women aged 14 years and above. In Chile, adulthood is at the age of 18.

[20] In 2008, this law was rejected by congress. It was reintroduced in 2017 and passed. This was in the second regime of Bachelet. SERNAM led the campaign on addressing high rates of teenage pregnancy a campaign supported by feminists from the central-left coalition and organisations.

20% of anaesthetists and midwives and approximately 14% of paramedics conscientiously object in the Public Health System (Humanas, 2018). These limits to abortion are the strongest indication that Chilean women still face difficulties in obtaining proper reproductive and sexual rights. It also indicates that the state adheres to the moral codes of the Catholic Church. That normative and legislative frameworks continue to prioritise patriarchal social arrangements by supporting a particular heteronormative way of living, and all other ways remain marginalised.

This discussion has shown that, despite some moves towards greater reproductive and intimate citizenship rights, a normative familial ideology supported by the patriarchal values of the Catholic Church remains dominant in Chile. It is enshrined in the authoritarian 1980 Constitution and in some laws, such as those governing family properties in marriage, and this context constrains how people can live and imagine how to live. However, there are certain laws and policies that are more progressive and recognise alternative living arrangements. These include the civil partnership legislation and legal protection from violence for those in an intimate relationship who do not live together.

In this chapter I have provided an analysis of the important social context within which people engage in family life. I have shown that Chile is a highly unequal society, women and LGBTIQ people are disadvantaged in the labour market and that some progress in law has occurred towards equality. The patterns of demographic change and family formation in Chile are similar to those in the Global North: declining marriage and fertility rates and increasing levels of cohabitation and divorce. I have shown that Chile is a very traditional society underpinned by the values of the Catholic Church, institutional constraints and normative assumptions about the

heteronormative family. At the same time, there has been consistent pressure for change and progress[21]. Chilean society is therefore contradictory, and it is in this socio-economic and legal context is that people do family in Chile.

5. Thesis structure

Following this first introductory chapter, **Chapter 2** provides a review of contemporary debates on family practices, personal life and intimacy, to situate my study of family life in Chile in the context of recent research. I explore different analytical approaches to the study of family life and develop a research approach based on Morgan's idea of 'family practices' and feminist critiques. This provides a better understanding of the processes involved in making family in everyday life and challenges the heteronormativity of sociological thought in Chile. As well as discussing research in the Global North, I explore how Chilean sociology has engaged with family studies and position my research in the emerging field of family relationships and feminist thought in Chile.

Chapter 3 is my methodological chapter and discusses my decision to use qualitative research methods and my choice of three qualitative methods: in-depth interviews, day-long observation in the households of selected participants, and the collection of visual material in the form of family photographs. I discuss the challenges of undertaking qualitative research on family life in Chile, the complexities of accessing participants, primarily by recruiting participants living in different forms of living arrangements: 1) married, 2) cohabiting, 3) lone parents, 4) stepfamilies, 5) same-sex

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[21] This is shown by the fact that eight out of ten Chileans voted to change the 1980 Constitution. This is the highest political participation in any election since the return of the democratic regime in the 1990s, especially for some marginalised groups, such as people from working-class neighbourhoods, young people under 40 years old and younger and older women (Servicio Electoral, 2020).

partnership, and 6) people on their own; and how this shaped my findings. I explain the choice of thematic analysis and how I combined coding in NVivo with written notes so that I was able to immerse myself in the data. I also reflect on my position as a researcher and how this shapes the whole research process, and explore the ethical issues raised by this research.

Chapter 4 is the first analytical chapter where I use in-depth interviews to explore the 'family practices' in which people engage, and which are important for the maintenance of family life. I analyse the ways in which my participants make family and how 'family practices' are shaped by living arrangement, social class, gender and sexuality. Furthermore, I address the way that my participants operate with layered meanings of family life and explore the different meanings of family that they talk about.

In **Chapter 5,** I explore how paid work shapes family life, basing my analysis on the observations I conducted in different households as well as my in-depth interviews. In doing this, I introduce the way in which middle-class and working-class participants organise their working life and how this is linked with decision-making in family life. I investigate whether signs of change are observable towards more egalitarian relationships within families and how change or its lack is linked with paid work in my sample. I discuss the types of resources my participants gain from employment, how these resources are used to make families and how they are gendered and classed. Finally, I explore how working-class participants engage in informal work and how this form of labour forms family.

In **Chapter 6,** I explore how the gendered division of household labour makes family life. This chapter introduces the textures of everyday life inside the household, how

my participants engage in domestic work, what sort of decision-making they engage in to divide domestic work between them and how this form of labour contributes to family life. Furthermore, I explore how domestic work constitutes class and gender, and how this is linked with family life. Finally, I explore any signs that domestic work is becoming more egalitarian within families.

In **Chapter 7,** I analyse family photographs and participants' discussions of them to investigate how participants use family photographs in their lives and the way in which they engage with photographs to represent family to other people. Moreover, I explore what sort of family photographs they take, and which kind of photographic practices participants engage in to produce family photographs. Finally, I investigate how family photography contributes towards family life and the meaning that my participants give to family photographs in their personal lives and families.

Finally, in **Chapter 8** I draw the thesis together and shed light on how my analysis has answered my research questions. I explore the contribution that my thesis makes to research on families, particularly in Chile. I look at how theories developed in the Global North, particularly British sociology, can be used in some Global South contexts, primarily in Latin America and Chile. Additionally, I talk about the methodological contribution that my research brings to family sociology in Chile, and how I develop the concept of family practices through taking an intersectional approach to gender and class.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the debates and concepts which have helped to frame my study of family practices in Santiago, Chile. In it I discuss the empirical research through which researchers have sought to examine family relations in Britain and Chile, and to which I refer to when analysing my own data. I argue that while studies of families in Chile have recently begun to consider the quality of social relations in private life, Chilean scholars need to build on British family sociology's challenges about the normative thinking that continues to guide most family studies in Chile.

I begin, in Section 2, by outlining the history of Chilean thinking on family composition and family relations, before and after the creation of the democratic regime in the 1990s. In Section 3 I examine the two main challenges to the assumption within British family sociology that 'the family' can be conceptualised as a social institution. Firstly, the feminist critique of 'the family' in the 1980s and 1990s developed into a massive research agenda exploring power relations and gender inequality within families. Here I discuss the concept of patriarchy which is central to many of these critiques. Secondly, I examine the queer challenge to the assumed heteronormativity of family composition and family relations. Then I discuss how sociologists responded to these two critiques by developing three ways of reconceptualising family life in Britain: 'personal life', 'intimacy' and 'family practices'. I explain why I think that 'family practices' is the best starting point for studying relations of intimacy and mutual support in Chile, stressing the kinds of practices that need to be explored and the concepts which may help to make sense of

them. Finally, in Section 4, I discuss the research questions that guided my collection and analysis of data in Chile.

2. Family sociology in Chile

As I wish to contribute to family sociology in Chile, I begin by outlining its history and current strengths and weaknesses, so as to identify where further conceptual and empirical contributions would be useful. Chilean sociology still operates with a model of 'the family' as a co-residential heterosexual couple raising dependent children. There are a number of reasons for this, which I discuss below, but the consequence is the relative invisibility of households that do not adopt this norm. It seems that, even where non-normative households are visible, such as government income support programmes, they are seen as lacking, as in need of surveillance or instruction and not just funds.

2.1 The scope of family sociology in Chile

Family sociology in Chile is a relatively small field, and for many years lacked critical sociological thought or interest in comparative research (Ramos, 1998; Valenzuela, Tironi, & Scully, 2006). In particular, no systematic, conceptual alternatives to the traditional notion of 'the family' have been mooted. Later I will consider various attempts to reconceptualise family in Britain and discuss their relevance to Chile; but before that, we need to consider not only why Chile lags behind in this regard, but also highlight recent research which is beginning to expand family sociology beyond its traditional concerns, but in a fragmented way.

Chilean family sociology lags behind due partly to general limitations on the development of sociology in Chile and its different foci. During the military

dictatorship (1973 – 1990), sociology in Chilean universities was dismantled (Garretón, 2005). Moreover, during the Pinochet regime social scientists – at home and those who had escaped abroad – were understandably more focused on the power of the state than the lifestyles of ordinary people (Güell, 2002). When democratic rule was first re-established, revamped sociology departments were naturally more interested in the state of the nation at the broadest level. Therefore, theorization focused on the relation between state and economy.

Another key feature of Chilean sociology has been its sharp ideological divisions (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012). In the years following democratisation three main positions on the family solidified. First there was a defence of the family emanating from sociologists at Catholic universities and research institutes which had managed to protect their sociologists during the Pinochet years. Since then, these researchers have been concerned about the implications of modernisation for Chilean society, and whether 'the family' would continue to be an essential source of identity and stability (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012; Valenzuela et al., 2006).

Empirical work performed under this lens was primarily quantitative research on family demography (Valenzuela, 2006), fertility and women's employment (Larrañaga, 2006) and family formation (Herrera, 2006a, 2007). This body of work provided systematic empirical quantitative findings about families, but it was linked to providing contemporary data to support policies to continue the process of 'modernisation' in Chile. These sociologists argued that despite some social changes due to modernisation, and demographic changes in family composition (Chapter 1), the strength of the family as an institution was not in danger and would remain – and should remain – as people's most important emotional and economic refuge (Araujo

& Martuccelli, 2012; Herrera, 2008; Valenzuela et al., 2006). These pro-family researchers worked at Catholic universities and, although sympathetic to the plight of single mothers, their neediness tended to reinforce the assumption that two-parent, heterosexual households provide a firmer basis for family life.

Chilean sociology's second ideological division has been the rise of feminism. While Western feminists in the late 1970s sought to make women's oppression in the family visible, making the personal political, Latin American feminists were fighting against dictatorships, organising against state violence and supporting resistance (Carosio, 2009; Castillo, 2018; Kluboc, 2001; Pinto, 1992). During the dictatorship, women were active in the resistance, often articulating this through their position as mothers, using the language of family ties to support political mobilisation (Jelin, 2002, 2007; Thomas, 2011; Vidaurrazaga, 2013). These women thought that using the narrative of 'the family' as a political strategy to fight against human rights violations would challenge the dictatorship by attracting support from the Catholic Church and wider society. However, some of these women sought to link women's liberation in the home to this wider struggle against the dictatorship. During this period, feminist critique created the political slogan 'Democracy in the country and in the home' [*Democracia en la país y en la casa*] contesting both formal politics and the division of labour in the household (Kirkwood, 1986; Kirkwood & Crispi, 1987).

Under the dictatorship in the 1980s, most feminist social scientific research was confined to NGOs supported by international funding and these NGOs were receptive to feminist thinking abroad. For instance, Julieta Kirkwood, a feminist sociologist who influenced gender and women's studies in Chile, was influenced by Western, Black feminist thought and feminists in Europe who had participated in the May 1968

movements. For instance, Kirkwood's political theory argued that democracy cannot exist without feminism or women's role in politics (Kirkwood, 1986). Some feminists had studied abroad while in exile, whilst others were able to stay in Chile, but, as in the Global North, many identified patriarchy as the main framework to study the family, women's employment and domestic work (Diaz, 1990; Galvez & Todaro, 1987; Hola & Todaro, 1992; Valdes, 1987). Often, however, patriarchal family relations were subsumed under what was seen as the broader issue of women's political participation, and family or the sexual division of labour were scarcely theorised.

By the beginning of the 1990s, some feminists tried to extend their demands into the realm of sexuality, including freedom of sexual expression, especially in same-sex sexual relations. They extended the previous slogan to 'Democracy in the country, at home and in bed' [*Democracia en el país, en la casa y en la cama*]. This was the first time that sexuality was expressly presented as a feminist issue that involved not only formal politics or the division of labour at home, but also the recognition of lesbianism and gay people in the public/private sphere. However, Hiner (2019) has argued that this implicit emergence of same-sex desire was the exception, since heterosexuality in sexual relations continues to be naturalised in almost all family research.

The state agency charged with responsibility for women, children and family has pursued a third way, steering a course between those who sought to preserve the family and the feminist critique of women's position. After democratisation, the influential National Women's Service (SERNAM), introduced a social research programme on 'the family', that worked with official statistics and primarily focused on poverty. Its analytical focus was investigating institutions; especially the relation between state,

economy and family. This programme generated empirical data to develop public policy towards 'the family', understood as a co-residential heterosexual couple raising children. In doing this, governmental research found that more households were headed by women than they expected, and that the 'feminisation of poverty' might result from this 'new family composition' (Jimenez, Ramirez, & Pizarro, 2008).

Sociologists in the government tried to tackle these 'family issues' – changing patterns of family composition and women as the 'new head of the household' (Buvinic et al., 1992) – but until 2000 social policy did not advocate a progressive agenda in relation to family and gender issues, and married couples were eligible for better access to scarce public housing than single parents. This was due to close ties between the Catholic Church and the *Concertación*[22] governments (1990 – 2000) (Haas, 2010; Merike & Haas, 2005; Ramm & Gideon, 2019). Targeting women's poverty and single motherhood, policymakers sought to provide state support for single mothers rather than married women from disadvantaged backgrounds, but this was because they assumed that married couples were already raising their children well and were not problematic in the way single-parent households were (Valenzuela et al., 2006). Thus, state support was based on the notion that single-parent households were inevitably inferior to two parent households.

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[22] The central-left coalition compound by four political parties; Christian Democract Party, Socialist Party, Chilean Democract Party and Chilean Social Democract Party (Hutchinson, Klubock, Milanich, & Winn, 2014).

2.2 More recent developments

Recent years have been characterised by greater openness by official agencies, on occasion, as well as a widening interest in university sociology departments, but the picture remains fragmented.

Government statistical practices hinder the identification of different forms of family composition. As discussed in Chapter 1, census data breaks households into nuclear family [*familia nuclear*] categories, such as family household with/without children, lone-parent households, and extended family households, so households based around living apart yet together and same-sex families remain invisible. Even SERNAM still focusses entirely on households with children. Family sociology in university sociology departments has broadened its research foci, but usually by targeting particular issues in isolation. Of particular interest to both pro-family and feminist social policy analysts is household composition, discussed in Chapter 1.

Feminist researchers, until the early 2000s, deployed the concept of patriarchy to understand women's subordination in social institutions of society which they understood as a patriarchal social order within which fathers and husbands have power over the women in the nuclear family (Valdes, 2007, p. 41). At one time, feminists argued that some transformation in families had occurred; however, conservative practices still remained (Valdes & Valdes, 2005). Feminist researchers conceptualise this phenomenon as 'fractured conservatism' [*conservadurismo fracturado*] which denotes how people both valorise the heteronormative family and diversify their family forms but with minor change in gender roles. Other feminist scholars argue that Chilean women have a practical attitude to aspects of modern life such as going to out to work, but this does not provide a means of organising their private life more

progressively. This is because women's beliefs are still deeply religious and rooted in Catholicism (Palacios, 2006; Palacios & Martínez, 2006).

Recently, there has been a body of work within feminism that looks empirically at the heterosexual family, but this research focusses mainly on deprived households (Ramm, 2013; Salinas, 2010) and more recently on middle-class parenting (Mendez & Gayo, 2019). Research on married couples (Olavarria, 2014; Salinas, 2011) and cohabitation (Ramm, 2013; Ramm & Salinas, 2019; Salinas, 2016) suggests that the steep decline in marriage rates is associated with new patterns of family formation. These changes have not necessarily led to greater gender equality, yet Ramm and Salinas (2019) argue that there is less paternal authority over adult women and children. This decreasing authority leads to increased autonomy for younger generations. For instance, Ramm (2016) provides qualitative evidence regarding working-class fathers' tolerance of their young, pregnant daughters cohabiting with their male partners. Ramm (2016) also found that cohabitation among heterosexual working-class young people is related to housing scarcity. She suggests that although gender inequality persists, patriarchy, understood as the power of the father over women and children (Therborn, 2004), has diminished. However, the conclusion that patriarchy has diminished may be to mistake a decline in, what (Walby, 1989, 1990) calls, 'private patriarchy' (discussed below) for a more general decline in patriarchal social relations.

Feminists have also been concerned with the study of women's employment. This has the potential to bridge the divide between traditional family sociology, concerned with relations inside the home, and the world of paid work. With female employment rates the lowest in Latin America (Chapter 1), empirical research has focused on gender

inequalities in the labour market, including changing patterns of women's employment, gender inequalities in family life, and the continued normative dominance of the heterosexual couple. Although before 1998 some research was conducted on women's contribution to household income (Bravo & Galvez, 1992; Galvez & Sanchez, 1998; Galvez & Todaro, 1987; Muñoz & Muñoz, 1991), more recently some sociologists have gone further in problematising the barriers to women's equal participation in employment (Ansoleaga & Godoy, 2013); whilst others have stressed the problematic assumptions about motherhood associated with women's inability to combine paid work and family life (Mora, 2006; Mora & Blanco, 2018; Murray, 2014; Undurraga, 2013). These assumptions are related to beliefs on the part of employers that women are more expensive than men and the implications that employment has for gender identities (Paulsen & Todaro, 1997). Thus, paid employment reinforces men's role as a provider within the family and, hence, their masculinity, whereas women find it difficult to reconcile work and family, and therefore experience tension between working life and motherhood (Godoy, Stecher, & Diaz, 2007).

Some researchers have investigated gender segregation in the workplace, cultural assumptions about paid work and the complexities constraining women's individual choices. For instance, Undurraga (2013), who draws on theoretical perspectives developed in the Global North, situates women's experiences within the framework of patriarchal domination, the heteronormative family and the division of household labour. Undurraga gives centrality to women's experiences in exploring why female employment in Chile is so low. Her qualitative research on heterosexual working-class and middle-class women within and outside paid work found that long working hours and the absence of public policies supporting a work-life balance are the main

structural obstacles constraining women's access to the labour market (Undurraga, 2011). The problem with the absence of such polices is that women care for children and any paid work has to fit round that, rather than there being any support for combining paid employment with childcare. In some cases, women decide not to participate in paid work because of their family responsibilities; this is particularly the case for working-class women.

In contrast to Undurraga's emphasis on institutional barriers, much research on new living and working patterns has taken a psychosocial view. Like sociologists researching fatherhood and masculinities in the UK, sociologists in Chile are also exploring another aspect of employment and family life: working fathers. Similar to Chile, British sociologists have explored the supposed 'crisis of masculinity' within the heterosexual family. However, whilst Chilean sociologists conclude that as women's social position has 'improved', this has impacted men's gender identities (Olavarria, 2003, 2005; Rebolledo, 2008), British sociologists are critical of this argument and point to factors, such as the rise of male unemployment and the decline of manufacturing industry, as challenging men's gender identities (Charles, 2002; Tarrant, 2016). Chilean researchers also argue that while 'paternal authority' has lessened within the heterosexual family, the breadwinner role is still a key element in masculine identity (Aguayo et al., 2016; Olavarria, 2014; Valdes & Godoy, 2008).

More contemporary research considers the gender identities of heterosexual working fathers and hegemonic masculinity shaping the 'intimate lives' of middle-class fathers (Madrid, 2017). Analysing men's life stories, Madrid (2017) found that Chilean corporate working fathers are more work-orientated than family-orientated. He suggests that although these fathers value emotional involvement with their children,

actual time with their children is often limited to a 'good night kiss', at least on weekdays.

Additionally, a certain amount of empirical research has been conducted on non-heterosexual lifestyles, but separately from that on 'mainstream' families; consequently, it may position gay and lesbian lifestyles as the exception to normative rules, even if that is not the intention (Cousiño & Valenzuela, 1994). A body of research is emerging within queer studies in Chile, mostly within psychosocial studies, exploring homophobia (Barrientos, 2016; Barrientos & Cárdenas, 2013), gender identities (González, Núñez, Valderrama, Troncoso, & Jara, 2018; Valderrama & Melis, 2019) and gay and lesbian parenthood (Figueroa, 2017; Figueroa & Tasker, 2019). In sociology, much of the research linked to feminist and kinship studies is focused on gay and lesbian parenthood (Herrera, Aguayo, & Goldsmith, 2018; Herrera, Miranda, Pavicevic, & Sciaraffia, 2018), and how kinship is built (Robaldo, 2011, 2019), as well as how gender identities are contested. This sociological research considers the formation of non-normative households by parents who were previously in a heterosexual relationship, or who became parents through IVF, surrogacy and adoption (Figueroa & Tasker, 2019; Herrera, 2009). Herrera (2009) found that there is no affirmative discourse of lesbian identity in Chilean society, and lesbian mothers 'live with the fear of their children being taken away' (2009, p. 49).

However, lesbian and gay studies in Chile, rather like family sociology, is so focused on parenthood (Herrera, Miranda, et al., 2018; Robaldo, 2011, 2019) that there is scarce research on long-term LGBTIQ partnering, or indeed other ways of living, such as living alone or what in Britain is called 'living apart together' (Stoilova, Roseneil, Carter, Duncan, & Phillips, 2017). Nor has there been much research on divorced or

blended families. A probable reason for this is that divorce was only legalised recently (Chapter 1), and those who subsequently form blended families or cohabit are framed as coresidential heterosexual couples.

We can see, therefore, that although Chilean sociology, especially when based in universities, has begun to expand its purview beyond the heteronormative family household, research remains fragmented. The only overarching theoretical perspective is the feminist concept of patriarchy, which several researchers maintain is decreasing in power (Ramm, 2016; Ramm & Salinas, 2019; Valdes, 2007). We need to look to British sociology for a better set of concepts which can capture the nuances of the undoubted social changes occurring in Chile.

3. Challenging 'the family' as an institution in British sociology

In Britain, in contrast to Chile, attempts to reconceptualise personal life have become almost as important as empirical research. Of course, the main challenge to any idea of the family as a single, unified institution is demographic change, including rising divorce rates and re-partnering, and the decline of the male breadwinner and the female housewife household, a component of what Giddens (1992) called the 'transformation of intimacy'. This challenge makes it difficult to generalise about family composition and sources of livelihood. But equally important are political challenges to the legitimacy of the family as it used to be understood. Challenges to the meaning of family are central to feminist thought, and this is discussed, below, and followed by queer challenges to heteronormativity in social theory.

3.1 The development of feminist critiques

The first challenge to how we understand 'the family' is the critique articulated by emerging second wave feminist sociologists. From the 1970s, feminists critiqued the conceptualisation of 'the family' in sociology as a benign institution based on mutual regard among its members, equal but distinct roles for men and women, and the bedrock of a stable and productive society. Feminists critiqued 'the family' and the family-based household as a place of oppression for women that sustained and perpetuated gender inequalities. They proposed that gender relations were neither fixed nor universal (Pearson, White and Young, 1984), but shaped by the institutions responsible for the reproduction of human life, generationally and day-to-day. Feminists also drew connections between gender inequality in the family and wider society. Barrett and McIntosh (1982) critiqued what they called 'familial ideology', which regards bourgeois heterosexual marriage with children as the building block of a harmonious and productive wider society, thereby shaping attitudes to social relations more generally. Other feminist sociologists devoted attention to the links between inequality in the household and employment and the labour market (Walby, 1986, 1988). Combined, these approaches challenged the idea of the family as a 'private' institution isolated from the hierarchical divisions and conflicts characteristic of wider society (Crompton, 1986), and thereby recognising gender inequalities inside and outside families as an aspect of social stratification and social differentiation (Brannen, 2019; Oakley, 1976).

Much of this challenge revolved around the term 'patriarchy', seeing it either as meaning 'gender power' – as compared to, for instance, class power, which is how Barrett and McIntosh (1982) used the adjective 'patriarchal' – or as an institution

governing gender relations. Patriarchy was originally defined as 'an ideology, describing specific aspects of male-female relations in capitalism' (Barrett, 1986, p. 19). However, some sociologists developed it as a more flexible concept that allowed for resistance, social change and different forms of power in different spheres. Walby (1989), for example, identified six components of patriarchy, recognising that some may change more than others. These components are: patriarchal mode of production (based on the family), patriarchal relations within paid work, the patriarchal state, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality and patriarchal culture. She also distinguished between what she called 'private patriarchy' and 'public patriarchy' as forms of patriarchy in which gender relations are (re)produced, and suggested that while private patriarchy may decline public patriarchy retains its power over women's lives. Thus, the lives of lone mothers while not subject to the father's or male partner's power in the private sphere were still governed by the authority of 'public patriarchy', including their access to various forms of employment or protection and benefits offered by the state.

Black feminists in Britain and the US developed a more nuanced critique of 'the family' and the implications of motherhood, paid work and family life for Black women (Collins, 1998; Davis, 1982; hooks, 2015). Whereas Barrett and McIntosh (1982) saw the family as 'anti-social', Black feminists argued that although families can be a source of oppression, they can be also a site of resistance and mutual support against racial domination (Collins, 1998, p. 78). Black families often provide sources of personal and political identification and belonging which enable women to contest the racialised power relations of the wider society and act as a haven from other forms of structural oppressions, such as racism (Bressey, 2013; Carby, 1996). Rosser and Harris (1965) also argued in their Swansea study that families provide a sense of

identity. Moreover, rather than seeing women's responsibility for domestic labour as a form of gender inequality, according to hooks (2015, p. 133), Black women identified work in the context of family as 'humanizing labour', which affirmed women's identity as women as well as human beings showing love and care, compared to paid labour in industry or in other people's homes. Hooks stressed that some Western, white, middle-class feminist discourses about women's oppressive confinement to the private world of family, childcare and housework reflected the race and class biases of white feminist thought; since slavery, Black women had always worked (Collins, 2002). Indeed, the main obstacles to Black women's freedom were racism, lack of jobs and lack of skills or education (hooks, 2015). Therefore, feminist literature shows that families are contradictory because they can be oppressive but also provide a sense of identity and belonging.

Feminist empirical sociology, whether or not it adopted the concept of patriarchy, was able to identify manifestations of male power in the family. For instance, access to resources within families could be highly unequal. Studies showed that although middle-class, dual-earner couples might share their income in joint bank accounts, other middle-class men might give their wives an allowance with which to manage the household, and working-class men usually gave their wage packet to their wives, but kept a portion for their own use (Pahl, 1980, 1983; Whitehead, 1984). Women's earnings were treated differently than men's, and seen as supplying 'extras' rather than supporting the family (Pahl, 1983). Women also bore the brunt of reproductive labour. Married women who did not go out to work were economically dependent on their husbands, and bore almost exclusive responsibility for housework and childcare (Oakley, 1976). Nor did women's going out to work excuse them from domestic labour inside the home. Women's responsibilities inside the home also precluded them

from full-time work, and they were often restricted to jobs in industries offering part-time hours to suit women's childcare commitments (Charles & Brown, 1981; Hunt, 1978). This shows that what happens in employment affects what goes on in family households.

British feminist sociologists helped to develop critiques of gender subordination in what we now call the Global South, especially after the publication of *Of Marriage and the Market* (Young, Wolkowitz, & McCullagh, 1984), containing essays by European feminists and feminists from the Global South. For instance, Whitehead compared what she called the ideology of 'maternal sacrifice' in the UK and Ghana. In both societies women were expected to use their resources for their children more than men did which impacted women's budgeting. Scott (1986) found similar patterns of gender segregation in the labour markets of Britain and Peru, despite Peru being less industrialised and with a large indigenous population. Scott reported that, as in Britain, Peruvian women were concentrated in low-grade jobs with the majority of women working outside the home, including especially single women working in occupations such as clothing, sales and clerical work. The differences between married middle-class women in these two countries was greater with Peruvian women showing lower rates of employment. Scott argued that this was influenced by employer preferences, but also by Peruvian middle-class women themselves who lived in a Catholic-based society with a colonial class structure which disdained menial labour among elites.

Similar limits to married women's employment have also been found in Chile where feminists have argued that gender ideology is profoundly influenced by the Catholic Church (Palacios, 2006; Palacios & Martínez, 2006; Undurraga, 2011; Vera, 2005). A

conservative ideology with religious roots dominates the political and economic elite establishing a norm that encourages women to perform caring roles (in the private sphere) and discourages women's employment (in the public sphere). However, whereas the study of women's employment in Britain often transcends the institutional divide between the sociology of work and the sociology of employment, in Chile women's employment is rarely seen as relevant to family sociology.

Over time, the British feminist critique of the family and the empirical research which supported it became, like the concept of patriarchy (Barrett, 1986; Walby, 1990), less totalising, and better able to recognise variations in the extent to which men exercised power and in its form. Nonetheless, many studies continue to demonstrate gender inequality in the labour market and the interconnections between gender inequalities in the domestic sphere and in paid work (Ciabattari, 2017; Griffiths, 2018). This is the case even though the gendering of occupational structure in Britain has changed since the 1980s resulting in a much higher proportion of women in professional and managerial occupations (Griffiths, 2018). Yet despite the existence of anti-discrimination legislation since the 1970s – such as the Equal Pay Act (1970), the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and, most recently, the Equality Act (2010) – women still earn less than men. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) the gender pay gap among full-time workers was 8.9% in 2019; however, this rose to 17.3% when considering all employees working in the UK.

Nowadays globalisation and work intensification blur the boundaries between work and family (Brannen, 2005, 2019; Brown, 2012; Russell, O'Connell, & McGinnity, 2009). Despite the existence of legal rights to flexible work hours (Lewis, Brannen, & Nilsen, 2009), men do fewer household chores than women at home, and the time they

spend with their children is often facilitated by arrangements their wives make (Gambles, Lewis, & Rapoport, 2006). Brannen's qualitative research on a call centre in Britain found that although women employees took satisfaction from work, they often felt that their ability to manage home and paid employment was out of control. Female employees were prevented from taking the leave and time off due to them, instead having to take work home. Brannen argued 'it is unwise to assume that giving people more control over their lives necessarily leads to an improvement in the quality of their lives' (Brannen, 2005, p. 126). Women's negotiations with employers and their male partners remain embedded in social norms which expect men to do much less housework, and be less involved in domestic relations (Crompton, Brockmann, & Lyonette, 2005; Crompton & Lyonette, 2005). Charles, Davies, and Harris (2008) propose that women's continuing responsibility for care work within families reproduces their marginalisation in the labour market, and, sometimes, the expectations of gendered divisions of domestic labour at home discourages women to seek paid work (Lewis, 1991). Yet patterns of women's employment vary considerably, by region, social class and ethnicity, and are often linked to what Duncan and his colleagues call different 'moral rationalities' on which people base their decisions (Carling, Duncan, & Edwards, 2002; Duncan, 2005; Duncan & Edwards, 1997; Duncan, Edwards, Reynolds, & Alldred, 2003). However, even when women expect to work full time, conflicting responsibilities can affect women's well-being, causing stress, sleeplessness and difficulties in finding time for themselves to recoup their energies (Acker & Armenti, 2004; Dugan & Barnes-Farrell, 2020).

Empirical studies of domestic divisions of labour in Britain have shown variety between households. Studies have become extensive and sophisticated, with large-scale quantitative and smaller scale qualitative studies of domestic labour allowing

sociologists to consider men's increasing input into domestic labour and childcare (Lyonette & Crompton, 2015; Sullivan, 2000; Warren, 2011). Although men's contribution to domestic labour still lags well behind women's, the contribution of working-class men to childcare in particular has caught up with patterns of participation among middle-class men (Sullivan, 2000). This means that class variations exist, middle-class couples are better able to access paid domestic help, which 'excuses men' from doing domestic work compared to working-class families. However, it is still women who do the work of finding a domestic worker and not men in middle-class families (Lyonette & Crompton, 2015). Women's domestic workload may also increase due to the demands for women to spend quality time with their children, an element of the 'intensive mothering' expected of women, and especially middle-class women (Ennis, 2014; Faircloth, 2013, 2014; Hays, 1996).

Some aspects of the feminist critique have never been fully resolved. For instance, because the focus of critique has been 'the family' as a site of male power over women, until the rise of queer theory the conflation of the nuclear family with heterosexuality was often taken for granted – Barrett and McIntosh (1982) were an exception. Also, as Morgan (1996) argues, familial solidarities and belongingness have been recognised by family sociology in general, but have hardly been acknowledged by the feminist critique; except, we should add, in Black feminism. In addition, as Morgan (1996) said, the emphasis on gender relations in families and households meant that studies focusing on relations between generations were relatively marginalised until the recent interest in 'mothering' and 'fathering' (Dermott, 2008, 2016; Dermott & Gatrell, 2018; Johansson & Andreasson, 2017a, 2017b; Wall, 2001).

However, while differences between mainstream feminist sociology and the positions taken by Black feminists remained, these were partly reconciled through widespread acceptance of the notion of 'intersectionality' which calls for attention to the specificity of women's experience of family and work in relation to women's multiple identities (Davis, 2008; Mohanty, 2014; Skeggs, 2002). This fragmentation of the identity of 'woman' was also characteristic of poststructuralist theory more generally (Baxter, 2007; Butler, 1990, 2011). The new emphasis on identity and discourse gives less importance to class differences in wealth and economic resources than hitherto given, and less importance to economic differentiation than some Chilean social science research.

Even this brief summary indicates that British research on women's and men's contributions to earning and household labour is extensive, often taking account of varied moral rationalities, as well as wider changes in the labour market, including official policies promoting work-life balance, which do not exist in Chile. It also shows the importance of understanding families, working life and domestic work as interconnected spheres. I take a similar approach in discussing what my Chilean participants say about how they understand family life and how their families and households organise responsibilities for paid work, domestic work and childcare.

3.2 The queer challenge to heteronormativity

The second main challenge to 'the family' as an institution came from the LGBTIQ community, including academics. This took two main forms, initially a rejection of the relevance of family to queer lifestyles, and secondly an attempt to reject heteronormativity by *reworking* family composition, relationships and obligations on a different basis. These positions and research about lifestyles gradually became

enmeshed with support for (or opposition to) campaigns for gay marriage rights and research on how similar or different LGBTIQ families are to heterosexual ones. The concept of 'heteronormativity' refers to 'sexuality locked into the structuring of gender, and both are locked together by the heterosexual norm. The binary divides between masculinity and femininity, and between heterosexuality and homosexuality […] organised sexual desires and gender norms' (Weeks, 2016, p. 64).

Before the mid-1980s neither activists nor sociologists could talk about queer families, because the limited construction of 'the family' prevailing (as heterosexual, moral, and safe) conflicted with the dominant constructions of lesbians and gay men (as deviant, immoral and dangerous). As Weston (1991) points out, this was not just a matter of stereotypes, since many gay and lesbian young people who were repudiated by their birth families when they came out rejected their families in turn. Some gay men also celebrated sexual outlaws at the fringes of mainstream society, often through fictional constructions (Marcus, 2005). However, we should not imagine that there was ever 'some absolute divide between the two domains of "gay life" and "the family", as if gay men grew up, were educated, worked and lived our lives in total isolation from the rest of society' (Watney, 1987, p.10).

Researchers of gay and lesbian communities in the mid-1980s, more systematically identified what they saw as new ways of supporting each other in what Weston (1991) called 'families of choice', based not around the heterosexual couple (or indeed the homosexual couple) but rather a larger group, crossing households, of partnerships, households, and friendships characterised by 'fluid boundaries' (1991, p.206).

Weeks, Heaphy, and Donovan (2001) similarly defined families of choice as 'the lives and life choices of self-identified lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, queers and others

historically marginalised' (Weeks et al., 2001, p. 1). Weeks et al. (2001) found that gays and lesbians 'do family' through practical and everyday activities such as mutual care, the division of household labour and looking after dependents, and this constitutes the family practices within which they negotiate family relations. However, the lifestyles of gays and lesbians and other sexual minorities can also be characterised by power relations and social inequality (Heaphy, 2009).

This emphasis on the familial aspects of LGBTIQ relationships was particularly important in Britain, where gay and lesbian partnerships were attacked as 'pretend families' in Thatcher's Britain (Calhoun, 2003; Weeks, 1991). However, research has found LGBTIQ family life to be more inclusive than heterosexual families and usually more equalitarian. 'Families of choice' often involve former partners, biological parents and their partners, and friends more than is often the case for heterosexual couples and former partners (Jones-Wild, 2012; Weeks, 2007; Weeks et al., 2001; Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2004; Weston, 1991). Gabb (2011) developed the notion of the stratification of intimacy, suggesting that LGBTIQ family networks did not prioritise the sexually involved couple above other friends and relatives to the extent that heterosexual lifestyles did. However, Smart (2007b) found that couples seeking to undertake a marriage ceremony (before civil partnerships were permitted) sought to mark their relationship among family and friends, although they did not see themselves imitating heteronormative relationships.

Studies have varied in how far LGBTIQ household relationships and parenthood were found to mirror dominant heterosexual divisions of labour. Dunne (1999) found that among lesbian couples and parents the division of labour was more equalitarian and fluid than among heterosexual couples. A few studies have also considered how

LGBTIQ couples manage their paid employment and working life (Dunne, 2000; Wright, 2016). Others have found that gay, American fathers, similar to those identifying as heterosexual, find it difficult to balance their career goals with family involvement, fearing that they risk lowering their social status if they prioritise family time (Schacher, Auerbach, & Silverstein, 2005). However in Britain, Weeks et al. (2001) found that gay fathers usually prioritise their responsibility for children over other obligations. Nevertheless, it can be argued that child-centred 'families of choice' retain a focus on generational 'reproduction' that may marginalise other 'elective' personal relationships.

Some queer theorists continue to reject familial discourse, arguing that, for instance, same-sex marriage and civil partnership necessarily involve only two people which clashes with the more inclusive family life queer communities have developed, and deprioritises the fluid, sexual ties that have been at the centre of gay lifestyles (Budgeon, 2006; Roseneil, 2000). Instead of prioritising campaigns for same sex civil partnership and marriage these theorists have sought a range of intimate citizenship rights that do not depend on the formation of long-term partnerships or childrearing (Plummer, 2003a). But still others remind us that historically the law has been deeply involved in constructing sexual identities, and there are dangers in colluding with even apparently benign kinds of state power (Richardson, 2015). They argue that the subversion of heteronormativity through engagement with the state is more likely to succeed in achieving only what is termed 'deferential assimilation' (Cossman, 2002).

I have identified two main tendencies in the queer challenge to the heteronormative family: one which sees LGBTIQ families and networks as reworking traditionally heterosexual, couple-based family life and another which fears assimilation. Weeks

(2007) argues that in advanced capitalist societies household formation and composition and kinship have changed so much, even among people identifying as heterosexual, that the overlap with queer lifestyles is greater than ever. Others maintain that what they see as greater possibilities of sexual freedom and mutual support should eschew heterosexually based family forms and discourse (Budgeon & Roseneil, 2004). In my research, I will be considering how gay and lesbian participants see their personal relationships, parenthood and employment and whether these arguments are relevant to their situations.

3.3 Reconceptualising 'family life'

In response to challenges to 'the family' from feminist and queer activists and scholars, sociologists have developed three main ways to reconceptualise how people maintain friendships and sexual relationships, parent children and undertake other intergenerational-caring responsibilities. All these approaches attempt to elude the idea of the family as a social institution with a normative form. These concepts also seek to respond to demographic changes in household formation. All seek to 'decentre' the older image of 'the family', trying to remove the division between traditionally privileged heterosexuality-based households and kin networks and all the other satisfying personal relationships in which people are enmeshed.

Three concepts, 'personal life', 'intimacy' and 'family practices', attempt to absorb conventionally defined nuclear households within a wider context and extend the language of family to include other types of living and caring arrangements. Morgan's (1996; 2011a) concept of 'family practices' maintains the centrality of family relations and looks at the practices that constitute family, while the other two concepts are concerned with the quality of relationships, the close connections and emotional life

that people build with significant others, and which decentre the idea of family life. I explain below why Morgan's formulation are useful for studying Chile.

3.3.1 Personal life

Smart (2007a) concept of personal life refers to the social domain of personal connectedness to others. She finds the concept of 'family' too restrictive and normative to capture the non-institutionalised nature of personal life. Her concept was developed as part of the feminist critique of the individualisation thesis which assumes that the value people give to committed relationships (and their willingness to sustain them) has declined (Beck, 1995; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). While she recognises that institutionalised ways of living have changed, Smart wants to maintain the idea that continuity in personal relationships remain very important relations in people's lives. She builds on decades of empirical research on post-divorce families (Neale & Smart, 2002; Silva & Smart, 2004; Smart, 2004) to show that people remain connected with others even when not living in heteronormative family households, such as solo living and living apart together (Williams et al., 2005), transnational families, and marriage and cohabitation (Smart, 2011), including same-sex marriage (Shipman & Smart, 2007), and friendship (Smart et al., 2012).

For Smart, personal life celebrates the continuation of, rather than the erosion of 'connection, relationship, reciprocal emotion, entwinement, memory and history' (2007a, p. 166). The concept of personal life seeks to capture aspects of relationships, that previously remained outside the scope of family sociology, by noting closeness, interrelatedness and connected lives (May, 2011, 2012). Thus, the personal is defined as connectedness to others, and it is not a replacement for families.

In this context, friends can be understood as 'chosen family'; within which sometimes relationships are experienced as 'ambivalent, difficult and even devastating' (2012, p. 324). For instance, Heaphy and Davies (2012) qualitative study in Britain found that an informant was devastated when a friend ended their friendship because of disagreements. Heaphy and Davies argued that people may feel powerless within some friendships, and even experience being abandoned. Smart, Davies, Heaphy, and Mason (2012) argued that friendships, like kinship, are not static relationships because degrees of closeness involve negotiations and emotional work. Smart et al. (2012) found that friends can have negative experiences, such as sense of guilt, shame and self-insecurity. They also found that elements of personal life are gendered. For instance, women seem to have stronger and more satisfying friendship bonds than men. For women respondents 'persevering with difficult friends' (2012, p. 95) was a matter of duty, primarily with friends who were going through difficult times, such as depression or illness. Men informants were less likely to experience 'difficult friendship' because 'they did not get sufficiently close to other people' (2012, p. 105).

3.3.2 Intimacy

Other sociologists theorise intimacy (rather than Smart's connectedness) as the core element of meaningful personal ties; intimacy built around practices involving forms of close association and shared detailed knowledge between people (Jamieson, 1998, p. 8). According to Jamieson (2011b), close and intimate relations are built among networks of kin and friends, not only among 'family' members, although these can overlap with familial ones.

Intimacy is a qualitative aspect of relationships, constructed through 'doing' and 'building' closeness, through 'practices, which cumulatively and in combination

enable, create and sustain a sense of a close relationship between people' (Jamieson, 2011b, p. 3). Practices of intimacy do not differ very much from Morgan's idea, since 'family practices' can be found in intimate practices such as partnering and parenting. Repertoires of certain practices make intimacy possible, such as 'giving to, sharing with, spending time with, knowing, practically caring for, feeling attachment to, expressing affection for' (2011b, p. 3). This idea of intimacy practices challenges the idea that people simply inhabit a given institutional form of 'the family'. Rather, Jamieson's (1998, 2011) idea of intimacy practices embraces the fluidity, complexity and diversity of personal lives and makes an examination of how those personal relationships are understood in different contexts and societies possible. Both Smart's personal life and Jamieson's intimacy concept are trying to do similar tasks: to capture close relationships beyond the normative idea of 'family', and the fluidity of relationships. Personal life allows more scope for long-distance relations, and those through time, but does not necessarily grasp the intimacies bred through propinquity. Whilst intimacy tries to capture all close relationships which are experienced as intimate it does not necessarily capture those in long-distance relations because the sense of everyday life is important to confirm intimacy.

Empirical research that operationalises 'intimacy' suggests that intimate relations form closeness and this is not necessarily confined to marriage. For instance, qualitative work with young, unmarried heterosexual couples in Britain (Jamieson et al., 2002; Carter, 2012) found that intimate commitment is characteristic of long-term relationships, along with fidelity and the expectation of life-long partnership. Intimacy can transcend age groups or species, but can also involve or be constrained by social inequalities. That is, people can limit potential intimacy because of hierarchies of sex/gender, ethnicity, social class and so on.

Some of the research on 'intimacy' looks at the intimate relationships of people who live alone. For instance, Roona Simpson (2006) observed forms of intimacy in singlehood in Britain. Her work on heterosexual, never-married women found that female informants developed 'close, affectionate and supportive relationships' (2006, p. 3) outside traditional ways of understanding intimacy, such as couple relationships or co-residence. Instead, Simpson suggests, single women develop intimate relationships in wider constellations of relationships with family members and friends. Her participants decentre family by showing intimacy within kin and non-kin relationships, and therefore blurring the boundary of these types of association.

Furthermore, intimacy is also a useful concept when considering changes in traditional familial relations because it allows us to understand the father-child relationship in contemporary society. For instance, Dermott (2003) studied 'intimate' fatherhood by exploring the 'quality' of the relationship between father and child among British heterosexual fathers. She argues that the meaning of fatherhood has changed from the role of breadwinner to 'new fatherhood'; whilst there is not much clarity of what this means, it is primarily characterised by 'involved fatherhood'. Dermott found that while men were involved in paid employment, they did not see earning as central to their role as fathers. Instead, 'intimate' refers to emotional openness, communication and close relationships, which, as we saw from a study of Chilean middle-class fathers, does not necessarily involve the practical labour of childrearing or significant time commitments.

Other theorists have extended the concept of intimacy to look at what they call 'cultures of intimacy and care' (Budgeon & Roseneil, 2004). This extends the emphasis on intimacy to include the labour of supporting others and promotes a

comparative perspective on who cares and what it involves. For instance, Budgeon and Roseneil (2004) argued that focusing on relationships that look 'family-like' reinforces heteronormativity and reproduces binary ways of understanding intimate relationships as either 'family' or non-family. Instead, they argued that research on emotions and affections needs to include care and support between people with no biological, legal or socially recognised ties. Like Simpson (2006), they focused on friendship, a network of non-normative and non-sexual relationships and argued that friendships are particularly central in the personal lives of queer people for the provision of care and support in everyday life. Budgeon (2006) suggested that friendship acts as a community of belonging guided by ethical-intimate practices that provide more stability than sexual relationships for heterosexual, queer, lesbian or gay people.

In one of the few pieces of research which included heterosexual and queer participants, Roseneil and Budgeon (2004) explored 'cultures of intimacy and care' among single mothers. They found that the lives of both heterosexual and lesbian mothers were embedded in strong relationships involving giving and receiving care and support on a daily basis. 'A conscious mutual commitment to provide support and care' (Roseneil & Budgeon, 2004, p. 146) led to women friends deciding to live in the same neighbourhood or to share housing. However, Roseneil and Budgeon (2004) acknowledge that this does not mean that people have completely lost interest in maintaining care and support through traditional ties within wider kin relationships, but rather that current 'cultures of care and intimacy' have widened the scope for forming caring relationships. These cultures can also be found in families, this idea does not exclude families as places of caring and intimacy.

3.3.3 Family practices

In my fieldwork and analysis, I am going to adopt yet another way of looking at family relationships and personal life, taking Morgan's (1996) idea of 'family practices' as my focus. Morgan argues that identifying 'family practices' through which people create their sense of family, belonging and interdependence avoids the reification of 'the family' as a particular institutional arrangement which people are constrained to inhabit and reproduce; this is similar to Smart and Jamieson, discussed in the sections above. Rather, Morgan celebrates the active processes through which people make 'family' meaningful to them, through their own social actions and emotions, by observing what people do in everyday life and the practices that people engage in to make them family. This concept allows us to look at what practices people perform in order to constitute themselves as family and how these practices reproduce family relations.

Morgan's approach (1996; 2011a) captures the things that people do on daily basis that cement family relations, and these practices are considered family practices because people engage with others. This is important because the status of mother or father does not necessarily constitute them as family, but it is through their involvement in family practices that people consider others as family, and likewise those who do not engage in these practices can cease to seen as family.

Morgan (1996) argued that feminist critiques had limitations for developing 'a comprehensive sociology of family' because the emphasis on oppressive gender relations in the domestic sphere tends to ignore the significance of other relationships and dimension of family life, such as age and generation. Morgan (2011b) argued that although gender constitutes 'an important lens through which to study family process'

(p. 2), it fails to consider other dimensions of family relationships, such as the interplay between support, solidarity and community, unities and patterns of co-operations, relationships between siblings and wider networks of kinship as well as inter-generational relationships. However, Morgan's argument targets primarily a specific Western, middle-class feminism because, as I discussed in Section 3.1, above, Western Black feminism recognised that families could also be a bulwark of support and solidarity against racism.

Morgan recognised that the reason families were surviving changes in demography and values, and not being replaced by atomised individuals, was because they were actively involved in creating a sense of themselves as family through what he called 'family practices'. According to Morgan (2011b) family practices:

> Reflects the kind of fluidity […] a sense of the regular in everyday life […] which describe and explore a set of social activities [which] emphasises doing rather than being […] it is possible to talk about 'doing family' […] because family is about process and doing and this, and more, is implied in the idea of family practices (pp. 3-5).

Families do things to build everyday life; they work on their relationships and engage in certain practices which involve care and emotions. 'Family practices' are routines, done regularly (daily, monthly or annually), located in culture, history and biography (Morgan, 1996). This means that by caring for children and others, providing mutual support, cooking and sharing meals, and participating in family occasions such as birthdays, families recognise themselves as family (Morgan, 1996, 2011a, 2011b). This implies that people are 'doing family' instead of belonging to a given institution (Ribbens & Edwards, 2011; Silva & Smart, 2004).

Sociological research that adopts the 'family practices' approach has several advantages over 'personal life' and 'intimacy', although it overlaps with them too. Firstly, it seems to give more room to work, both paid and unpaid, as part of family life rather than separate from it. For instance, Singha (2015) researched housework in middle-class Indian, dual-earner, married heterosexual couples in the UK and found that husbands and wives 'do family' by constantly negotiating and renegotiating the division of household labour. Some of her participants perceived the UK to be an 'egalitarian country' (the author's phrase), and thus some Indian wives were more able to accept a husband's contribution to routine tasks, while some of the husbands 'enjoyed' the chance to do housework themselves. Singha's research does not identify which types of domestic tasks women were willing to share and which men enjoyed doing. However, her study suggests that the concept of 'family practices' refers to the work of negotiating and maintaining family solidarity, not the actual labour of doing tasks. In my study, I will look at both as family practices – the way in which people bargain as a form of making family, and also the labour that people engage in to do families. Together these aspects make power relations in the family visible, and both sets of practice are a development on Morgan's (1996) idea of family practices.

Doing things for other people – such as taking responsibility for looking after and caring for them – create and recreate family relations, and therefore they are family practices. For instance, responsibilities for members of wider kin networks in Britain show that what people do for family members is negotiated rather than being determined by normative rules, and these responsibilities are realised through family practices, such as providing assistance when someone is ill or aging (Finch & Mason, 1993). Therefore, if people look after a family member, or someone 'like family', the practices that they engage in reproduce family relations and may involve a sense of

responsibility; the labour that is involved in family practices is undertaken because people develop a sense of duty to those with whom they are involved. Alternatively, Finch and Mason (1993) argued that who does what for whom is negotiated, and these negotiations end up reproducing a gendered division of labour. Thus, the practices that involve family responsibilities are negotiated within a normative framework which means that people may engage, or not, in the labour of responsibility, and by engaging in this way people make family.

Therefore, family practices are ways of defining family membership through active participation. This widens the notion of family. For instance, similar to the studies above, Charles et al. (2008) and Becker and Charles (2006) empirical work on families in South Wales argued that engaging in 'family practices' is what makes someone 'family'. They argued that certain kinds of activities such as providing support, participating in family events and frequent contact are important ways of 'doing family'. Through engaging in these practices, some people come to be seen as family, and others not (Becker & Charles, 2006). Furthermore, Charles and Davies (2008) show how family practices can lead to animals being family; this is because pets often provide emotional support and the provision of support is a practice that reproduces family.

Mothering and fathering can also be understood as 'family practices' because family relations are built on the active practices of everyday routines (Dermott, 2018; Faircloth, 2014; Johansson, 2011). For instance, Valencia (2015) found that mothering practices among working-class British mothers are different from the way in which British social workers define good mothering. Whilst working-class women saw domestic work and childcare – including cooking, cleaning, going to the doctors and

going to the shops for children – as 'good mothering', British social workers did not include these practices as 'parenting skills' because they understood 'good mothering' as building 'good citizens' by giving more autonomy to children.

Furthermore, researchers have also used the idea of family practices to explore what fathers value (or discount) to make family. For example, Dermott (2008) qualitative research on heterosexual, middle-class British fathers found that 'good fathering' means that providing financially for their children is important but also engaging in practices such as spending time with their children. Fathers and children are involved in practices through which they make physical and emotional connections. Dermot found that this family practice is important for fathers, even if the time spent with children was limited to just a few minutes.

The idea of family practices has also been important in identifying similarities and differences in how LGBTIQ and heterosexual families create families. Weeks et al. (2001, 2004) found that gay men and lesbians 'do family' like other families; thus, Weeks understands 'families of choice' as engaging in family practices in a similar way to heteronormative families. Some family practices that Weeks found are, for instance, partners making a legal commitment to each other through marriage because this implies love and support and parenting together on daily basis. Weeks argues that this is similar to heteronormative families, but that families of choice may require more active practices because gay and lesbian parents may have a sense of disapproved family life, and this can impact negatively on their children (Weeks et al., 2001, p. 168).

The family practice approach understands work in two overlapping ways: paid work as associated with families rather than separate from them because people go to work

to provide for their families; and work understood as obligated labour. This latter refers to work that includes housework and emotional labour that takes place in the household (Morgan, 1996, p. 39). This perspective is important to my research because I look at both paid and unpaid work, especially if people themselves see work as a 'family practice'. I will expand this vision of work following other feminists to include not only paid work but also 'emotional labour' and the practices associated with it (Hochschild, 2012a, 2012b, 2013).

Similarly, Morgan acknowledges that gender practices and class practices are involved in 'doing family', but he does not give the gendering of family practices, or their class-specificity much attention. In this thesis, I explore the way that family practices are both gendered and classed.

3.3.4 Displaying family

Another advantage of 'family practices' is the possibility of extending it to consider how family life is displayed. Finch (2007) argues that:

> Display is the process by which individuals, and groups of individuals, convey to each other and to relevant audiences that certain of their actions do constitute 'doing family things' and thereby confirm that these relationships are 'family' relationships (p. 67).

While some displays of family may be intentional, like having a 'family meal' or displaying treasured family gifts, thereby showing that 'family works', displaying family can also be unintentional and show a family not working. Indeed, people may worry about how their families, parenting, or other family practices appear to others (Seymour, 2011).

Family photography is a way of displaying family. Rose (2010), for instance, argues that taking and displaying family photographs are important objects in 'picturing familial togetherness' (Rose, 2010, p. 45). She concludes that family members maintain family relationships by sending pictures to other family members; this can therefore be seen as a family practice. Furthermore, displaying family through photography is a gendered practice (Rose, 2010).

Displaying family through photographs may have a particular importance for gay and lesbian families. For example, Almack (2008) research on lesbian families in Britain highlights how displaying family through photographs can be a powerful form of recognition. The mother of one of her informants displays, in her living room, a photograph of her lesbian daughter, her daughter's wife and the couple's child. In reporting this, the participant said how much she appreciates her mother's recognition of her as both a lesbian and a parent through displaying the picture.

Some British sociologists argue that we need to be critical when using the concept of 'displaying family' because this approach does not always take into account that some families are less able to display family than others, and they may therefore become invisible (Gabb, 2011; Heaphy, 2011).

This discussion shows that family sociology in Britain has developed concepts with which to explore the meaning of family and personal life in ways that go beyond what is currently offered by family sociology in Chile. First, all three new ways of conceptualising what we used to call 'the family' enable us to adopt a wider, and more inclusive view of the relationships, emotions, obligations and activities that need to be included in family sociology. They all see the importance of including the full range of possible relationships, including intra-household relations of LGBTIQ and

heterosexual people, people who live alone, and people who are and are not raising children. They also highlight the importance of cross-household ties between individuals and groups. Hence central to my project must be the inclusion of participants experiencing a variety of living arrangements and sexual identities.

When it comes to how to conceptualise the field of study, however, adopting a term like 'personal life' or 'intimacy' for a study in Chile is premature, and would not succeed in challenging the current taken-for-granted notion of the family as a household with dependent children. My contribution has to be strategic and political as well as academic. First the terms 'personal life' and 'intimacy' already have particular meanings in Chile. Personal life [*vida personal*] usually refers to an aspect of daily life that is related to the individual and their needs; it primarily refers to oneself and does not include others. Personal life is an aspect of private life and usually is not connected with others. Intimacy [*intimidad*] also usually refers to private life and it would usually be used in the context of establishing a boundary between what is shared with others and what it is kept from people. Family life usually is in relation with others and connected to wider social networks.

In contrast, adopting a term like 'family practices' [*prácticas familiares*] speaks to common understandings of family life [*vida familiar*]; family members and what people do as families, and enables me to *unpack* 'the family' in Chile, allowing me to explore what people think families are, how people think families are created and maintained in the present day, and to open up their composition and day-to-day workings to analysis. It will also enable me to consider how people display family, especially in an age of electronic communication. Thus, like Morgan and many other feminists, I believe that understanding what family means to people should include

what they think about who does both paid and unpaid work as well as the practices that take place in the domestic sphere.

In particular, I want to open up the question of what family practices are important in different national, class and gender contexts. For instance are the elements of personal life Smart mentions, including connectedness, relationship, reciprocal emotion, entwinement, memory and history' (2007a, p. 166) important to 'doing family' in Chile? What about the repertoire of activities which Jamieson sees as producing intimacy, such as 'giving to, sharing with, spending time with, knowing, practically caring for, feeling attachment to, expressing affection for' (2011b, p. 3)? Or will people be more likely to name material or practical activities, such as providing support, participating in family events and frequent contact as important ways of 'doing family' (Becker & Charles, 2006)?

Finally, I want to know how relevant the feminist and queer critiques of the heteronormative family are in Chile. To respond to the feminist critique, I need to be sure to consider the gendering of different, material, practical forms of labour and resources, and especially but not only whether people see these as fair or oppressive. I also need to know whether gay and lesbian participants see themselves as forming 'families' or whether they articulate other concepts to denote their most significant relationships. Finally, I need to be sure to include investigation of class differences in family practices. Although Morgan does not give class differences much attention, we have seen from Chilean sociology that there are important correlations between social class and household composition in Chile, while income level may shape different cultures of intimacy and care.

4. Research questions

In order to explore these questions, and drawing on this discussion, my research questions draw attention to different aspects of family practices in Chile as follows:

1. What does the term family mean to the people of Santiago de Chile? As I have discussed in this chapter, 'family' is a contested term in British sociology, although not yet in Chile, where household composition has been changing, along with declining rates of marriage. Although British sociologists have considered what family means to people, in Chile existing research continues to understand the normative family as a social institution. Furthermore, in most cases family sociologists in Chile do not consider the living arrangements or kinship obligations of heterosexual people living on their own, gay men or lesbians. Therefore, my first question addresses what family means for those living in different domestic arrangements. I will be particularly keen to see if notions of 'family' differ by gender, class or sexual identity.

2. **What characterises the division of labour within families in Chile?** As I have discussed, domestic divisions of labour have been critiqued by feminists in Britain, but contemporary research suggests that gendered norms remain in family life and disadvantage women in wider social relations. The vast majority of research in Chile has focused on employment and how women are disadvantaged in the labour market in isolation from an understanding of family and work as interconnected dimension of people's lives. I will explore the complexities and nuances of the domestic division of labour to try to understand why some inequalities may change (or not) and whether the division of labour makes families in Chile. I want to explore the extent to which family practices support egalitarian gender relations.

3. What does the production and display of family photographs contribute to family life in Chile? As I have shown, 'displaying families' expands the concept of family practices. This has been discussed in British sociology, although there is no research on this in Chile. I will look at how family photography can be seen as a form of practice and the part family photographs play in people's lives. In a visual era, looking at ways of displaying family may be an opportunity to see whether there are diverse ways of displaying family and whether people display family at all.

4. How are these family practices gendered, and how do they differ in relation to sexual identity and social class in Santiago de Chile? Social class and gender are already recognised as key sociological variables in shaping families. My methodology, discussed in the next chapter, will seek to make it possible to reveal the diversity of experiences of practising family in Chile. Unpacking 'the family' means that families cannot be studied as if they are separate from differences related to gender, social class and sexual identity; these components may influence how people live their lives. My approach will contribute to making visible hierarchies and power relations that are embedded in family practices. As I discussed in Chapter 1, family life in Chile seems to be strongly gendered and differentiated by social class while ways of living outside the normative family are marginalised. I should be able to add further understanding of the relevance of these differences to addressing to what extent there is space for making more egalitarian family practices.

In the next chapter I will explain my research design and my choice of research methods and discuss how my methodological decisions help to answer my research questions.

Chapter 3. Methodology

1. Introduction

This chapter describes my research design and justifies my choice of research methods for producing data to shed light on my research questions. I chose qualitative methodology because it enabled participants to tell me, in their own words, how they live their lives and make families. In particular, I wanted to understand 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996) through which people make families and the divisions of labour which maintain households (Brannen, 2019; Jackson, 2020). To approach this subject, I adopted a combination of qualitative methods: in-depth interviews with 45 men and women, the analysis of sets of family photographs, and day-long observations in ten different households. Fieldnotes and informal photographs I took during observation supplemented the data collection.

In Section 2, I briefly outline the reasons for selecting qualitative methods. In Section 3, I describe the research design, how I recruited participants and my sample. I discuss my participants in Section 4, then my approach to data collection and analysis in Sections 5 and 6, including in-depth interviews, observations and family photography. Finally, in Sections 7 and 8, I reflect on my position as a researcher and discuss the ethical issues taken into account.

2. The choice of qualitative research

From the outset, I wanted to investigate how people live their lives to produce an in-depth analysis of family life in Chile. Qualitative methods allowed me to do this and provided a means of studying whether the heteronormative family is being challenged

in Chile and the possibilities of practising more egalitarian family relations. Qualitative methods provided the best chance of grasping experience through the eyes of my participants, and offered critical research tools sensitive to diversity (Bryman, 2012). Since my research questions explore the subjective meanings of family, qualitative methods are essential to capture people's different and similar outlooks from those living in diverse types of family household and facing divergent possibilities and constraints. Although a small qualitative sample cannot be random or representative, we can aim to include participants from a range of different types of living arrangements within it.

I aimed to produce data that respects diverse living arrangements and seeks to give centrality to people who have been marginalised by assumptions about 'the family' and official statistics which rely on those assumptions. As family sociologists in Britain argue, qualitative methodology enables us to identify how participants make family life, in their own words, and to gain insights into their experiences and relationships; this generates a fuller understanding of how people live their lives (Jamieson, Simpson, & Lewis, 2011).

3. Research design

In this section, I discuss my research design, participant recruitment, and how the research design evolved in the field. My central aim was to research the 'family practices' of a range of people in diverse living arrangements. I organised my sample around six types of living arrangements because these emerged from research in Britain, and I wanted to seek those types of domestic arrangements in Chile (Graham & Graham, 2001; Silva & Smart, 2004; Weeks, 2007). I therefore chose the following living arrangements: 1) married, 2) cohabiting, 3) lone parents, 4) stepfamilies, 5)

same-sex partnerships, and 6) people on their own. I wanted to recruit people living in these six types of households, aged between 20 and 45 years old, an equal number of women and men, and a balance of individuals from different social classes, so as to ensure the inclusion of participants with differential access to resources and status.

If participants lived as a couple, I planned to interview them separately because family research has shown that interviews with couples create narratives that hide individual differences (Jamieson, 2011a). However, I interviewed most couples together as I explain later. I chose to research family life in the capital of Chile, Santiago, for practical reasons: the city represents 40.8% of the total Chilean population so I had a good chance of being able to access people from diverse living arrangements (INE, 2018c). In addition, my funding would not enable travel outside my family's hometown.

To meet my above requirements, I intended to conduct four in-depth interviews with participants living in each of the six different living arrangements, to collect five family photographs from each participant, and to carry out three observations in a subset of 12 households. One observation would be during a meal, another at the weekend and a final observation on a weekday for each of the 12 households. My projected sample is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Projected sample

Living arrangements	Gender	Number of middle-class participants	Number of working-class participants	Number of households
Married	Female	1	1	4
	Male	1	1	
Cohabiting	Female	2	2	4
	Male	2	2	
Lone parents	Female	2	2	4
	Male	2	2	
Stepfamilies	Female	2	2	4
	Male	2	2	
Same-sex partnerships	Female	2	2	4
	Male	2	2	
People living on their own	Female	1	1	4
	Male	1	1	
Total		20	20	24

The end result was rather different because recruiting participants proved harder than imagined. Table 3.2 shows my achieved sample and illustrates that the difficulty of recruiting people from certain sorts of living arrangement which skewed my sample.

Table 3.2 Achieved sample

Living arrangements	Gender	Number of middle-class participants	Number of working-class participants	Number of households
Married	Female	3	2	8
	Male	2	2	
Cohabiting[1]	Female	2	1	5
	Male	2	2	
Lone parents[2]	Female	3	2	7
	Male	2	0	
Stepfamilies	Female	2	2	6
	Male	2	3	
Same-sex partnerships[3]	Female	2	2	6
	Male	3	2	
People living on their own[4]	Female	1	1	4
	Male	1	1	
Total		25	20	36

[1] Includes working-class participants living in extended family households who define themselves as cohabiting couples.
[2] Includes a middle-class father living with his parents who defines himself as a lone father, and two working-class women living in extended family households who define themselves as lone mothers.
[3] Includes a working-class gay participant living in an extended family household who defines himself as a same-sex couple because he lives there with his partner.
[4] Includes a working-class man sharing a house who defines himself as living alone, and a working-class woman living with her dog who defines herself as living alone.

It was difficult to recruit participants in some living arrangements because people do not readily discuss the way they live and their domestic arrangements. Thus, although the range of different living arrangements may be increasing in Chile, suitable participants are hard to identify unless one knows them well enough to have knowledge of their personal life. In addition, some living arrangements are likely to be less visible and less common than others; especially if society makes it difficult for

people to live alone, or for same-sex couples to set up home together. This meant that my achieved sample differed from my projected sample (as Table 3.2 shows). I will now discuss the difficulties I encountered in recruiting participants from some of the social groups that I had hoped to include in my research.

3.1 Recruiting through organisations

I originally intended to recruit participants through organisations, hoping that those I recruited would recommend others. I contacted four organisations and provided them with a description of the study which explained that I was exploring family life and diverse ways of living in Chile. I did this because I felt more comfortable informing everyone about the main purpose of my project in order to enable potential participants to make an informed decision about whether to participate. This approach had advantages and disadvantages for the recruitment of participants through organisations.

I expected it would be particularly difficult to access lone fathers and stepfamilies, so I contacted a middle-class Parent and Teacher Association [*Centro de Padres*] that covers seven non-faith schools. I thought I would be able to recruit lone fathers and stepfamilies in this way, as well as heterosexual couples and lone mothers, but the organisation refused to help me. To my disappointment I did not obtain any participants through contacting the organisation even though I was familiar with it because I had worked as a teacher in one of the schools. I think that the reason the person I contacted refused to help me was that, during a conversation, I explained to her that my research was about people living in opposite-sex and same-sex partnerships as well as about lone parents and people on their own. Ironically, several months later, I received an invitation from her organisation asking me to share my

findings after completing my fieldwork. I accepted and, rather than presenting my findings, discussed the idea of 'family practices'.

Simultaneously, I contacted three LGBTIQ organisations (see Figure 3.1) which were more helpful but, even so, I only managed to recruit seven participants in this way. Two of the organisations were national advocates of human rights for gay people, and the third was a smaller activist organisation [*colectivo lesbo feminista*]. I recruited participants from only one of the national organisations, while a second organisation refused, and the third was unable to help me because one of its requirements is that it leads any research with which it is involved. It was significant, I think, that the organisations that provided contacts were only able to connect me with middle-class potential participants – presumably because their membership tended to be middle-class. These participants in turn knew other middle-class gay or lesbian couples.

As shown in Figure 3.1, Organisation 1 helped me recruit and interview two middle-class, gay men living as a couple (I interviewed them both). This couple put me in touch with a friend of theirs, a gay father who I interviewed without his partner. I was not able to access lesbian participants through this organisation, but they helped me contact a smaller feminist-lesbian organisation (Organisation 3) through which I recruited two middle-class lesbians living as a couple. These women were in turn happy to contact me with another lesbian and her partner who were both from working-class backgrounds. I also asked my five middle-class, gay participants about the possibility of putting me in touch with their working-class gay friends, but they did not know anyone who met these criteria.

Figure 3.1 Participants recruited through organisations

Key:

■ - Researcher   ■ - Successful organisation   ■ - Unsuccessful organisation   ■ - Recruited participant
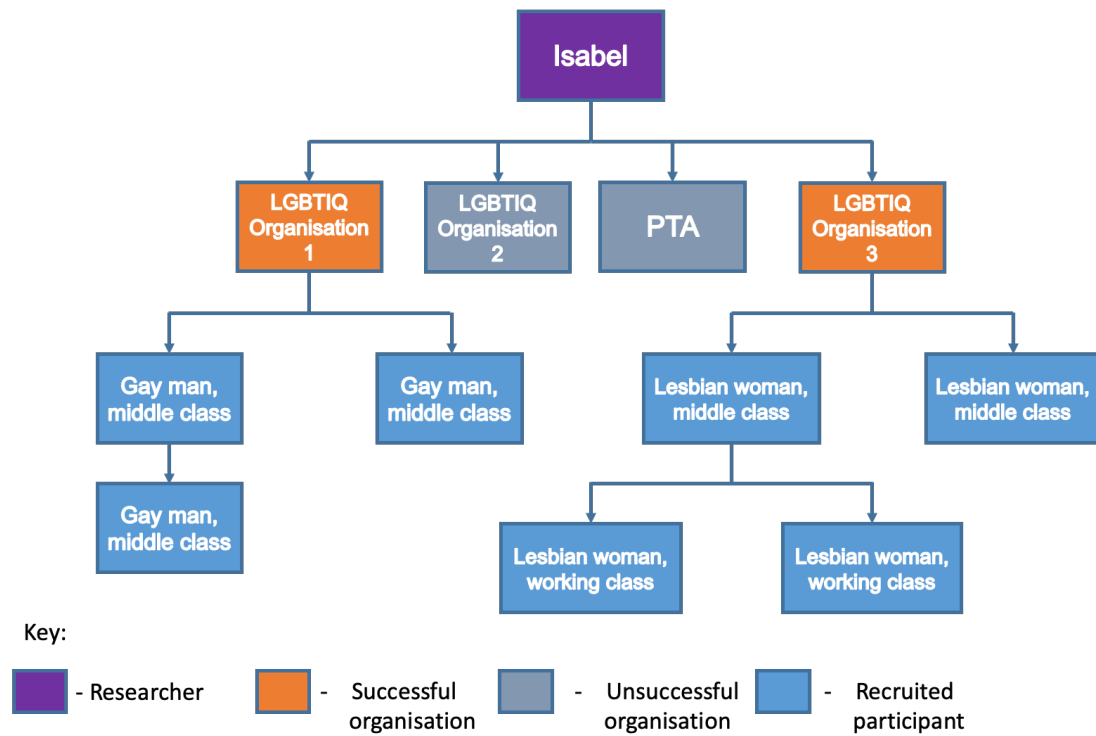
Source: Author.

As Figure 3.1 shows, I finally recruited 7 gay and lesbian participants, through a combination of organisational contact and snowballing. Since I was not able to access heterosexual couples, lone parents or people living on their own through the Parent and Teacher Association (PTA), I decided to rely on my own contacts and use a snowball technique.

3.2 Snowball technique

Researcher and participants' profiles means that some are more difficult to recruit than others; furthermore, it may be easier for researchers to build relationships with people like themselves (Charles, 2012; Weeks et al., 2001). The snowball approach begins with participants' own contacts as a starting point to access social networks (Bryman, 2012, p. 202). Despite this, it enables researchers to keep their research and personal

life separate, and avoids incorporating the researcher's friends who are likely to be similar to the researcher in background and outlook.

I recruited 38 participants using the snowball approach with several different points of entry, discussed below. None of the interviewees were previously known to me personally and, when I explained the research, I told them that I was researching diverse family forms in Santiago. At the end of the interview, I said the following to my participants:

> Thank you for your interview and your time. This has been
> extremely valuable for my work. I would ask you if you know
> someone like a friend, neighbour or in your work who would like
> to participate? If so, I am happy to be in contact and explain about
> the research. You can tell him/her that the interview will be the
> same as this, and also confidential, voluntary and anonymous. Feel
> free to share your experience.

Some participants rang friends immediately and gave me their contact details, others sent WhatsApp messages immediately after the interview, others shared details later and some of their contacts got in touch with me directly by email or WhatsApp.

3.2.1 Middle-class snowballing

I had different points of entry to form a recruitment network. One approach was by attending a conference on gender studies in Santiago. During a coffee break I talked with a woman and told her about my fieldwork in Santiago, explaining about the time constraints I was working under and that I was seeking participants. She offered herself as a participant, as well as her work and social contacts, so I conducted my

pilot interviews with her and her husband (separately), and her family home was also the location for one of my observations. As is often the case, however, contacts accessed by snowballing included those within an existing network and led to a sample of primarily middle-class women and a few middle-class men. To obtain other middle-class participants I approached my GP, dentist, and former colleagues. Although I did not interview my initial contacts, these approaches opened up new networks and diversified my participants. These initial approaches and developing an online presence also helped to establish my credentials. If anyone wanted to contact me by email, phone or WhatsApp I was always available and flexible. Generally, when I first met someone I gave them my card as a way of demonstrating the credibility of my research.

Sometimes while interviewing middle-class participants I explained that I was interviewing middle-class and working-class people. They occasionally suggested that I interview their nannies, gardeners or others who worked for them, or someone who worked with them in the same workplace but with a lower status. I thanked them but avoided these suggestions because of my awareness of differential power positions in the field. I thought that recruiting working-class participants through a mutual working-class contact would be a better way of building trust with working-class participants, as I wanted to avoid developing asymmetrical relationships with my participants as much as possible. I only once had to resort to relying on someone who was closely related to me and that was to find a specific profile – a male, middle-class, lone father. My father knew someone at work who was in this situation, so I took this opportunity to negotiate access; this profile is not highly visible in Chile.

Overall, middle-class women were more able to facilitate contacts than middle-class men, but their contacts were all heterosexual; they did not put me in touch with any gay participants. The snowballing process through my middle-class participants reveals how their social networks consist of people like them. For instance, Figure 3.2 shows that married participants suggested other married people, and, as previously discussed, middle-class gay men and lesbians suggested other middle-class gay people; only one middle-class lesbian couple provided cross-class contacts. I recruited 19 heterosexual middle-class participants through snowballing.

Figure 3.2 Middle-class participants recruited through snowballing
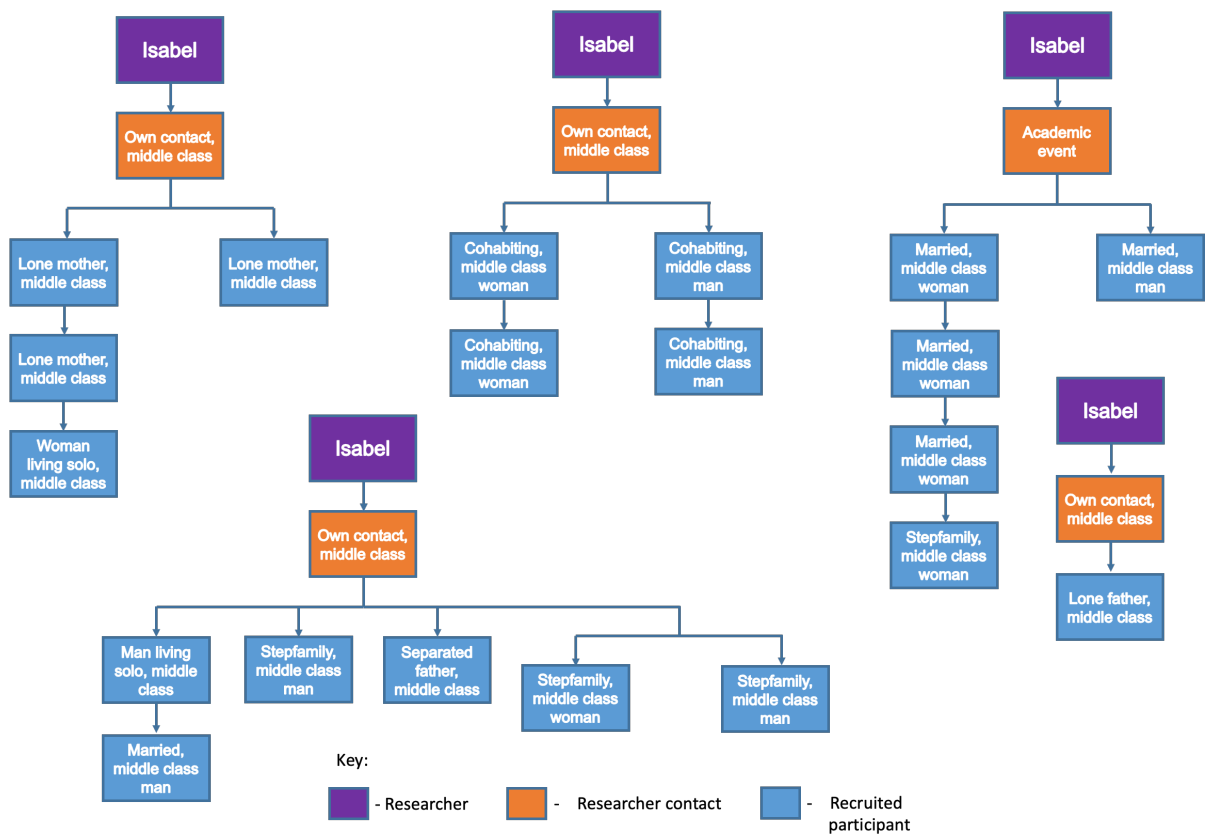
Source: Author.

3.2.2 Working-class snowballing

I was aware of the issue of power and the asymmetrical relationships that can arise in the field that may be produced/maintained in/out of fieldwork (Charles, 1996;

Letherby, 2015, 2020; Wolf, 1996). My attempts to recruit working-class participants was similar to the way I approached middle-class contacts; that is, I went to places where I knew someone and renewed our connection face-to-face. As an undergraduate student in Santiago, I had held several low-paid jobs: working as an assistant in a photocopying shop, as a salesperson in a small grocery shop and packing shopping bags in supermarkets. These jobs had brought me into contact with three working-class co-workers who helped me to recruit participants.

Establishing a level of trust is important for snowballing, primarily to access vulnerable or hidden populations (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). I had previously built-up trust with my fellow co-workers which meant that they were willing to put me in touch with others. The initial approach was similar to middle-class snowballing; I gave them my card as a marker of the credibility of my research which also gave a degree of status to both my working-class contacts and me (I discuss this in more detail later), and I was flexible and available when they were.

The alumni office of my undergraduate university was the only exception to being unable to access working-class participants through a middle-class contact. The office maintains a publicly available online site where alumni share their contact details and workplace. I emailed a man working in a deprived neighbourhood for its city council. I made an initial visit and offered some voluntary teaching[23] to see if I could recruit participants. After the class, I took five minutes to explain my research and three women approached me to volunteer.

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[23] The man was responsible for a social programme that provides working-class women with training on running their own businesses. I offered a lesson on women's labour history. This programme is part of SERNAM's policy making.

Figure 3.3 shows how I contacted 18 working-class participants, 16 of whom were heterosexual and two gay.

Figure 3.3 Working-class participants recruited through snowballing
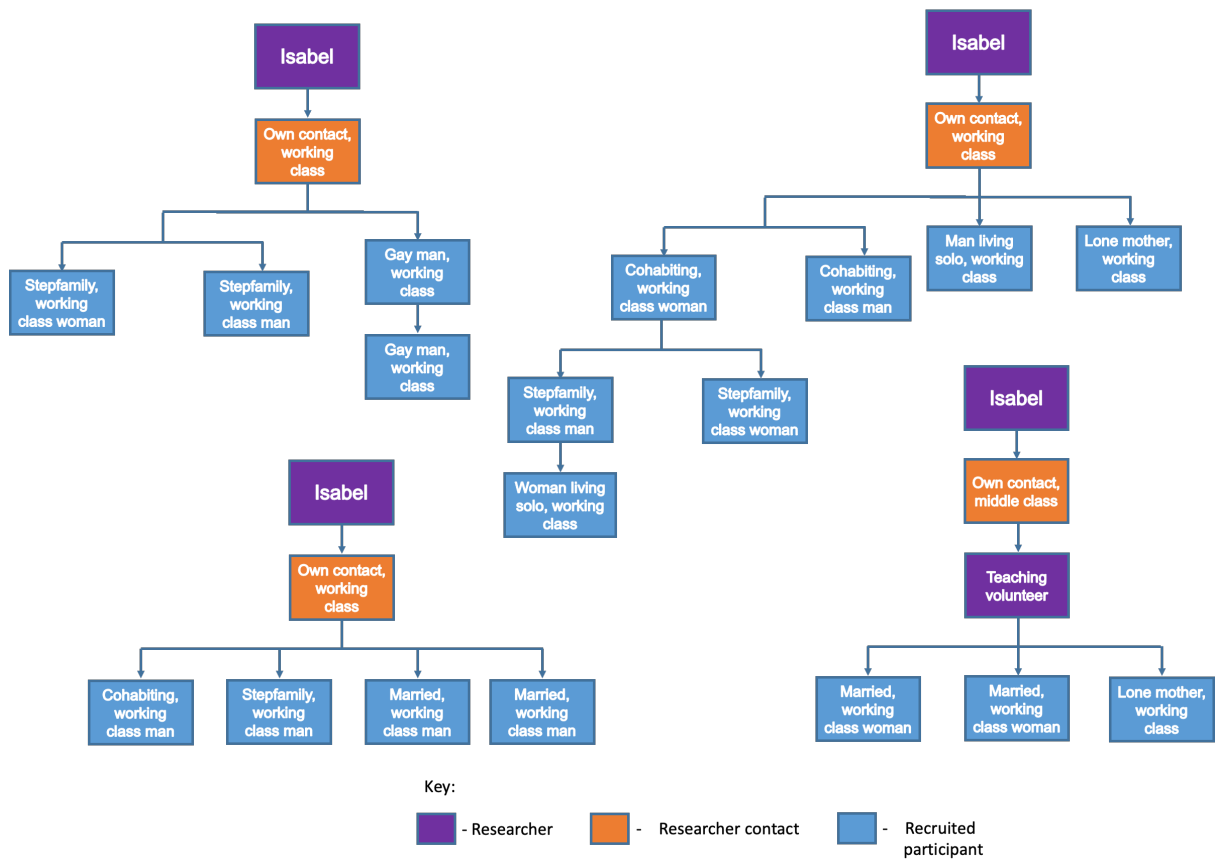
Source: Author.

It was difficult to access some working-class profiles, such as gay men. Working-class lone fathers and men living entirely on their own proved difficult or impossible to identify or recruit, perhaps because such living arrangements are very rare. Working-class jobs pay too little for men to be able to afford to live by themselves in Santiago, or perhaps they are more comfortable living in their mother's home or with other relatives who can provide domestic services. The only man "living alone", Jose, did so in a shared house; he identified as living alone because he does not live with anyone whom he counts as 'family'. I also found it difficult to recruit a working-class woman living on her own, but I recruited a woman living by herself with her dog and no

children. Furthermore, some of my working-class participants lived in extended family households (three men, three women and a heterosexual couple) which I had not anticipated.

Working-class participants' suggestions of recruits to my study usually had more diverse living arrangements than those suggested by middle-class participants and were often co-workers. For instance, a stepfather suggested a woman living on her own that he worked with (see Figure 3.3).

In summary, accessing middle-class participants was easier than accessing working-class participants; some working-class participants lived in extended family households, whereas no middle-class participants did; recruiting female participants was easier than recruiting male participants; it was much easier to recruit heterosexual couples than people in any other type of living arrangement; I only recruited a few gay and lesbian participants, and I was unable to recruit working-class lone fathers or men living on their own. This outcome might reflect the scarcity of some living arrangements as well as my own difficulties in accessing a wider range of networks. It also suggests that Chilean society is broadly shaped. For instance, middle-class people may have wide social networks and feel more confident to recommend people than working-class participants. This meant that some forms of living are more hidden than others, such as lone fathers and working-class gay men. However, supportive cross-class networks exist, such as middle-class lesbian women, who provided access to their working-class lesbian friends, who were then willing to participate in my research.

4. My participants

In this section, I describe my sample starting with their distribution between the middle and working classes. For the purposes of my research I link class to employment because Chilean sociologists argue that this is the best way to understand social class and because the occupational structure has changed due to an increase in women's employment in contemporary Chile, see Chapter 2, Section 3 (Barozet & Fierro, 2011; Espinoza et al., 2013; Todaro & Yañez, 2004). It is important to take into account both class and gender when investigating how family relations (re)produce inequalities because class and stratification analysts argue the family determines 'the location of individuals within the "class structure"' (Crompton, 2006).

I classify occupations as middle class or working class. The rationale for this is based on type of contract, educational attainment and working hours in Chile. Middle-class jobs are those held by workers with permanent positions; indefinite contracts, where employees usually have degrees and are exempt from legal working hours, only required to meet their obligations. Working-class jobs are characterised by fixed-term contracts, employees are paid hourly and the majority have only completed secondary education and these positions are framed by legal working hours, 45 hours per week (Todaro & Yañez, 2004). All my participants fall into one of these categories. This means that participants with working-class jobs are not the most precarious in society – they have jobs with temporary or fixed-term contracts – but their occupations are low in status compared with middle-class jobs.

I recruited 25 middle-class and 20 working-class participants. Table 3.3 shows the majority of my middle-class participants were in professional or intellectual jobs and

at middle management levels, with the women being concentrated in professional and intellectual occupations.

Table 3.3 Participants' occupational class

Occupations	Male Participants	Female Participants	Class
Managers and directors	3	1	M I D D L E
Professionals and intellectuals	6	9	
Associated professional occupations	2	1	
Entrepreneurs	1	2	
Informal work	0	1	
Unemployed	0	0	
Administrative and secretarial occupations	1	1	W O R K I N G
Caring personal and other services	2	5	
Sales and customer services	2	0	
Small entrepreneurs	0	1	
Manual labour	4	1	
Informal work	0	2	
Unemployed	1	0	

There was only one middle-class female participant working informally. She chose to leave paid work as an optician to be with her children. Her male partner was also a participant and is the only entrepreneur within my middle-class sample. None of the middle-class participants were unemployed. Table 3.3 also shows that the majority of my working-class participants work in caring, personal and other services, although there are more women than men in these occupations (five compared with two). Four of my male participants are in manual occupations, only one woman had a manual job

as an Uber driver – a male dominated sector. One working-class man was unemployed and two working-class women undertook informal work at home.

The women in my sample were more likely to be self-employed than men for both social classes. Men were also more likely to work longer hours than women (I discuss this more fully in Chapter 5, see Table 5.1). The lesbian couple are middle-class entrepreneurs, they run a business together, while the working-class gay men work in sales and customer occupations. The distribution of women and men in my sample across occupational classes is similar to their distribution in the Chilean occupational structure we saw in Chapter 1. Middle-class men are found at the highest level and women are in professional jobs, while working-class women are in the service sector and working-class men are in male-dominated, manual occupations.

Table 3.4 shows the demographic information of my 12 middle-class, male participants; I gave all my participants pseudonyms to protect their identity. This table shows that half of my participants cohabit in living arrangements such as stepfamilies, opposite-sex and same-sex partnerships, while three live as married couples, two are heterosexual and one is a gay man. Only one man lives on his own and is single.

Table 3.4 Middle-class male participants' information

Living arrangement	Participant	Age	Marital status	Sexuality	Occupation	Household members
Married	Vicente	44	Married	Heterosexual	Senior HR manager	Vicente, Clara (wife-participant), three children, mother-in-law and dog
Married	Abelardo	33	Married	Heterosexual	Engineer	Abelardo, Lucia (wife) and two children
Cohabiting	Humberto	42	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Entrepreneur	Humberto, Lucrecia (partner-participant), three children and adult sister
Cohabiting	Benjamin	34	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Civil servant	Benjamin, Mercedes (partner) and son
Lone father	Nicolas	38	Single	Heterosexual	Engineer	Nicolas and his son
Stepfamily	Diego	44	Divorced	Heterosexual	Civil servant	Diego, Pamela (partner), child from marriage and child from current relationship
Stepfamily	Elias	32	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Architect	Elias, Blanca (partner-participant), two stepchildren and cat
Same-sex partnership	Samuel	49	Married	Gay	Senior manager	Samuel, David (husband), twins and au pair
Same-sex partnership	Nestor	43	Unmarried	Gay	Journalist	Nestor and Raul (partner-participant)
Same-sex partnership	Raul	41	Unmarried	Gay	Educational professional	Raul and Nestor (partner-participant)
Living on his own	Jaime	30	Single	Heterosexual	Engineer	On his own
Living with parents	Hilario	37	Separated	Heterosexual	Psychologist	Hilario, parents and a dog

Nine of the 12 middle-class men are fathers of whom three are married, five have never married and one is divorced. Six of them have children under 12 years old. Their average age is 38 and three of the 12 middle-class men live in households that include a pet.

Table 3.5 shows the living arrangements of my 13 middle-class female participants. Almost half of them cohabit in family forms, including stepfamilies, opposite-sex and same-sex partnerships. Only one woman lives on her own. Four of them are married and five are divorced or separated.

Table 3.5 Middle-class female participants' information

Living arrangement	Participant	Age	Marital status	Sexuality	Occupation	Household members
Married	Clara	43	Married	Heterosexual	Academic	Clara, Vicente (husband-participant), three children, Clara's mother and dog
Married	Leonor	42	Married	Heterosexual	CEO of IT company	Leonor, Rigoberto (husband), two children, mother-in-law and two dogs
Married	Mirta	28	Married	Heterosexual	Engineer	Mirta and Roberto (husband)
Cohabiting	Asuncion	32	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Surgeon	Asunción, Felipe (partner) and son
Cohabiting	Lucrecia	44	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Optician outside labour market	Lucrecia, Humberto (partner-participant), three children and partner's sister
Lone mother	Amanda	35	Separated	Heterosexual	Civil servant	Amanda, son and her mother
Lone mother	Margarita	38	Divorced	Heterosexual	Engineer	Margarita, son, domestic worker and dog
Lone mother	Pascuala	37	Divorced	Heterosexual	Psychologist	Pascuala and her son
Stepfamily	Blanca	38	Divorced	Heterosexual	Technician	Blanca, her two children, Elias (partner-participant) and cat
Stepfamily	Isidora	40	Married	Heterosexual	Psychologist	Isidora, Claudio (husband) and stepdaughter
Same-sex partnership	Eliana	34	Unmarried	Lesbian	Entrepreneur	Eliana, Rebeca (partner-participant), two dogs, and two cats
Same-sex partnership	Rebeca	32	Unmarried	Lesbian	Entrepreneur	Rebeca, Eliana (partner-participant), two dogs and two cats
Living on her own	Mariana	37	Divorced	Heterosexual	Solicitor	On her own

Nine of the women are mothers of whom three are lone mothers and one is a stepmother. The lone mothers and one married woman have children under 12 years old. The women's average age is 36 and five of them live in households that include pets.

Table 3.6 shows the ten working-class male participants: seven of them live in opposite-sex partnerships, two in same-sex partnerships and one single male shares a house.

Table 3.6 Working-class male participants' information

Living arrangement	Participant	Age	Marital status	Sexuality	Occupation	Household members
Married	Cristobal	42	Married	Heterosexual	Legal administrator	Cristobal, Elisa (wife) and two children
Married	Ivan	32	Married	Heterosexual	Bus driver	Ivan, Luz (wife), two children and his brother
Cohabiting	Hugo	38	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Doorman	Hugo, Melina (partner), his child, parents-in-law and dog
Cohabiting	Salvador	25	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Mining operator	Salvador, Sara (partner-participant), Manuel (son), Sara's parents and Sara's siblings
Stepfamily	Lautaro	32	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Construction worker	Lautaro, Soledad (partner-participant), and two children (his son and stepson)
Stepfamily	Dario	33	Married	Heterosexual	Healthcare assistant	Dario, Alba (wife-participant) and stepdaughter
Stepfamily	Tadeo	28	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Unemployed	Tadeo, Silvia (partner) and two stepdaughters
Same-sex partnership	Adrian	32	Unmarried	Gay	Customer service	Adrian and Joaquin (partner)
Same-sex partnership	Baltasar	27	Unmarried	Gay	Sales assistant	Baltasar, Horacio (partner), Baltasar's mother and mother's partner
Shared house	Jose	37	Single	Heterosexual	Mining operator	Jose, Lilian (female housemate), Lilian's two children and a dog

As Table 3.6 shows, more than half of the men cohabit as part of a stepfamily, or are in heterosexual or same-sex partnerships. Three of them are married and seven have never married. Furthermore, seven are fathers, most with children under 12. One father is separated, and his child lives with his ex-partner. Four of the men live in extended family households, their average age is 32 and two households have pets.

Table 3.7 shows my ten female, working-class participants. Five of them live in opposite-sex partnerships, two in same sex-partnerships and one is single and lives with her dog.

Table 3.7 Working-class female participants' information

Living arrangement	Participant	Age	Marital status	Sexuality	Occupation	Household members
Married	Ursula	38	Married	Heterosexual	Small entrepreneur	Ursula, Carlos (husband), twins and a dog
Married	Iris	43	Married	Heterosexual	Informal work	Iris, Juan (husband), three children, father-in-law, a cat and a dog
Cohabiting	Sara	24	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Healthcare assistant	Sara, Salvador (partner-participant), her son, three siblings and parents
Stepfamily	Soledad	29	Unmarried	Heterosexual	Informal work	Soledad, Lautaro (partner-participant) and her two children; one from current relationship and one from previous partner
Stepfamily	Alba	48	Married	Heterosexual	Healthcare assistant	Alba, Dario (husband-participant) and her daughter
Lone mother	Rita	41	Separated	Heterosexual	Medical receptionist	Rita, her mother and adult daughter
Lone mother	Ester	40	Single	Heterosexual	Dental assistant	Ester, parents, adult daughter, brother, grandfather and two dogs
Same-sex partnership	Violeta	31	Unmarried	Lesbian	Uber driver	Violeta, Celeste (partner-participant) and cat
Same-sex partnership	Celeste	38	Unmarried	Lesbian	Travel agent	Celeste, Violeta (partner-participant) and cat
Living on her own	Ines	28	Single	Heterosexual	Healthcare assistant	Ines and her dog

As we can see, half my female participants live in unmarried partnerships, such as stepfamilies, heterosexual or same-sex cohabitation. Three are married and seven have never married. Seven are mothers: two married mothers with children (aged six and 17), two lone mothers with adult children, and three mothers cohabiting and also with children under 12 years old. Four of the women live in extended family households, their average age is 36 and five live in households that include pets.

Overall, middle-class participants are more likely to be married or divorced than working-class participants, and my middle-class female participants are more likely to be divorced than my middle-class male participants. The number of participants cohabiting is similar in both social classes, but working-class cohabiting participants are more likely never to have been married than their middle-class counterparts. The middle-class lone mothers in my sample tend to be divorced or separated and have children under 12; whereas the working-class lone mothers tend to be single, living in extended family households and have adult children. None of the working-class men are divorced, while one middle-class man is. Middle-class participants are more likely to have adult parents living in their households in comparison with working-class participants who are more likely to live in their parents' household. In both classes, female participants are more likely to have pets than male participants, and middle-class men are the oldest participants, whereas working-class men are the youngest. Furthermore, there are slightly more middle-class participants than working-class ones, for reasons that have already discussed. My sample has more women than men, and most participants live in couples.

5. Data collection

In this section I explain my choice of research methods and my data collection discussing the practicalities and realities of fieldwork, and outlining three main methods: in-depth interviews, observations and family photography.

5.1 Interviews

Interviewing is an opportunity for researchers and participants to engage in an exchange of understandings and perspectives (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Interviews provide a good opportunity to learn about people's experiences and the meanings that they attach to them (Johnson, 2011; Seidman, 2013). Interviews are one of the most popular methods within feminist research because they put the lives of women and other marginalised groups centre stage (Letherby, 2015). Additionally, they are one of the most recognised qualitative research methods (Brannen, 2019; Bryman, 2012; Mason, 2002). It was the possibility of accessing the daily lives of participants through listening that led to my choosing in-depth interviews as my main research method.

I designed an in-depth, semi-structured and open-ended set of interview questions, in Spanish and English (Appendix A). The interviews were conducted in a conversational format, so they did not necessarily follow a prescribed thematic order, but every topic was covered with each participant, plus they were able to add more themes at the end of the interview if they wished.

My experience of interviewing suggests that, in some cases, as participants spoke about private experiences concerning their families they worried about me talking subsequently to their wives, husbands and partners because of the level of knowledge shared. Consequently, in some cases, I interviewed both partners separately as

planned, and a few wanted to be interviewed together. This meant that in most cases my initial strategy of interviewing partners separately was not possible.

Overall, I conducted 38 interviews with 45 participants in six different living arrangements. To split this by class, in my middle-class sample I conducted 22 interviews, as shown in Table 3.8. Five of the 13 married or cohabiting couples were willing to be interviewed, either separately or together, and eight participants living as part of a couple were the only person in their living arrangement to be interviewed.

<div align="center">

Table 3.8 Middle-class interviews

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Living arrangement	Couple interviewed together	Interviewed each person in a couple separately	Interviewed only one person in the couple, or the sole adult in the household
Married		Clara - Vicente	Mirta, Leonor, Abelardo
Cohabiting		Lucrecia - Humberto	Asuncion, Benjamin
Stepfamily	Blanca + Elias		Isidora, Diego
Same-sex partnership	Eliana + Rebeca Raul + Nestor		Samuel
Lone Parent			Pascuala, Amanda, Margarita, Hilario, Nicolas
Living on their own			Jaime, Mariana

- couple interviewed separately
+ couple interviewed together

Table 3.8 shows that more middle-class, same-sex couples (two) than heterosexual couples (one) wanted to be interviewed together, while more heterosexual couples (two) were willing to be interviewed separately. The interviews also included seven middle-class individuals living alone or as lone parents.

In my working-class sample (Table 3.9), I conducted 16 interviews where it was only possible to interview one partner from the married couples: whereas participants in

heterosexual and same-sex cohabitations wanted to be interviewed together. Four individuals, all men who were part of a heterosexual or same-sex partnership were the only person in their living arrangement to be interviewed.

Table 3.9 Working-class interviews

Living arrangement	Couples interviewed together	Interviewed each person in a couple separately	Interviewed only one person of the couple, or the sole adult in the household
Married			Ursula, Iris, Ivan, Cristobal
Cohabiting	Salvador + Sara		Hugo
Stepfamily	Alba + Dario Soledad + Lautaro		Tadeo
Same-sex partnership	Violeta + Celeste		Baltasar, Adrian
Lone Parent			Rita, Ester
Living on their own			Ines, Jose

- couple interviewed separately
+ couple interviewed together

Table 3.9 reveals that proportionally more working-class women in heterosexual and gay partnerships than working-class gay men wanted to be interviewed together – although with such small-scale numbers no conclusions can be drawn. As I discussed earlier in Section 3.2, recruiting working-class gay men was the most difficult and they may be reluctant to identify themselves to researchers. I also interviewed four working-class participants living alone or as lone parents.

Working-class married participants were less willing than middle-class participants to be interviewed with their partner. Usually working-class women interviewees did not want me to interview their partner, fearing, in my opinion, due to the high levels of

intimacy developed during the interview that I might betray their confidence. The revelation of some very personal experiences emerged, such as sexual harassment and rape (see Section 7). The reasons for participants not wanting me to interview their partners varied. Middle-class women usually said that their partners were too busy with work to be interviewed. Being concerned, I think, about my level of involvement in their lives and protecting their own privacy and that of their partners. Working-class men who were interviewed in a café or at work usually emphasised their enjoyment of being interviewed, and said they would tell their partners and male friends about it. Yet often their partners declined to be interviewed. Perhaps due to either their lack of free time or not wanting to display their home to me.

The interviews with couples were, in a sense, an opportunity of meaning-making for them as a family while sharing their lives with me. Thus, interviewing couples was a form of 'doing family'. Middle-class couples prepared nibbles, drinks or special meals late on a Friday or Saturday evening, and transformed the interview into a social occasion and opportunity to demonstrate their togetherness. Working-class couples spoke to me with their children present while cooking together or in a park on a day off. For them, the interview turned into a moment of spending time together and showing the importance of their relationships to each other. All participants who insisted on being interviewed together were in effect displaying their family life (Finch, 2007).

Interactions during interviews also demonstrated power relations within couples, although power differentials were more present within heterosexual partnerships than same-sex couples. Considering social classes, when a heterosexual couple was interviewed together, the man frequently led the conversation or sometimes corrected

the woman's responses. Whilst some women laughed if men disagreed with them others agreed with their comments. I asked the same questions again if the women did not respond in order to encourage them, though I found that the man always had the last word. The few same-sex couples I interviewed also showed asymmetries, but this was regarding 'how the family story is told' as during interviews they interacted more with each other and had some disagreements, but allowed each other to disagree or tell a different story, even if they did not agree. They made jokes of their disagreement through comments like 'we will talk later'. Middle-class heterosexual couples who were interviewed separately, sometimes their perceptions of family life differed from each other, and when I covered topics of division of labour in the household men always referred to their partners as the expert, whereas when I raised topics related to family finance, women always mentioned that their male partners had more precise information. Despite answering the questions I asked, they usually implied that if I wanted to know "correctly" I would need to check with their partners. However, I did not do this.

The location of the interviews was agreed with participants to fit with their other commitments and to be convenient for them. Table 3.10 presents the interview locations.

Table 3.10 Interview locations by social class and gender

	Middle class				Working class			
	Home	Workplace	Café	Park	Home	Workplace	Café	Park
Women	7	5	1	-	4	-	3	3
Men	6	4	2	-	2	2	5	1

Middle-class participants preferred to be interviewed either at home – twice as likely compared to working-class participants – or at their workplace. In contrast, working-class participants preferred either a café – three times as likely compared to middle-class participants – or a park. No female working-class participants were interviewed at their workplace, although I interviewed one woman after work in a café. Furthermore, middle-class women booked a meeting room at their workplace in their working hours, whereas interviews occurred in cafés with middle-class men were near their workplace at lunchtime. No middle-class participants, male or female, were interviewed in a park. There are a range of possible reasons for these differences connected to living conditions.

As I suggested earlier, for middle-class participants their home is likely to be a way of displaying the comfort and wealth of their family and, in some way, reinforces the success of their family life (Finch, 2007). Yet the living conditions of my working-class participants, mean that they do not own the properties they live in and there is a lack of privacy due to a large number of people living under one roof. Therefore, it was difficult for them to feel comfortable about expressing their feelings and views freely at home. Their preference for an alternative to being interviewed at home accords with the women's wishes to retain the interview for themselves, and not their partners. Most working-class participants preferred to have their interview in another, quieter and more private location – although this was typically late at night. Those working-class participants interviewed at home typically could not leave the house due to childcare responsibilities or finished work shifts late at night, when social venues and public transport were closed.

When interviewing participants, I developed a better rapport with the women than with the men. I felt more relaxed when interviewing women, and this behaviour may have been observed by my participants. Women's interviews lasted longer than men's and this might have been influenced by my relative discomfort and lesser rapport with men, for reasons discussed in Section 7. It could also be that women felt more comfortable talking about their families with me, which could be regarded as a more feminine topic of discussion, and interviews with working-class women tended to be the longest as cafés turned our conversations into a social occasion in their free time. All my participants discussed all the topics even if the interview was relatively short.

5.2 Observations

In addition to interviews, I planned to carry out observations as a way to 'address the gap between what people do and what people say they do' (Brannen, 2017, p. 10). Observation allows the researcher to see how family members interact with one another and what performance of families they choose to make (Gabb, 2010). From this perspective, I gained access to certain practices that are so taken-for-granted that they were not mentioned in interviews. Observations allowed me to see and hear people in their homes, as well as to experience the social context of their family lives and perceive the texture of habitualness. I observed, for instance, how family practices are undertaken and how families organise their domestic life and divide household tasks.

Initially, I planned to organise three observations in each of the intended 12 households. One set of observations was meant to occur while sharing a meal in the evening, another was to be at the weekend, and a final observation was planned for a weekday. However, I found that I was able to conduct observations in ten households

and for a different number of observations in each case, although in each household I observed meals such as breakfast, lunch and dinner, at weekends, weekdays or both. As Table 3.11 shows, I observed more middle-class households than working-class households, however I observed the same households more frequently amongst my working-class participants. Only one middle-class household granted me access three times.

Table 3.11 Number of observations per living arrangement, participant and social class

Living arrangement	Participant	Number of visits	
Married	Clara + Vicente	3	MIDDLE CLASS
Married	Leonor	1	
Cohabiting	Lucrecia + Humberto	1	
Same-sex partnership	Eliana + Rebeca	2	
Same-sex partnership	Samuel	1	
Woman living on her own	Mariana	1	
Cohabiting	Sara + Salvador	3	WORKING CLASS
Stepfamily	Alba + Dario	3	
Stepfamily	Soledad + Lautaro	1	
Woman living on her own	Ines	1	

A number of reasons prevented me from observing in other cases. These included: participants being unavailable at the weekends, participants moving in with a partner, and participants' relatives being unwilling to be observed. This latter reason was the case for a middle-class lone mother who found it difficult to host me as her partner was not happy with me visiting their home.

Observations relied on the rapport I had established in the interviews, which enabled access to observe participants in nuclear family and extended family households. Some working-class participants shared housing, so access to observation was more restricted than in middle-class households. And as I have already stated, my working-class participants are not the owners of the properties they live in, and thus their willingness to be seen in their houses may differ from middle-class participants who displayed their wealth when I visited. These are some of the reasons that I ended up conducting more observations in middle-class households than working-class households. Despite my middle-class participants being constrained at the weekends because of their active social life and, on weekdays, they sometimes worked late. This meant that it was difficult to conduct more frequent observations with my middle-class participants. Additionally, I revisited working-class households more often than middle-class ones because I helped with childcare, domestic work, grocery shopping, and engaged in friendly conversations with the women.

One of the purposes of observing was to ascertain the division of labour in households, but with the absence of the rest of the family during these visits, especially the men, I sometimes felt that I was not learning as much as I had hoped. I noted, however, that male absence had consequences for the organisation of domestic life and, even if I had been able to conduct more visits, I would not have been able to observe anything different because the household labour was undertaken by the women rather than the men, and men were likely to be at work. Table 3.11 demonstrates that I conducted more observations when women were present than with men on their own. I felt uncomfortable about undertaking observations in households with only heterosexual men present, I discuss this further in Section 7, and this may have affected my chance of accessing more households.

5.3 Family photography

In addition to interviews and observations, I sought to focus on one family practice in detail and chose family photography which has been found to be important to displaying family in Britain (Almack, 2008; Dermott & Seymour, 2011; Finch, 2007; Rose, 2003, 2010). Family photography is a powerful social practice in producing feelings and representations of family embedded in daily life. Therefore taking and displaying family photographs can provide a perception of family practices wherein social relationships and social power are embedded in family life (Rose, 2003). Ultimately, this method also provided data on how photographs contribute to making families. I collected family photographs chosen by participants and talked to them about the photographs as part of the interview.

At the end of each interview, I asked participants to show me a significant family photograph [*foto familiar significativa*] that they might have with them and talk about it with me. I asked them questions about the images they showed me – what does this image show? who took the photo? to whom was the photo sent? what does the photo mean? This is because the content of the photograph (who is present) and who it is shared with can indirectly indicate social positions in personal and family life. Most of the photographs were digital pictures on participants' smartphones, although some photos were framed and printed by middle-class participants. Initially I planned to gather five family photographs from each participant. However, I found that people showed me fewer 'significant' photographs than I expected because despite having several family pictures, they wanted to talk more about particular photographs and their history.

Altogether, I gathered 118 family photographs: 73 from middle-class participants (47 from female and 26 from male participants), and 45 from my working-class participants (30 from female and 15 from male participants). As Table 3.12 shows, on average, middle-class women showed me four pictures, middle-class men two, working-class women three and working-class men one.

Table 3.12 Average number of photographs by gender and social class

	Women	Men
Middle Class	4	2
Working Class	3	1

Important differences arose between how middle-class and working-class participants responded: middle-class participants showed me more photographs. One middle-class man showed me 17 family pictures, but only two of them were, he said, 'significant' [*significativa*]. Because of this I have only included the two significant photos from this participant in Table 3.12 and for calculating the average number of photographs shown to me for analysis (Chapter 7). Were his 'extra' photographs to be included, the class difference would be greater, resulting in an erroneous similarity between middle-class women and middle-class men for the average number of photographs they showed me. The relative willingness of participants to show me photographs confirms my earlier point that middle-class participants – especially middle-class women – felt more comfortable about participating in the study. Alternatively, it could be the case that the men had fewer photographs of their families at hand than women.

6. Data analysis

In this section, I discuss how I organised and analysed my data systematically by looking at each data form in turn.

6.1 Interviews

Analysis of the interviews involved two steps: firstly, interviews were recorded on a voice recorder; secondly, I transcribed the 38 interviews verbatim, paying attention to nonverbal expressions, such as hesitations, silence and laughter. The interviews were transcribed into separate Microsoft Word files. While typing these transcripts, I added comments with Microsoft Word. I also translated two entire interviews from Spanish to English, and later all the coded quotations from Spanish to English, and I kept some words in Spanish followed by a translation to show the connotations and nuances of particular meanings.

Preliminary coding of these 38 transcripts into themes which were debated with my supervisors. After this I commenced the analysis, exporting the files into NVivo and creating broad themes regarding what people told me about family life: care, family celebrations, work routines, family routines in the household, family budget, domestic work, leisure time and family history, for example. Then I discussed these broad themes with my supervisors and created parent nodes for bigger themes: definition of families, paid employment, family finance, housing, leisure time, domestic work and personal biography. Consequently, I created child nodes for specific topics related with these parent nodes. For instance, the theme 'definition of families' was assigned 'responsibility', 'support' and 'family occasions' as child nodes, whereas 'paid

employment' had the child notes 'working hours', 'earning', 'maternity leave', and 'paternity leave', among others.

I coded all the interviews and exported the themes to a Word document and printed it out. To immerse myself in my interviews and feel more connected with my participants, I searched manually for nuances that might be lost in the automated software. This created a sense of presence between me and my data. I took notes about family practices arising from the interviews and reanalysed the data by listing family practices by gender, social class and sexuality. This enabled me to find patterns, similarities, differences and exceptions amongst my participants, and conduct a deeper analysis.

6.2 Observation

I also exported my observation notes, which I had written as Microsoft Word files, into NVivo. As I had already identified themes and codes on family practices in the interview transcripts, I coded these observational notes according to the same themes, adding pictures taken during observation and informal talk. I also coded these observation notes for where activities had taken place and how long they had lasted. For instance, time spent doing housework or care work, or celebrations taking place during observations, such as meal preparations, phoning relatives, changing nappies, and helping with homework. In Chapter 6, I present the analysis of my observations related to household divisions of labour.

6.3 Family photography

I chose to use photography rather than videos because it was easier to collect photographs during the interviews. Furthermore, photographs were more likely to be

displayed in homes than moving images and were more likely to be shared and stored in wallets and on smartphones. The photographs that were shared during the interviews I saved in a designated digital file, categorised by living arrangements, gender and social class. The photographs were classified in three stages. Firstly, I printed out all the pictures and separated them into living arrangements. While considering the pictures I took notes of any patterns found. Secondly, I organised the photographs into themes that had emerged from the interviews, including the meaning of family, togetherness, family celebrations, and family holidays, among others. This process enabled me to choose pictures which illustrated what participants were saying about their family photographs. Thirdly, I grouped the pictures into themes according to the layout and content of the pictures to perceive how families display themselves through photography.

The data collected through the methods outlined above - interviews, observations and family photograph - were analysed by gender, sexuality, living arrangements and social class. This intersectional approach provided an insight into the data because it made inequalities visible.

7. Reflections on my position as a researcher

As sociologists we locate ourselves in the research process (Mills, 2000). Thus, as part of the research process, it is important to reflect on how the researcher's identity and beliefs influence research design and research practice. Here I want to explore how my research was perceived by my participants, how they responded to me, and the assumptions I brought to the field. Namely, how as a woman and a feminist I became part of my research process. I consider three aspects which influenced participants'

responses to me as a researcher: class ambiguity, establishing a relationship, and heterosexuality (Hockey, Meah, & Robinson, 2007).

With regard to social class, one aspect of my identity that some middle-class participants reacted to was my surname. Usually, surnames associated with Western European migration to Chile, such as English, French, German, Italian and Basque, accompany a privileged background. This is not the case for my surname which is *mestizos*[24] and widespread in Chile. This meant that some of my middle-class participants did not recognise me as part of their social group as, occasionally, they explained particular family practices and the choices they made on the assumption that I would not understand these class practices. This led me to understand that the Chilean middle-class is heterogenous and class is strongly embedded in family life. I used their mistaken assumptions as an opportunity to clarify specific aspects of their class culture they thought differed from the working class. Frequently this related to religious beliefs that they linked with family practices such as Christmas celebrations; they also remarked on the importance of spirituality rather than consumerism, and highlighted the moral connotations of family life. They were happy to share their views with me because I respected their class position by allowing them to talk about aspects that I might not be able to understand; I positioned myself to give them respect.

However, other middle-class participants identified me as middle class because I was conducting doctoral research (highly educated) and had a profession, and, therefore,

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[24] *Mestizo* is an ethnic category that defines people originating from the unequal and heterogeneous mingling between Spaniards and the indigenous people who inhabited America in the 16th century, due to the Spanish Conquest. Later, in the 19th century, Chile was created as a nation-state and a new process of class and racialisation emerged. An important factor was European migration to Chile and the privileged position that Europeans were assigned by the Chilean state. This created new forms of social, ethnic/racial classifications and gender norms with new layers in society, such as those who are of European descent, the *mestizos* and the indigenous people (Montecinos, 2007; PNUD, 2017; Zapata, 2019).

we shared some elements of class background. This made them feel comfortable to talk about challenges at work and at home because we had a more symmetrical relationship and the interview was perceived by them more as a conversation than a research interview. Both positionalities enabled me to gain access to visit their homes and conduct observations. During observations, this ambiguity became less important and participants treated me like a guest/friend. I gained their trust, and therefore they felt comfortable with me; I also felt comfortable with them while observing and talking.

My working-class participants reacted to me in a way which had nothing to do with my surname. Instead, they found ways to bridge the class gap between us by soliciting my advice or assigning me a role in the family; I was recognised as a doctoral student who was studying abroad and as a professional (via my business card). With them I felt like a welcomed guest and they appreciated I could assist with domestic work while I was there. They wanted to help me accomplish my research which made me feel recognised as a researcher and involved in a part of their lives with a definite role to play – for example, asking for advice about their children's education.

Interviewing middle-class heterosexual men was sometimes an unpleasant and uncomfortable experience. The way some heterosexual men reacted to me was problematic, and thus I found those interviews difficult. This extended into observation time, permission for which had usually been negotiated with the woman of the household. At the time of the interviews, I was 31 years old, I dressed modestly covering my body in long T-shirts and shirts to minimise any possibility of sexual attraction. But, perhaps encouraged by the topic of the research, male participants expected that I would exchange my personal details for theirs, such as marital status

and age, and three of them invited me for a date. It was difficult to know if they were flirting, seeking to embarrass me, or trying to ascertain if they could trust me. In some cases, I told them I was married to avoid these questions. However, saying that I was married did not prevent flirtatiousness. This put me in an uncomfortable situation, because as a researcher I was not being taken seriously and felt diminished. This affected my confidence, and too often I blamed myself for being naïve enough to think that I would be treated as a professional and not seen primarily as a sexual being.

My discomfort with interviewing men was compounded when I felt I needed to reproduce gender norms by remaining silent in the face of their teasing. I was unwilling to risk my ability to complete the interview by objecting to their behaviour and felt constrained to be pleasant. With hindsight I now realise that this was low-level sexual harassment that reveals a particular form of interaction that occurs between men and women in Chile; this interaction belittles women and misrecognises them – men see women as sexual prey rather than serious people[25]. This reproduction of gender norms was more evident in my contact with middle-class men than working-class men, and led me to recognise myself in the stories of some women participants and empathise with their resistance. However, I was never comfortable with heterosexual working-class men either, because I constantly felt I had to be cautious about my sexuality, my body, and how I would be seen[26].

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[25] A study by *Observatorio Contra el Acoso Callejero* funded by United Nations Women, found that in Chile over 95% of women between 18 and 34 years of age have suffered sexual harassment in public places at least once a year; with four out of five women experiencing unwanted behaviour at least once a month. This includes sexual comments or jokes, physical behaviour, unwanted sexual advances, taking pictures or videos without consent, touching and different forms of sexual assault (Billi et al., 2015).

[26] For instance, in one interview I used the more formal *usted* instead of *tu* [you] to maintain distance between him and me because of the macho comments he made about the division of labour in the home. This changed into a more informal conversation towards the end of the interview, especially for the happier topics of family history and family photography.

This male assumption about my heterosexuality affected my emotions (e.g. uneasiness) as a researcher. It led me to realise that qualitative research is not a neutral process: instead, it is a constant subjective production of knowledge. In contrast, the men seemed to feel at ease displaying their masculinity and being accepted on their own terms. Despite those interviews being shorter than others, men often used the end of the interview to comment on some points, while other participants did not, and some of them clarified what they meant by *machista* [chauvinist attitude]. This led me to understand that heterosexuality is not a universal category, rather it is a normative institution which underpins gendered assumptions about the way women interact with men. This challenged my heterosexual identity and inhibited my ability to develop a rapport with these participants because it prevented different forms of 'heterosexualities' from being displayed (Hockey, Robinson, & Meah, 2002; Smart, 1996).

In contrast, relationships with the women participants confirmed what I felt was my responsibility in doing this research – to present a full picture of their lives and address what I see as women's relative powerlessness in Chile. Conversations flowed smoothly, the relationship comfortable, and most of the time I felt confident in my role as a researcher. Middle-class women sometimes asked me questions about my marital status: not to challenge me, but rather to check I understood what they were communicating about their lives. In my interviews with working-class women, I developed a more intimate knowledge of their lives than with the middle-class women. They were mostly open about our class differences and wanted to explain how their lives were – on the assumption that my own privilege meant I had never experienced the kinds of marginalisation they had. The extent to which some women confided in me was a surprise. For instance, one interviewee told me about the domestic violence

she had experienced as a child and being raped as an adult. I had a glass of water to hand and she drank some of it and took a moment to calm herself. I said that we could stop the interview if she wanted. She told me that this was the first time that she had shared her experience with someone and would like to continue. This led me to reflect on the powerful position of the researcher, the honour of being trusted and also how rarely marginalised groups are listened to.

My heterosexual identity did not seem to impede developing rapport and trust with my gay and lesbian participants. My relationships with the lesbian women were the most comfortable and enjoyable. They seemed to blur the existence of sexual dichotomies and my relationships with them were warm. In my interviews with the gay men, I felt relieved not to be sexualised. Middle-class gay men asked me if I had informed heterosexual families about including gays and lesbians in my study. When I said 'Yes' they felt more comfortable. I saw this as a way of giving them recognition, and I understood how important it was for them to feel that people see their partnership as any other way of living. Although my gay and lesbian participants had been contacted through an organisation, and we had never met before, they chose to tell me their 'coming out stories' (Plummer, 2003b). I had not asked about this, but it was part of their feelings about the importance of having a family life.

A difficult moment occurred with one working-class gay man when he became upset remembering his relationship with his family during the interview, and as a result became more distant towards me. I tried to support him and change the topic, but our connection never returned as it had been before even though we finished the interview in a friendly way. I found this experience upsetting and was unable to do any more interviews that week. I understood that I had not fully confronted my heterosexual,

privileged position. Nor had I acknowledged how marginalised one could be as gay and economically underprivileged. Based on previous interviews with middle-class gay men I had begun to take for granted the comfort of gay men's lifestyles, and the support they receive from their families. I felt humbled not to have realised this acceptance might be rare.

I also want to mention my relationships with animals in the households in which I conducted interviews. Dogs and cats were often considered family members and I felt that I ought to interact with them. My participants always asked me if I had any allergies before introducing me to their animals. I understood this custom showed the importance of their attachment to their pets and the crucial role that animals play in making families. When I sat beside a dog and played with her, I observed this made my participant happy as I was engaging in an important practice for them. The fact that I could interact naturally with their animals and that their pets were not afraid of me helped them to feel I could be trusted (and gave me more confidence too).

This discussion illustrates that qualitative research is a subjective and challenging process in which my position – woman, middle-class, heterosexual – affected the relationship between me and my participants in various ways. My positionality, therefore, shapes my findings and the whole research process. I found ways of being accepted by my participants, despite class differences. However, my sexuality was a problem for me in feeling at ease with some heterosexual, male participants. My positionality required a constant process of reflection about the choices made in producing the data, and I chose to give centrality to all voices, despite some limitations and discomfort with them, because of the possibilities of engaging with the richness of qualitative research (Edwards & Ribbens, 1998).

8. Ethics

This research followed international ethical standards and conformed to the ethical frameworks for responsible research practices of the British Sociological Association and the International Visual Sociology Association (BSA, 2016, 2017; Papademas & IVSA, 2009). Firstly, this project makes an ethical commitment to protect the identities of the individuals who participated voluntarily. Secondly, crucial information about matters – such as the choice to participate, the aims of the research, and the right to withdraw whenever they wanted – was given to every participant (see Appendix B). Thirdly, participants were asked to sign a consent form saying that their participation was voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time, that they were free to refuse to answer questions without giving a reason, and that I would use pseudonymous to protect their identity (see Appendix C). Lastly, the research was conducted responsibly and for genuine academic purposes in that I guaranteed the anonymity of the participants and that all the information provided would be used only for academic purposes. Therefore, all essential procedures were followed to ensure the anonymity of the participants by using pseudonyms and removing personal references, such as names, places and other information that might reveal their identities. The letter of informed consent and the participant information sheet were written in Spanish (Appendix D). Participants read it and had time to ask questions before signing the informed consent. Participants were aware when I started recording and when I stopped.

Special responsibility and care are needed when using visual material in research. Informed consent is a particular issue because visual methods make the identity of participants readily apparent. Visual researchers must ensure that participants

understand that consent is required for the collection of such research material, that the language used is understandable and that the researcher explains fully how the visual material will be used (Papademas & IVSA, 2009).

I told my participants that their photographs would be only used for the purposes of my doctoral research, and I would not publish them in papers or show them at conferences or share them with other people. I explained how I would store them in a digital file, and when I finished my thesis and deposited it in the library I would disguise their faces and protect their identity, integrity and dignity. Therefore, I gave them sufficient detailed information to choose whether or not to show and share pictures in the research. All participants agreed with this (some of them laughed). However, a few participants did not want to be disguised in the final thesis because they pictured themselves being published in an English thesis and wanted to find themselves online, once the thesis is approved.

Additionally, participants were always shown the pictures I took in their homes. When I finished my visit and observation, I showed them the photographs; sometimes I deleted one or two because they did not like how they looked, while others laughed about my ability to take pictures of them. Consent was imperative when taking pictures (Papademas & IVSA, 2009). When I took photos which included children, I made sure that I always did so from the back and checked with their parents whether I could use them. For the purposes of this thesis and the viva voce examination, unmodified photos were presented, but in the final version participants' identities are disguised.

As a researcher, I have a responsibility to protect the integrity and dignity of my participants. I explained all information carefully, and minimised any emotional damage by giving them the opportunity to withdraw and by maintaining a respectful

environment. Furthermore, I developed situational ethics as a researcher when I engaged in uncomfortable situations, as explained earlier, and I took decisions to only conduct observations in homes when participants were women or when I interviewed couples together (Tracy, 2010). This shows that ethics is deeply embedded in the research process and requires responsible decisions about the dignity of participants, providing the opportunities and information to make their own decisions and judgements about whether to participate or not, and how I as a researcher provide followed appropriate ethical guidelines.

9. Conclusions

In this chapter I discussed the decisions surrounding my research design, how the design changed once I was in the field, my methods of data collection, and the process of my research practice. My choice of qualitative research to investigate family life was based on the desire to produce an in-depth analysis of people's lives, understand their meanings and experiences and listen to them. I showed that researching family life is a complex and reflexive process which developed once I was in the field. I found that some living arrangements and participants were easier than others to recruit, such as middle-class compared to working-class, or heterosexual couples compared to lone fathers. This demonstrates the difficulty of recruiting participants due to Chile's heteronormative cultural context. This context is one of the reasons that some people and their living arrangements remain unseen.

I illustrated that gaining access is a challenge process during which time constraints, making contacts and researcher comfort need to be negotiated and renegotiated because of a researcher's dependence on their participants. I explored how people's willingness to participate meant that my research design changed; this alteration

affected the composition of my sample and my ability to interview both partners separately. I also explored how the research process creates possibilities for people to share their personal lives, reflect on themselves and give them time away from their families – as was the case for working-class women who were interviewed in cafés.

Finally, I discussed how the qualitative process requires constant reflection by the researcher and their research practice, and the relationship that they have with participants. This relational construction shapes the data that is gathered and produced, as well as the outcomes, and therefore following ethical practices is important for the integrity and dignity of the research and contributing participants.

In the next chapter I will explore the first of my research questions and discuss the meanings of family that my participants articulated in their interviews.

Chapter 4. Family Meanings and Family Practices

1. Introduction

In this chapter I explore the meaning of family for my participants and how this meaning relates to their living arrangements and family practices. Drawing on 38 in-depth interviews with 45 male and female participants, I address the first of my research questions: What does the term family mean to the people of Santiago de Chile? I argue that the denotation of family relates to particular family practices which draw my participants and their families together and underwrite their relationships. Of particular interest, is how the meanings of family articulated by my participants vary by gender, class and sexual identity.

When I asked my participants what they meant by 'family,' and who they counted as family, they often explained their reasons for designating people as family by pointing to one or more – of what Morgan (1996, 2011a, 2011b) calls – family practices, practices which drew them together and enabled them to sustain material relationships and emotional connections. Individuals they named as family were: (1) the people they took responsibility for [*responsabilidad*]; (2) the people they tried to support [*apoyo*] either emotionally and/or financially; and (3) the people they gathered with [*estar juntos*], especially during Christmas, birthdays and other special occasions.

In order to simplify the analysis presented in this chapter, I have separated my discussion of who participants counted as family from the reasons they gave for this division. Hence the first section considers who participants counted as family, paying

particular attention to the distinction made between family and household. For the remainder of the chapter, I contemplate the family practices that from their perspectives made people family, reflecting on what these practices tell us about the meaning of family; especially in terms of gender, class and sexual identity. Thus, I draw on Becker and Charles (2006) approach which argues that being involved in specific family practices is what makes someone family.

2. Who counts as family? Distinguishing between family and household

In this section, I discuss who counted as family for my participants, which is distinct from what type of household they lived in, and how this distinction connects with the meaning of family. I look first at what participants said about those with whom they share a household and, later, how they talked about family members living elsewhere. These layered meanings of family contain, at least, two aspects – who within the household counted as family, a particular issue for extended working-class households, and who outside the household might also be included.

Almost all the middle-class participants lived in nuclear family households, while almost half of the working-class participants lived in extended family households (see Tables 3.4 – 3.7). Most of my participants (40 of 45) – who lived as heterosexual and same-sex couples – counted those with whom they lived and who shared their household as family, including people and pets. Asuncion, for instance, a cohabiting middle-class woman, who worked as a surgeon, started her account of who is family as follows:

I feel like my family is who I live with, my son and my partner

[…] They live with me at home, so they are my family.

(Asuncion, cohabiting, 42, surgeon, middle class)

Asuncion defined her family in a straightforward way; that is, one which reflected a more widespread definition of family to equate it with immediate family, nuclear family, or family of procreation (Becker & Charles, 2006). Most of the middle-class participants lived in nuclear family households which meant that they experienced everyday life together and have had children: thus, sharing routines, meals, and spending time together at the weekend.

As noted in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2), working-class participants often shared households with other relatives because they were unable to afford to live by themselves, but comparable with middle-class participants, they felt that their family consisted of their partners and children. For instance, Hugo, who lived in an extended family household with his female partner and child at his partner's parents' house, said:

I live with my in-laws [*suegros*] in their home. But my family is

my partner and my daughter.

(Hugo, cohabiting, 38, doorman, working class)

Hugo's account showed that despite sharing a household with his in-laws, his perception of family was his partner and child. This perception points to the way that participants in heterosexual partnerships are influenced by normative assumptions of the meaning of family which led to them making boundaries within households. This notion of nuclear family was typical of participants, both heterosexual and gay, who

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shared households with relatives, and this notion showed that 'family' is not necessarily co-terminous with 'household'. Almost all my working-class participants who lived in extended family households (eight of 45) distinguished between household and family: they saw the latter as themselves and their partner and children. However, male working-class participants who lived in extended family households particularly insisted on making this distinction which related to their financial responsibilities for their partner and child/ren (I return to this idea in Section 3.1 below).

This distinction between family and household was not made by middle-class participants, but some middle-class men associated providing with those who they counted as family. For instance, Vicente, a middle-class man married to Clara, said: 'my family is my wife and children, any decision that I take in my working life, I always think of my family. Like my family and work are not separate things in my life'. These men usually linked their work life to their family; the role of provider was entangled with the meaning of family, and work and family life were closely related. Thus, the meaning of family for most men in opposite-sex families was primarily those whom they supported financially: usually their nuclear family.

The distinction made by working-class men between their family and the others who lived in their extended family household did not necessarily relate to whether they had children, as similar boundaries were created by gay couples without children. But gay men also mentioned 'choice' as a reason for who they counted as family. For example, Baltasar, a gay man who lived with his partner, and sharing the house with his mother and mother's partner, said:

> Despite living with my mother and sharing the house, my family is
>
> my partner, I choose to be with him, that's my family.
>
> (Baltasar, same-sex partnership, 27, sales assistant, working class)

Above, Baltasar stressed the strength of the couple relationship over other family relationships, something that was seen in all my gay and lesbian participants. Here the connection that defined family was coupledom, and not the nuclear family. Baltasar, despite living with his mother, constructed a boundary between his family relationship with his partner and his family of origin. For him, the family that he chose took precedence over other family relationships. Although Baltasar was not saying that his mother was not family, he was acknowledging his relationship with his partner as the most crucial relationship in his life; this relationship goes beyond the idea of nuclear and heterosexual family life and indicated a level of personal decision about who counts as family. Furthermore, this notion of 'personal choice' of who counts as 'family' echoes the notion of 'families of choice' articulated by LGBTIQ families in Britain and North America (see Chapter 2, Section 3.3) (Weeks et al., 2001).

Emotions were surprisingly absent from discussions of who counted as family. Only my lesbian participants (two couples) mentioned 'love' related to the meaning and definition of family and who is family. Thus, Eliana said, 'family to me is my partner, who I love and who I choose'. This was significant because she connected emotions with the meaning of family and with who she counted as family; and none of the heterosexual participants made this connection.

Other exclusions occur in who is counted as family. For middle-class lone mothers, for instance, divorce was a reason for not counting the father of their children as family

(Becker & Charles, 2006, p. 109). Thus Amanda, a lone mother who lived with her son and her mother, who helped her with childcare, explained:

> My family is my son because I'm raising him. I feel that I belong
>
> to my parents and siblings as well [...] But the father of my son is
>
> not my family.
>
> (Amanda, lone mother, 35, civil servant, middle class)

This was a common sentiment amongst middle- and working-class lone mothers who considered their children as their family. Lone mothers had a sense of belonging to their family of origin, primarily because of the help they got from their mothers with childcare, and the resulting daily contact. British sociologists have found that women's networks and daily contact are crucial to who counts as family in women's lives (Becker & Charles, 2006; Charles et al., 2008). While middle-class lone mothers lived near their family of origin or shared a home with them, working-class lone mothers lived in extended family households with their parents who helped them with childcare and housing. Furthermore, all lone mothers held in common that they did not consider the father of their children to be family; as I show below, this was linked to men's failure to fulfil the role of provider.

Very exceptionally, unrelated people sharing a household were considered to be family. Margarita, a middle-class, professionally employed lone mother lived with her son and domestic worker [*empleada*[27]] in the same household; she also

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[27] The *empleada* is a female domestic worker in Chile who is paid for housework and childcare. For most of the 20th century, this job was almost exclusively by young women from rural areas who migrated to the Capital, Santiago de Chile, to work as live-in/live-out domestic workers, and some of these women were Mapuche (the largest indigenous group in Chile). By the 2000s, most domestic workers were migrant women from neighbouring South American countries. This job is shaped by intersections of class, gender and race to form a relationship between employer-*empleada* that implies

maintained a relationship with her stepson who was the half-brother of her son, and her ex-husband's child. Margarita considered her *empleada* to be close family:

> My *empleada* raised me […] I got pregnant and she came to live with me. She is like my mother; she is my family [...] My children love her like a grandmother.
>
> (Margarita, lone mother, 38, engineer, middle class)

Most of my middle-class participants (13) employed an *empleada;* however, none of the *empleadas*, save Margarita's, lived with my participants. Margarita's account was exceptional in considering an *empleada* to be family. In her case this could be explained as arising from the care she received from her *empleada* in the past leading to an intimate relationship which continues to be meaningful today, which made her *empleada* like a mother to her and a grandmother to her son and stepson. Unlike other middle- and working-class participants, Margarita did not create a boundary between her family and others who lived in her household; indeed, she included an unrelated person while she made explicit that her *empleada* was 'like family'.

Furthermore, Margarita's inclusion of her *empleada* blurred the lines of class distinction by highlighting the historical and everyday connections between them as family. Margarita pointed out that her *empleada* was not an employee, as other middle-class participants mentioned, but like her mother who loved and cared for her. Figueiredo (2018) also found that when an employer and their domestic worker developed a mutual sense of responsibility and caring, especially if the domestic

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power relations. Nowadays, domestic workers are unionised and benefit from labour regulations (Galvez & Todaro, 1987, 1991; Maher & Staab 2005; Staab & Maher, 2006).

worker cares for children or elderly dependents, the employer tended to consider the domestic worker as family. Moreover, Margarita was a stepmother to her ex-husband's child who she said felt like 'her son', and I noted that when Margarita referred to children, she talked about her son and stepson without distinction. This suggested that she had the ability to form broader family relationships and identifications in her life; all the people that she counted as family were embedded in a sense of emotional responsibility, but they were not necessarily related or sharing a home.

Outside the household, all 45 of my participants considered someone to be family who did not live with them, such as relatives, friends and former partners. Women were more likely than men to include people outside of their household in their family. This is in line with other research that has showed that women are the ones who sustain extended family relationships (Charles, 2002), they do the 'kin work' (Leonardo, 1987). For instance, Ursula, a married, working-class woman, considered people who lived outside her household as family. She ran a small business and lived with her husband and twin daughters, and counted those whom she chose as well as those whom she did not choose as her family:

> My family is who I didn't choose but they are with me […] and
> who I choose. They are my daughters, and my husband, but also
> my mother, my brother, my niece and my niece's daughters
> because I maintain both houses.
>
> (Ursula, married, 38, small entrepreneur, working class)

She included as family her extended family as well as her nuclear family, and it was notable that she supported both families financially. This is important because it led her to include people she did not live with as well as those she did live with in her delineation of family. This contrasted with most of my other participants, who made a distinction between their nuclear family and members of their wider family. Since Ursula's father passed away, she took over the financial responsibility of her mother's household. She implied, above, that there were certain responsibilities that she took on by choice ('I choose'), relating to her husband and daughters, but also those that she did not choose ('I didn't choose'), such as financial responsibility for her mother's household. This sense of family is nuanced because she recognised the emotional support that her mother, brother and niece provided ('they are with me'); this suggested that financial and emotional support also make people family.

Choice is not mentioned at all by heterosexual male participants. As I said earlier, only gay and lesbian participants, both working and middle class (nine of 45), mentioned 'choosing' their partners as family, although not for the same reason as Ursula. Women's inclusion of more people as family suggested that there are certain expectations in terms of gender and making families. It is not clear whether my female participants wanted to maintain more kin relationships, or whether normative expectations about women's kin work and notions of gendered family obligations required women to play a major role in sustaining families.

I have previously mentioned that family sometimes includes animals. Seven of my middle- and working-class participants counted pets as family, six of these were women, both heterosexual and lesbian. For instance, Ines, a working-class woman who lived with her dog, said:

> Family is more than my mum and my sister. My family is Dulce,
>
> my puppy, because she's my partner, my companion, lives with me
>
> […] I care for her, we're together every day, we sleep together, go
>
> for a walk, watch TV [laughing].

> (Ines, living on her own[28], 28, healthcare assistant, working class)

One working-class father mentioned his daughter's dog as family because it was his daughter's close companion; especially given the emotional support it provided while his daughter recovered from surgery. Overall, however, women were more likely than men to share domestic space with their pets and to refer to them in an intimate way because of the caring relationship they built with their pets. The practices of watching TV and sharing meals with their pets, albeit eating different food, and sleeping in the same bed provided companionship and emotional support for participants and made the pet family.

The above discussion, in Section 2, shows how participants defined family and how this was linked with who counted as family for them. Their definition of family related to their households but was not always coterminous with households. Some meanings of family were embedded in normative assumptions about family; for example, this was true of participants who remarked on the nuclear family. Other meanings of family were embedded in practices of responsibility and support that were gendered and were linked to variation in who counted as family. Furthermore, more participants who were living in non-heteronormative families mentioned choice and love which may be because their living arrangements were not institutionalised in the same way as those

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[28] I use the category living on her own because this was one of the categories that I developed for participants' living arrangements. However, I recognise a contradiction here as from her perspective she was not living on her own, but with her dog.

of heteronormative families, and, therefore, the emotions that bound them together became more significant.

Statements about who counted as family were usually followed by a description of the practices that they engaged in, and I discuss such family practices in the next section.

3. Taking responsibility for family members

Participants said that meeting their obligations and responsibilities for others was partly what defined them as family. Taking responsibility [*tomar responsabilidad*] for others could be defined as a family practice because it involved a regular activity that participants undertook for those they considered family, and such an activity informed family life (Elden & Anving, 2019; Morgan, 1996). In this section, I start by looking at how participants talked about their responsibilities, how these responsibilities were gendered, and how a few participants resented and resisted gendered normative responsibilities. Then I explore how class and sexuality shaped family responsibility for heterosexual couples, for lone parents and stepfamilies, and for gay and lesbian families. Finally, I consider responsibilities in relation to those outside the household.

3.1 Gendered and classed family responsibility

Responsibility for family members was gendered, with women tending to be more locked into groups of responsibilities than men (Finch & Mason, 1993, p. 175). Whilst most male participants provided one example of a responsibility (financial), female participants provided at least two examples of responsibility (caring and financial). One working-class man, Hugo, who lived with his partner, daughter and dog in his in-laws' house explained his financial responsibility:

> My daughter and my partner are my responsibility [...] The man in
>
> the family has to be economically in charge. Paying bills, saving
>
> money.
>
> (Hugo, cohabiting, 38, doorman, working class)

Hugo said that, for men, the most important responsibility was financial responsibility for one's children and partner. Being 'in charge' 'economically' suggested that he had power. Financial contribution was a typical example of responsibility from my male participants, particularly working-class men. In contrast, most of my heterosexual middle-class men expected their partners/wives to do some paid work, thereby combining some financial obligations with their care responsibilities. Thus, middle-class male participants felt a strong financial responsibility for their children, but not necessarily for their partners. This assumption of financial responsibility as a gendered family practice and is taken for granted by my working- and middle-class male participants. Furthermore, fathering involved accepting economic responsibility for children, saving money for uncertainties, and avoiding the vulnerabilities associated with a lack of resources. Failing to do this, implied failure to make a family and was in line with men defining family as those they were financially responsible for.

For working-class men, the idea of financial responsibility was sometimes particularly important because of their childhood and their experiences of a father who did not provide. For instance, Ivan, a married working-class man, lived with his daughters, wife and brother, and worked as a bus driver:

> Family to me is everything in my life. It's the reason for why I
>
> wake up and go to bed. It's why I work […] There are my
>
> daughters and wife […] I do because my dad abandoned us, he
>
> didn't protect my mum, my brother and me. I blamed him because
>
> my mum had to work, she couldn't cook for me. It shouldn't be
>
> like that.
>
> (Ivan, married, 32, bus driver, working class)

His account illustrated a common theme in what working-class men say. Usually, they mentioned that their fathers did not provide enough money for the family when they were children, they were hungry, and therefore their mothers worked and could not care for them. Half of the mothers of these men worked as an *empleada,* like Ivan's mother, and some of their mothers continued to work as such. Furthermore, Ivan was saying that his father failed in his role ('abandoned us') and implied that he did not grow up in a 'proper' family because his mother had to work. This partly explained the reasons behind how working-class men raised their families, with men taking paid work and their partners raising their children. When working-class men included as family only those for whom they took financial responsibility, they were also indicating that despite living in their parents' (or partner's parents') home, they were effectively the head of the family.

While men mentioned being financially responsible for those they counted as family, women also mentioned being responsible for caring responsibilities, and that their caring practices created family. They made a home for partners and children in an active way. For instance, Isidora, a married, middle-class woman, who worked as a counsellor, explained how she cares for her family:

My responsibility is making a home. I'm concerned about having

food in the house, having clean clothes, watering the plants [...]

I'm the emotional partner of my stepdaughter. I'm the woman in

the home and care for us. There are different responsibilities in our

family. My husband is a man and does his duties, like financial.

(Isidora, stepfamily, 40, psychologist, middle class)

Isidora, in caring for her husband and stepdaughter, provided an example of how responsibilities within families are gendered. She showed how these family practices involved women's unpaid work and the importance of doing the housework and providing emotional care for her family; she was doing both the care and emotional work involved in keeping families together. Furthermore, Isidora explicitly said that making family involves doing gender because she took responsibility for making a home *as a woman*, in contrast to her husband's responsibilities *as a man*.

Making a home for their nuclear family was an explicit priority for women, and they made a clear connection between family and this responsibility. For instance, Clara, a middle-class woman married to Vicente, with three children, said:

To me family means responsibility. I'm hundred per cent

responsible for my children to dedicate time, energy and attention.

I'm responsible for the happiness of my husband […] and the life

of the dog.

(Clara, married, 40, academic, middle class)

Clara's account was an example of prioritising her obligations to her nuclear family: she looked after the people and animals with whom she lived (her husband, children

and dog). Clara primarily mentioned mothering as a family practice which involved time, energy and attention by sharing meals, doing sports together, and chatting at home. This was common amongst mothers in my sample and made explicit the distinction between family relationships and other relationships in terms of their quality, the emotional labour expended, and normative expectations about the proper way of raising children. Although it may be agreed by a couple that children needed this support and affection it also seemed to be agreed that their provision was the mother's responsibility. Providing care and emotional support could be seen as family practices, and the expectations were that these were women's work, and thus they could be understood as normative practices because they were experienced as obligations and shaped expectations about parental roles in the family.

Normative expectations therefore led women and men to take on obligations, which reinforced gender roles: financial responsibility was associated with money and male authority in the family, while caring responsibilities were understood as female duties that involved forms of unpaid work. These responsibilities had a different status within the family – paid work had a higher status than unpaid work, for instance – and led to unequal positions within families according to gender. Both sets of responsibilities were based on normative expectations of proper family practices and (re)produced gender inequalities.

The strength of these normative expectations was shown partly by the response of participants who were unable to sustain this 'ideal'. Most heterosexual women who lived on their own felt a lack of a proper family life, but they expected to have a partner one day, thereby creating a heteronormative family. Mariana, single woman, for instance, wished she had a family to care for, but Ines, the working-class woman

living with her dog, was happy as she was. Most of the lone mothers, however, said they felt overwhelmed by having to take on financial responsibilities, something that men were expected to provide, in addition to the emotional and practical care which was a woman's responsibility. For instance, Amanda, a middle-class lone mother who lived with her son and mother, and who worked as civil servant, said:

> I'm overwhelmed with responsibilities. I look after my child and I'm economically responsible for my household […] I should share these [responsibilities] with a partner […] someone who pays the bills, but I'm alone.

> (Amanda, lone mother, 35, civil servant, middle class)

Amanda's account was typical of lone mothers who faced difficulties in fulfilling their caring responsibilities because they had to assume financial obligations for their families. They resented the fact that they did not live with a partner who took on those economic responsibilities. Despite most middle-class mothers being expected to take on some financial responsibility, as well as care, lone mothers disliked the lack of a partner and the challenge of assuming both sets of responsibility without a choice. Rita was an exception to this and rejected the heteronormative expectations of family life. She was a working-class lone mother and preferred to live with her mother and daughter instead of with the father of her child.

Working-class lone mothers were more financially disadvantaged than middle-class lone mothers because they rarely received any financial support from ex-partners towards their children; this may partly explain why they did not count those men as family. Middle-class lone mothers received some support for their children from child support payments, although only a small amount (I discuss

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this in Chapter 5). For instance, Ester, a working-class lone mother who lived in an extended-family household with her daughter, bemoaned the absence of any child support from her daughter's father:

> The father of my daughter was irresponsible […] He never bought her clothes, worked or gave me any money. Nor did he give us a phone call.
>
> (Ester, lone mother 40, dental assistant, working class)

The working-class lone mothers in my sample had unintended pregnancies as teenagers; whereas the middle-class lone mothers had their children during their marriages. This meant that for working-class lone mothers, establishing a continuing relationship with their ex-partner was difficult. Usually, their ex-partners did not have a legally imposed financial responsibility, did not want to get involved with their children, or had no surplus income beyond supporting themselves, and lone mothers themselves also wanted to be independent of that relationship. The division of family responsibilities, therefore, affected lone mothers in different ways: they agreed with the gendered division of family responsibility, but they were not happy with the fact that they did not have a partner, and therefore struggled to fulfil responsibilities which they thought should be shared. Furthermore, the complexities of women's disadvantage were framed not only by normative expectations of responsibility, but were also related to reduced working-class incomes that did not stretch to support two households, and to women being unable to earn enough to support their children comfortably (see Chapter 5, Section 4).

Some participants questioned gendered normative ideas of family responsibilities. Some working-class women disliked the strict gendered division of responsibility, and established a different way of living. For instance, Rita, a working-class lone mother, lived in an extended-family household with her daughter and mother. She recounted when she used to live with her ex-partner in a heterosexual cohabitation:

> I was with my children, caring for them, helping them with schoolwork. Their father just provided. My responsibility was being a housewife, I was frustrated because I didn't work, neither did I want to have another child [...] I left his home and came to live with my mum.
>
> (Rita, lone mother, 41, medical receptionist, working class)

Considering my participants as a whole, the working-class women showed more dissatisfaction than working-class men or middle-class participants. Rita's situation illustrated that accepting the gendering of family practices was not universal for women, but it was difficult for them to challenge them, unless they left the relationship. Leaving a partner was a risky decision, since, as we have seen, most lone mothers bore the onerous responsibility of both earning and caring for their children. Iris also resented such gendered responsibilities. She was married, with three children, and said, 'my husband gives me so many responsibilities with the children like helping them with schoolwork, but I don't like it'. This resentment was mentioned more by working-class than by middle-class women, possibly because the latter were often able to delegate obligations to others such as private tutors or *empleadas*. This illustrated that the complexities of gendered family responsibilities were interwoven with class, and there was an expectation that certain practices were

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assumed by women within families. Furthermore, there was little room for choice regarding the responsibilities working-class women shoulder if they had partners and young children, or indeed if they were lone parents, but, as I discuss below, women had more choice about the responsibilities they adopted for adult relatives outside of the nuclear family household.

Comparable to the lone mothers, Nicolas, the lone father amongst my participants, mentioned bearing a double responsibility for his 16-year-old son, but did not talk about feeling overwhelmed to the same extent as the women. One reason for this was that his earnings allowed him to pay for help in the house, and he received help from his women relatives:

> My son is my responsibility […] it's a double responsibility and difficult. I have to be responsible for the house, paying bills, but also being a pillar for him. I have to be a strong father, being in control. If I'm sensitive I still need to put norms on him, rules because I'm raising him.

> (Nicolas, lone father, 38, engineer, middle class)

Nicolas was typical of the other fathers and stepfathers in my sample who remarked on a father's responsibility for disciplining his children as a form of responsibility. He also said that he wanted to take emotional responsibility for his son. However, he was still required to frame his fathering according to masculine norms and to establish rules for his son to stick to. As a result, whilst he wanted to show a caring side to his son, he felt he must also limit how he did this. For middle-class stepfathers and this lone father, care for children revolved around a disciplinary role, backing up the mother's authority and ensuring their children's good behaviour. Indeed, Nicolas's son came to

live with him because when his son turned 15, he began having issues with his mother, and both parents agreed that Mateo would be better off living with Nicolas because as a father, i.e. *as a man,* he could enforce discipline.

Working-class stepfathers expressed similar views, and while they did not want to take financial responsibility for stepchildren, because they expressed that they considered that to be the child's biological father's responsibility, they saw establishing and enforcing rules and boundaries as their responsibility. For instance, Tadeo, was an unemployed working-class stepfather who lived with his partner and his two stepdaughters. He also had a daughter from a previous relationship who lived with his ex-partner. He said:

> I shouldn't be spending money on my stepdaughters. It's their
>
> father who must do it […] But I'm a paternal figure for them
>
> because I'm the man in the house. I care for them like teaching
>
> rules, raising them.
>
> (Tadeo, stepfamily, 32, unemployed, working class)

Working-class stepfathers tended to see themselves as a paternal authority for their stepchildren in a similar way to middle-class stepfathers. However, working-class fathers, like Tadeo who was unemployed, could be faced with difficulties in taking financial responsibility and might resent having to do so. Other working-class stepfathers who had jobs and whose partners received some child support did not feel resentment, but they still did not see themselves as needing to take financial responsibility for their stepchildren. Dario, for instance, a married working-class man who lived with his wife and his wife's daughter, said, 'I'm a husband, that's my role. I'm not a father. I don't take economic responsibility for my stepdaughter.' This

showed that stepfathers accepted the responsibility of being an authority figure for their stepchildren, but did not accept the responsibility of financial support.

As I have shown, family responsibilities were normatively gendered but there were exceptions. One of the divorced fathers, Diego, made explicit his wish to maintain emotional involvement and caring responsibility for his child. A divorced middle-class father, he lived with his partner and they had a baby; he also shared custody with his ex-wife for his eldest, 8-year-old, son. His eldest son lived with him for two weeks every month. He explained the shared custody arrangements:

> I have shared custody with the mother of my son. She wanted and I
>
> agreed, although her parents disagreed. We have the same
>
> responsibilities. My child had a close relationship with me [...] I'm
>
> involved in his life not like other divorced fathers. I'm with him,
>
> we do homework and can scold him.
>
> (Diego, stepfamily, 44, civil servant, middle class)

Despite the expectations of his ex-wife's parents that his child should be with the child's mother after their divorce, Diego and his ex-wife had joint custody of their son. He remarked that he was more 'involved' than 'other divorced fathers' were, by which he meant that he lived with his son, helped him with homework, and shared everyday life. This demonstrated that if the father developed a strong relationship with his child, he could remain involved in the child's life, if he wished and if the child's mother agreed; such arrangements were easier to maintain if the father was able to fulfil his financial obligations. All three middle-class separated/divorced fathers in my sample fulfilled some emotional responsibilities in addition to their financial obligations, although Diego was the only one who had joint custody.

This suggested that although stepfamilies and lone parent families might be seen as non-traditional, participants living in these types of family only rarely challenged conventional gender roles. Instead, with some exceptions, most lone parents thought that as women and men they were ill-equipped to play the roles of both mother and father. Moreover, most of the fathers, including stepfathers, maintained a traditional idea of their caring role, in which disciplining children and establishing boundaries and rules were of primary importance.

3.2 Gay and lesbian families

So far, I have talked mainly about heterosexual families. Lesbian and gay families had similar understandings of some aspects of responsibility, i.e. in relation to their definition of family, but their definitions of family were not as gendered as for heterosexual participants. This meant that while gay and lesbian participants engaged in the financial and care responsibilities for their nuclear families, different practices were involved. For instance, Eliana, a lesbian middle-class woman in a partnership with Rebeca, with whom she ran a business, explained how she took financial responsibility for her family which consisted of her partner, herself, and their four pets:

> I wanted my own house for my partner and me. Having a house for
> my family and stability. I have a mortgage and we pay monthly
> [...] I wanted to have space for our dogs, once we heard a cat
> crying and we assisted him, we loved him, so we decided to keep
> him also. Then another day we were driving, and a little cat looked
> like it was lost, and we keep her. Then we said, "we don't have

more space, the six of us it's enough" [laughing].

Both partners within my lesbian couples shared the responsibility of meeting their material needs for themselves and their animals to make a home together. Whilst the middle-class couple was able to afford a house, a working-class lesbian participant built a shed in the garden of her mother's house, sharing the building costs with her partner. In the making of family, lesbian participants communicated the importance of having a house and providing economic well-being for themselves and their animals. Home was important to them, not just to the participants in heterosexual partnerships, and they worked hard to create a family life. This responsibility was shared in a more egalitarian way than between the heterosexual participants. Whilst overall one partner took greater responsibility for some tasks than the other, the other would provide assistance. Eliana revealed that her partner, Rebeca, did not want to be responsible for the mortgage, but she still put down the money for the deposit and they both paid for the house.

Furthermore, as I showed earlier in Section 2, women were more likely to share their domestic space with animals and refer to them as family compared to men. Both my middle- and working-class lesbian couples, for instance, lived in multi-species households and shared responsibility for themselves and their animals. For instance, Violeta, a working-class lesbian in a partnership with Celeste, said, 'We are three is this family: my partner, me and our cat. We look after him, it's our responsibility'. Both lesbian couples granted centrality to their animals in their family life, and thus they talked about them using the language of kinship – they talked about their pets as if they were children – which reflected the level of closeness and companionship that

they shared with them and, as I will show in Chapter 7, these animals featured in their family photographs.

The creation of family life by gay men in my sample was similar to lesbians; in so far as both partners shared financial and care responsibilities for each other. Whilst financial obligations were important, because they provided the resources to make family and the ability to afford a house to live in, gay men also mentioned caring responsibilities for their partner, an aspect of responsibility that heterosexual men did not mention. Caring responsibilities were understood as a practice which could sometimes be unusual but important. For instance, Nestor, a middle-class gay man lived with his partner Raul. He worked as a journalist and explained how he took care of his partner:

> Raul was ill and I looked after him. I booked the doctor's
> appointment, went with him to the doctor. Once, we had to go
> A&E and I was there holding his hand. During his depression I did
> a lot, and I was really exhausted.
>
> (Nestor, same-sex partnership, 43, journalist, middle class)

Above, Nestor described a set of practices which could be understood as meeting his partner's emotional needs; these practices make family and sustain his relationship with Raul. Nestor is saying that engaging in emotion work and practical care created an intimate and close relationship with his partner, but this practice was unusual and exhausting and, like some of the heterosexual women participants, he felt overwhelmed with responsibilities. The additional care responsibilities Nestor had to take on were particularly exhausting because he had to become the main provider at the same time when Raul had to reduce his working hours due to his illness.

Lesbian and gay men from working and middle social classes saw their family life and family responsibilities in a similar way to heterosexual couples. For instance, Celeste, a working-class lesbian, said, 'we're the same as other heterosexual couples, we pay bills, work, go shopping and have housework, like everyone', and Nestor, a middle-class gay man, said, 'my responsibilities and problems are the same as any other family, like I talk to my women friends and it's the same – pay bills, do the cooking'. However, gay men and lesbians, from both social classes, usually talked about family responsibilities without drawing the gendered distinction between care and financial obligations that my heterosexual participants did. However, they might have, through personality differences, resources, or ill health, end up contributing differently to the household, such as when Nestor felt overwhelmed looking after his sick partner or Eliana took on the financial responsibility of buying a house. Still, the relatively similar and shared responsibilities of those couples were related to their conscious negotiation of responsibilities, on which they worked hard. This aspect of shared responsibility could also be due to not having to factor in childcare as they did not have children, although one gay father had an au pair in charge of childcare.

Some of the gay and lesbian couples worried about the fragility of their legal responsibilities for each other. Although they did not see problems regarding being together in everyday life, they worried about not being legally recognised as next of kin, and therefore their responsibilities for each other were not recognised in law, especially if one of them became seriously ill or died. None of the participants in heterosexual partnerships mentioned this, even those who were cohabiting rather than married. For instance, Raul said:

> I would like to have the responsibility to decide for my partner if
> he passed away. Like what to do with his body and our lives. But
> maybe at this moment it would be his family and not me, I would
> like to take those decisions.
>
> (Raul, same-sex partnership, 41, professional, middle class)

Whereas Raul and Nestor were considering forming a civil partnership to obtain this legal recognition, working-class gay men and lesbians mentioned that they had thought about this, but had not yet decided. The middle-class lesbian couple had no interest in a civil partnership because they considered it as a second-class category of marriage, and the only middle-class gay father married abroad; one of his motivations to do this was securing his paternal rights[29]. Whether or not those gay or lesbian couples intended to become civil partners in the near future, their awareness of the relevance of the legal recognition of their relationships (and, in one case, of parental rights over children) was quite different from that of the heterosexual couples; that difference suggested that they could not take their relationships for granted and the responsibilities they carried with it.

3.3 Extended families

I now turn to explore what participants said about taking responsibility for people outside of their household, and how class shaped this family practice. As I have shown above, gender relations were crucial to patterns of family responsibility and the practices in which they were embedded. This pattern was shaped by commitments within families in which people had room to negotiate responsibilities, primarily when

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[29] His children were conceived by surrogacy abroad, and he and his husband have parental responsibility over their children.

those commitments involved the care of an elderly relative (Finch & Mason, 1993, p. 61). For instance, Clara explained the circumstances in which she took responsibility for her extended family:

> I'm responsible for my parents in certain occasions. Because I want to. I don't think they are my obligation. It's a work that I shouldn't do, but I have to […] it's a tension […] once my dad wanted that I help my sister with her tuition fees, but I have other responsibilities, my children, and she can work […] But when my dad became ill, I was economically responsible for him.
>
> (Clara, married, 40, academic, middle class)

Clara showed how taking responsibility for adult kin beyond the nuclear family was not straightforwardly understood as an obligation; some requests for help might be rejected, or a range of options considered. Clara used the word 'tension', meaning that the acceptance or refusal of responsibilities was framed in terms of normative expectations about what she, as the eldest daughter and sister, should do. Moreover, she made decisions based on her other responsibilities; accepting financial responsibility for her father implied balancing those responsibilities and giving help in certain circumstances, but her refusal to help her sister implied that there was no moral obligation to offer this support (Finch & Mason, 1993). None of the middle-class male participants mentioned facing decisions about taking responsibility for wider kin. However, some of the men voluntarily provided financial support to their parents (I discuss this below).

Class differences arise in terms of responsibility: working-class women provided emotional help or practical care if an elderly relative became ill, while middle-class

women could afford a carer. Working-class men also mentioned financial responsibility for adult relatives. Adrian, a gay man, said: 'My parents, siblings, nephews, know if they need medications or food, I will buy it'. As I will show in the next section, middle-class men mentioned providing financial support for their ill parents, but they did not talk in terms of responsibility. This was because extended family networks were more close-knit for working-class families, as illustrated by them living in extended-family households, seeing each other frequently, and taking responsibility for a wider range of kin than middle-class participants.

In summary, this discussion showed that family responsibilities were gendered in heteronormative families, and also differed by class and sexuality. Furthermore, in some circumstances people resented having to take on responsibilities which did not align with their gendered expectations, or they resisted and resented this gendering.

4. Providing support

Participants provided what they called support for both those they felt responsible for and those they did not feel responsible for. Providing support [*ofrecer apoyo*] to family members had moral dimensions, but this family practice was usually characterised as a choice rather than an obligation. Thus, providing support was on a voluntary basis, usually when needed, and not as a matter of course. Providing support was understood as a mutual exchange, often between adults, and was reciprocal; it was usually done for people who did not live together, such as parents, siblings or friends. Furthermore, the practice of providing support was framed around the Spanish word for support [*apoyo*] which has the connotation that support is provided to others who may provide help to you in return.

That notion of support contrasts with the practice of taking responsibility for others, which is framed around the Spanish word for responsibility [*responsabilidad*]. Responsibility is more personal, but does not necessarily mean that those others feel responsible for you in the same way. Thus a parent feels responsible for a child's material and emotional needs, but the young child is not likely to feel responsible for the parent in the same way (Finch & Mason, 1993). In my data, support arises between adult kin in wider networks. For instance, Mariana, a single solicitor who lived on her own, said:

> My family is my dad, my mum, my siblings, my grandma because
>
> if I have a problem, they support me [...] So, I'm in touch with
>
> everyone, but I look for daily contact with my mother.
>
> (Mariana, living on her own, 37, solicitor, middle class)

Mariana illustrated how the provision of support often defined who counted as family, and in her case support referred to the emotional support that her parents provided to her, and the support she offered to her family of origin in return. Mariana linked this emotional support with the emotional connection that provided her with a sense of identity through family, and took on the form of belonging through 'daily contact' with her mother. Furthermore, participants who counted friends as being 'like family,' always connected this friendship with the provision of support that helped them through difficult times. For example, Dario, a married working-class man, said, 'my family is my wife, my wife's daughter, and two friends because if I need help, they support me.' Usually, this practice meant the mutual provision of support and by engaging in this practice friends became like family.

More than half my participants mentioned one or more forms of support they provided to those they counted as family, including financial, practical, accommodation and emotional support; this indicated that different forms of support were provided to wider kin networks (Charles et al., 2008; Finch & Mason, 1993). I will now consider those kinds of help in turn.

4.1 Financial support

As is the case for responsibility, men provided financial support. For instance, Vicente, a middle-class man married to Clara, explained how he supported his stepmother:

> My stepmom has been very ill. I don't look after her […] but I
>
> support her. I pay for her doctor appointments.
>
> (Vicente, married, 44, senior manager, middle class)

Vicente's account was typical of middle-class men who provided support to wider kin, mostly parents, and sometimes grandparents or siblings. The kind of support they provided was not as diverse as that provided by women, and usually took the same form as their family responsibilities: financial help. In comparison, working-class men without children tended to provide more support to their wider kin than those who were in partnerships. This was partly explained by their greater likelihood of living in extended family households, but also suggested that whether or not they had children affected their ability to provide support. Financial constraint did not affect middle-class men's support for wider kin; however, they were less likely to be asked for financial support because their families were usually better off than working-class families.

Financial support took another form amongst my gay and lesbian participants who spoke in terms of supporting their partner financially, rather than seeing it as a responsibility; no heterosexual participants spoke in such terms. Nestor said, 'Raul is an actor and never got a proper job. We decided as a family, together, that it's better to have a degree, a better job so we support this decision that he studies in his adulthood'. Gay men and lesbians from both social classes also talked in terms of supporting each other in terms of work. For instance, one of the middle-class lesbian couples ran a business together; in the working-class lesbian couple one partner gave the other a lift to work; and gay couples, as in Nestor's case, supported each other's careers. This form of practical support needs to be understood as a family practice because through having provided each other with support they have made family; in addition, partners took decisions together thereby strengthening their relationship. Hardly any heterosexual participants talked about supporting their partner's job. One exception was Alba, she was studying so as to be able to change her job as a healthcare assistant, her husband supported her decision, he accompanied her while studying late at night, took more responsibility in the home, and she said: 'He supports me, he helps me, I don't do anything when I study, he brings me food, he's worried that I'm OK with my work'.

4.2 Practical support

Another form of support, from parents to adult children, primarily when children were lone parents, took the form of sharing accommodation and providing support such as childcare to enable them to do paid work. For example, Ester was a working-class lone mother who lived in her parents' house. She explained how her family supported her after her unplanned pregnancy:

I became pregnant at 18 and my parents supported me. They

offered me housing and I found a job. My mum looked after my

daughter. My dad didn't judge me [...] Now I help my dad with the

care of his father, my grandad is ill.

(Ester, lone mother, 40, dental assistant, working class)

This form of practical support was frequently seen among my lone parent participants; especially, mothers supporting their adult children with childcare and fathers providing housing to their daughters. Most of my middle- and working-class lone mothers depended on parents offering childcare, but the middle-class lone father also mentioned support from his mother when his son was ill. In return, adult children might also, or later, support a parent's household with financial and practical support, such as care for the elderly in the family. This gendered support was framed as a mutual exchange over time, an outcome of negotiations, in contrast with the obligation of parental responsibilities for young children.

4.3 Emotional support

Emotional support was usually provided to my participants by their friends during times of personal crisis. For instance, Adrian, a working-class gay man, said, 'I tried to commit suicide, but my friends supported me, they were with me in the hospital, so I know that they are my family as well'. Participants, gay and heterosexual, from working- and middle-class backgrounds mentioned emotional support during illness or other episodes in their lives when friends supported them with care and company. Receiving emotional support in a vulnerable situation often marked a crucial moment; it strengthened relationships and my participants counted those friends as family.

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Sibling birth order also had implications for who was expected to provide emotional support; eldest daughters were often expected to offer assistance to the family (Finch & Mason, 1993). Mariana, a middle-class woman who lived alone, was the eldest of four adult siblings. She articulated this expectation even as she refused it:

> I'm the eldest daughter, sister and granddaughter so what I do and say, it's important. My parents say, "Take care of your siblings", "support them." "Phone your grandmother." I have a necessity of helping them […] Sometimes I'm tired but my dad insists, "When are you coming to visit us?" I say, "I'm tired I won't go." He's bit upset but I don't go. I like my freedom, it's comfortable.

> (Mariana, living on her own, 37, solicitor, middle class)

Mariana suggested that her gender and her position as eldest daughter in the family shaped her family's expectations that she would provide emotional support. She made this explicit when she said that her parents told her to do things for them, and also her siblings and grandmother. However, she only provided this support when she felt able to. At another point during her interview, she said that she was glad not to be responsible for children, and this was another context in which she mentioned 'freedom.' Mariana was similar to other women without children who were expected to provide support to wider kin. More seemed to be expected of them as they did not have childcare obligations, generally accepted as priorities, and often had more available time and money than other family members.

Individual variations arose in individuals' attitudes and willingness to help out. For instance, as seen from the above quotation, Mariana refused her relatives' requests for help due to 'tiredness'. In contrast, Ines, a working-class woman who lived with her

dog and eldest sister, said, 'I gave my savings to my sister to support her, she got pregnant and I have a job, so better to help her'. Social class was an important factor in relation to emotional support because relatives in disadvantaged families might need a lot of financial support, and providing it could affect working-class participants' lives. For instance, Ines gave her savings (to buy a house) to her sister. This was not the case amongst my middle-class participants, and none of the working-class men mentioned giving up savings to support wider kin; instead, men were able to help wider kin due to having better jobs (I return to this idea in Chapter 5).

The above analysis showed that support takes financial, practical and emotional forms that differed according to social class. Providing support was a voluntary practice that conveyed the meaning of family; it was offered to adult kin outside of the immediate family, and when it was received from friends, they became family. Gay and lesbian participants tended to talk about support rather than responsibility between partners, and this might be linked with their understanding of their family as 'chosen'.

5. Coming together to celebrate

All my participants pointed out that family gatherings were a crucial part of making family. Organising events, spending time together, and sharing meals built a sense of belonging and togetherness. Additionally, they all linked these practices with another meaning of family – being together [*estar juntos*] – when talking about those they shared meals with. In this section, I consider the practices of eating together and celebrating.

5.1 Sharing meals together

Salvador, a working-class man, talked about his family eating together when he described who he counted as family. He lived with his partner Sara and their son (aged one) in Sara's parents' home, but his partner's parents were not included in his definition of family. He said:

> My family is big […] my son, my partner, my dad, my mum, my
>
> grandma, my aunties and uncles […] We shared together lots of
>
> breakfasts, lunches, my mum and grandma always fed us and were
>
> together.
>
> (Salvador, cohabiting, 25, mining operator, working class)

Salvador's account illustrated a common theme of togetherness where who counts as family was linked with the family practice of sharing meals. Participants from working- and middle-class backgrounds and different living arrangements counted as family those family members with whom they shared meals on regular basis; occasionally, with extended family members at the weekend or during annual family gatherings. Being together and eating a meal gave meaning to their family (DeVault, 1991, p. 78).

Eating together was a family practice most of my participants mentioned, whatever their living arrangements. For example, Elias and Blanca, a middle-class stepfamily with two children explained:

> Blanca: Everyone has his/her speciality for cooking, like the
>
> children sometimes make lasagne or I cook pasta

Elias: Yes, another day I cook tacos, and everyone knows that it's my speciality

Blanca: During the week we eat simple things together, and the weekends the speciality of some of us [laughing].

(Blanca and Elias, stepfamily, 38 and 32, professionals, middle class)

This account illustrated that eating together, and sometimes cooking together, was a daily family practice that reproduced family. Family members spent time together, and through doing this and having conversations they experienced the value of family. The practice of sitting down at a table to eat together was also valued by British parents, especially in behavioural terms as it socialised children into taking "good" habits (O'Connell & Brannen, 2016, p. 62). Eating meals together was also important for lone parents, such as Amanda who said, 'my boy sits next to me when I eat my dinner, we talk and play, he's really touchy-feely [*de piel*]', and for stepfamilies. Indeed, for all my participants sitting down together and having meals was a crucial family practice.

Despite most participants aiming to eat together at least once a day, and wanting to eat together at the weekends, some found it difficult. Working-class families mentioned that eating together as difficult because of working hours. Some said that eating together was what they did in their free time or that they tried to change jobs in order to be able to eat together (I explore this further in Chapter 5). Middle-class participants managed to eat together more often than working-class participants because they had access to *empleadas*, who prepared meals for them, and restaurants where they could eat out. This cross-class family practice was gendered because it

was usually the women in the family who cooked and created these moments of being together.

Sometimes eating together was recognised as a 'family thing' when a couple did not live together. For instance, Margarita, a middle-class lone mother, said:

> My son and I are a family, but also my boyfriend and his son [laugh]. We don't live together, but we do family things like having breakfast, dinner out at the weekend together. We go on holidays just like a family.
>
> (Margarita, lone mother, 38, engineer, middle class)

Although some participants mentioned eating and 'doing family things' with people they did not live with, they stressed that when they were together, they behaved like family and gave family meanings to their relationships. The sort of meals they shared depended partly on social class: in so far as eating out requires leisure time as well as money. Trying out different restaurants or going on holiday together was taken for granted by middle-class participants, whereas these practices were more limited for working-class participants due to their lack of resources. Men were more likely than women to take their families out to eat which related to their greater access to financial resources (see Chapter 5). Eating together, therefore, not only reinforced family relations, but eating out and going on holiday were ways of displaying wealth as well as displaying family (Finch, 2007).

5.2 Family occasions

Eating together was central to participants' experience of family gatherings for birthdays, Christmas and New Year's Eve. For instance, Nestor, a middle-class gay man, said:

> We always organise family meet ups at home. New Year's Eve
>
> and Christmas dinner are here […] And to it comes my mother, her
>
> partner, my sister with her boyfriend, my brother with his wife, our
>
> nephew, my two aunties, my cousin and her goddaughter, our *clan*.
>
> (Nestor, same-sex partnership, 43, journalist, middle class)

All participants mentioned sharing family occasions and meals with extended family as an important practice. Nestor referred to his extended family as 'our clan' rather than 'family'. This was significant, especially as he said earlier that if Nestor died Nestor's family would have rights that he would not; he, therefore, differentiated between different sets of kin by using different words. Participants used words such as *clan* or *achoclonados* to refer to being together [*todos juntos*] in large family gatherings on special occasions where a wider circle of kin were present. These family gatherings created families, and some of those who had pets celebrated their animals' birthdays in this way, thereby making their animals part of the family.

These types of family gatherings were practices that displayed family and varied by class. Whereas middle-class gatherings often involved eating out or paying to go to an activity centre, working-class participants celebrated a birthday at home. Usually, working-class participants celebrated at their mother's place, or in the extended family household of the female partner; whilst middle-class participants invited the female

partner's relatives. This suggested a matrilocal kinship, i.e. that adult daughters tended to live closer to their mothers than to their mothers-in-law (Charles et al., 2008), and that even family celebrations were gendered as it was the female partners' relatives who tended to participate.

For gay families, family gatherings were important because they were a recognition of their union. For instance, Violeta, a working-class lesbian in partnership with Celeste, said:

> It feels really good when Celeste's mum invites us to a family
>
> gathering. They accept us, we laugh and share together. Once,
>
> Celeste's brother called me sister-in-law. I felt so happy that we
>
> can share our happiness together.
>
> (Violeta, same-sex partnership, 31, Uber driver, working class)

Violeta's experience was widespread amongst my gay and lesbian participants. Celeste above, said explicitly how important this family gathering was for them as a couple because they were recognised as such. When Violeta mentioned Celeste's brother calling her 'sister-in-law' she meant that she was doing family and making kinship with her partner's family and that their union was recognised as a partnership. Gay and lesbian participants from both social classes commented that inclusion in these family events were important for them to be recognised as family.

In summary, all participants regarded eating together as important to forming and sustaining families, whether it was having meals together as a nuclear family at home, or at restaurants, or meals with their extended family and celebrations for Christmas

and birthdays. In fact, there was more agreement about the centrality of this family practice than about the other family practices in this chapter.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have considered who participants included in their definition of family and how this related to their living arrangements. I found that there were different ways of understanding family, and that these differences related to different family practices; these practices were therefore crucial to creating family relations. My data showed the importance of material practices to create family, and the ways in which people and animals were involved in these practices (Becker & Charles, 2006). Furthermore, the way they defined family was embedded in different family practices: principally taking responsibility in the form of financial and caring obligations, providing support and coming together to eat and to celebrate. The first two of these practices suggested that material practices were necessary to sustain families and were important for my participants, and perhaps took priority over emotions. However, as we will see in Chapter 6, emotional connections were mentioned frequently in other contexts.

I have shown that these family practices were gendered in heteronormative families, but that they took less gendered forms in gay and lesbian families, and that, at least for heteronormative families, the meaning of family was deeply entangled with the meaning of gender. Family meant gender, or at least involved relating to each other through highly gendered expectations of family practices and obligations. The centrality of the nuclear family to the meaning of family also connected to normative gendered expectations. For men, family often meant those they supported financially, and, for some, this meant playing a disciplinary role; for women, it meant caring

emotionally and practically for their children and, often, for other individuals outside the nuclear family. Lone mothers were affected by heteronormative expectations and found it difficult to provide and care for their children. Even celebrating special events was gendered in so far as female partners' relatives hosted the celebrations or women created moments of eating together.

Definitions of family and the responsibilities and support discussed by gay and lesbian participants were less gendered. Although lesbian and gay couples were defined through gender (as a same-sex rather than opposite-sex couple), their relationship, by definition, was not conventionally gendered, and their responsibilities for each other and their family were not allocated according to their gender. Plus they tended to talk in terms of providing support for each other rather than being responsible for each other. Thus, their relationship was framed by their understanding of 'support' as something that people did voluntarily for others which was reciprocal; in contrast, responsibility was not often felt as voluntary and was not necessarily reciprocal. This way of doing family occurred in my gay and lesbian participants, and one working-class heterosexual couple, who had more equal family relationships than any other participants in my sample.

Class was central to the form that family practices took and the way in which family was displayed; although middle-class male participants said that taking financial responsibility was central to the meaning of family, they tended to take for granted their ability to support their families, including in many cases contributing to the support of their aging parents. They also had the opportunity to display family by eating out at restaurants and taking holidays abroad. In contrast, working-class families stressed the need to provide for family members alongside the difficulties of

doing so. Their ability to display family publicly was limited; family events were celebrated mainly at home, and holidays were limited to day trips.

One interesting finding was that lesbian couples and working-class single women created a family life with their pets. Pets were included in family practices – lesbian and single woman participants celebrated their pets' birthdays and felt responsible for them, and, in return, pets supported them by providing emotional care.

Overall, my analysis showed that the different meanings of family related to family practices (Morgan, 1996, 2011b). Participants mentioned being involved in these practices regularly (daily, monthly or annually). The practices they engaged in conveyed meanings of family, and these meanings were linked with the people who they considered as family. However, my analysis went beyond Morgan in that I showed that family practices were gendered, and in most cases doing family involved doing gender.

In the next chapter, I will discuss how paid work and access to resources (e.g., money and time) shaped family life.

Chapter 5. Paid Work, Power and Resources

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the way paid work shaped access to resources within families and how access to resources shaped family life. Drawing on the interviews and observations of this study, I describe normative expectations surrounding who had access to paid work, and the advantages accrued to men – both middle and working class – via the association of paid work with masculinities. I discuss how access to the resources of money and time was gendered, and the implications of this for inequalities and decision-making power within families. I outline my participants' jobs and working hours before looking at how earnings shaped power relations within families, how men's and women's access to earnings and time resources within families was highly unequal, and the difficulties that arose when normative assumptions about gendered divisions of labour were disrupted. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of signs of change towards more egalitarian resource distribution and divisions of labour within families.

2. Participants' job access across class and gender

In this section I discuss access to jobs, and how access was shaped by class and gender. In Chapter 3, I showed that middle-class men tended to have high-paid, high-status jobs while middle-class women held professional jobs that were not as highly paid as men's. However, working-class men tended to be employed across a wider range of working-class occupations: compared to working-class women who were, in general, concentrated in personal and service sector jobs (see Table 3.3). Table 5.1 lists my participants' jobs and working hours; the latter presented as a mean for each category.

Table 5.1 Participants' occupations and working hours

Occupations	Male participants	Mean working hours	Female participants	Mean working hours	Class
Managers and Directors	3		1		
Professionals and intellectuals	6	48 hours weekly	9	43 hours weekly	M I D D L E
Associated professional occupations	2		1		
Entrepreneurs	1		2		
Informal work	0	0	1	Unknown	
Unemployed	0	0	0	0	
Administrative and secretarial occupations	1		1		
Caring personal and other services	2		5		W O R K I N G
Sales and customer services	2	64 hours weekly	0	50 hours weekly	
Small entrepreneurs	0		1		
Process, plant and drivers' workers	4		1		
Informal work	0	0	2	Unknown	
Unemployed	1	0	0	0	

Gender and class differences were apparent in my participants' working hours. Male participants tended to work longer hours than female participants overall, but working-class male and female participants worked longer hours than middle-class male and

female participants, and, additionally, working-class men worked significantly longer hours than either middle-class men or working-class women[30].

Working hours for most of those in middle-class jobs (22 participants) were framed by a new way of legally regulating working hours for qualified professional and managerial jobs; an approach which recognised the flexibility in place and timing of work such jobs might now entail. These jobs were exempt from a specified length of working hours, and workers were allowed to work as long as necessary to finish their obligations (Diaz, 2004, p. 123). My middle-class participants understood this as 'flexibility in working hours' because they organised their time, in the office or at home, so that their work responsibilities were completed. In contrast, working hours for most of those in working-class jobs (15 participants) were determined by their employer, although framed by the legally defined working limit of 45 hours per week (Diaz, 2004, p. 132). However, my working-class men participants usually undertook overtime on top of their contracted hours, and working-class women undertook more shifts in addition to their normal working hours.

Over half (14 of 25) of middle-class participants employed an *empleada* [domestic worker], whereas none of the working-class participants had paid domestic help. Furthermore, the division between informal and formal employment within the working-class sample was not always clear cut. For instance, the woman who classified as a small-scale entrepreneur ran a fish stall in a street market. Although she paid the City Council for a permit to sell in the market – furnishing her with a formal

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[30] The working hours for middle-class male participants ranged from 44 to 50 hours weekly, and between 40 and 72 hours for middle-class women. The working-class men's weekly hours ranged from 50 to 77 hours, and 45 to 75 hours for working-class women. These figures included two exceptions: a middle-class woman who lived on her own (working 72 hours), and one working-class woman who lived with her pet (working 75 hours per week). Thus, it is evident at the outset, therefore, living arrangements might affect working hours.

status – she did not pay taxes, and the people who worked for her were paid cash in hand. Other informal work was homebased with handmade items, such as bakery, cosmetics and clothes, as well as cosmetics sold from a catalogue, and DIY jobs.

Overall, men had higher status jobs and worked longer hours than women, and more informal work was present amongst working-class than middle-class participants, but, even for working-class participants, informal work was uncommon.

Now I move to discuss how access to resources shaped family life.

3. Access to resources in middle-class families

This section discusses how family life was shaped by access to resources of money (earnings) and time influenced, and shaped in turn, by the jobs of middle-class participants. It also explores how access to resources was linked to power.

3.1 Earnings as a resource

Paid work enabled my participants to access money, and differences in their salaries were reflected in their housing, their employment of domestic workers, the perks of their jobs, and the holidays they were able to take. Thus, middle-class men in senior managerial positions (and only one woman, who was the director in an organisation) could afford to live in five-bedroomed detached houses, with big gardens, a swimming pool and at least one *empleada* working six days a week. Middle-class men and women with professional jobs had smaller houses, some of them lived in three-bedroomed apartments, shared a swimming pool and have at least one *empleada* working five days a week. Middle-class men and women who worked in the private sector had private health insurance for themselves and for their nuclear family, and received an annual

bonus. Men and the woman in senior managerial positions took holidays twice a year, a summer holiday for at least two months (abroad), and winter holidays for at least 15 days abroad or in Chile. In comparison, participants in professional occupations also took holidays twice a year, either abroad or in Chile, but were usually limited to 15 working days in summer and five working days in winter. Middle-class men and women who worked in the public sector had public and private health insurance, received annual bonuses, and benefited from the same number of holidays as participants in professional jobs, but most of my middle-class participants who worked in the public sector went on holiday in Chile.

3.1.1 Men's earnings

Considering gender and earnings, the control of household income was an important feature of gendered power. Pahl (1995) and I found that most of my middle-class male sample controlled the money in the family, making decisions about how much was spent and on what. However, since it was so common for men to earn more than their wives, it is difficult to separate gendered power from the power adhered to earning the lion's share of the household income. For instance, Abelardo, a married middle-class man, was a professional employed by an international corporation and lived with his wife and two daughters (aged two and five). His wife worked at a nursing college as a teacher; she recently had changed her job from hospital nursing because she was struggling to combine night shifts and long working hours with caring for her family. Abelardo's wife employed one *empleada* and one *niñera* [nanny]. He explained decision-making in his household by justifying in terms of both skills and his earning more money than his wife:

I earn much more than my wife, like four times more than her. I

have the control of finance [...] I want to buy an apartment and that

decision is mine. But paying for the shopping is her decision. I am

the boss of my family and have more skills for decision-making.

(Abelardo, married, 33, engineer, middle class)

Abelardo's account illustrates a pattern of decision-making common to all my partnered male respondents, with men exerting their power over financial decisions. Men thought that they were better at making decisions than their partners: on the basis that they earned significantly more than women, and controlling money within the family went with being head of the household. Furthermore, as higher earnings were associated with greater decision-making power, this higher status for men within families implied asymmetrical relationships were "the norm" and reinforced gender disparities within the household. This has also been seen in British families where spouses often possessed different and segregated responsibilities for organising different parts of the household budget (Pahl, 1983; Vogler & Pahl, 1999). The words of my participant Abelardo also illustrated unequal access between men and women to money as a resource: men were more likely to have spent it on higher value items, such as property, a car or holidays abroad, while women usually spent money on everyday goods for their families, such as food or clothes (I discuss this in Subsection 3.1.2 below). This suggested that earnings made male authority visible because they allowed men to decide where and how money is spent, and they spent money on things that retained their value, whereas female's control of food expenditure did not accumulate value and even disappeared from reckoning as a valued contribution to the home and family.

In three gay families in my sample were structured like heterosexual families. Thus, the person who earned the most usually controlled the family budget. This finding was similar to research on money control within gay and lesbian families in Britain (Burns, Burgoyne, & Clarke, 2008, p. 497). For instance, in my sample, Samuel, a married middle-class gay man, worked as a senior manager and lived with his husband, a businessman, and twins (aged seven). They employed one *empleada* and a female au pair:

> My husband decides almost everything regarding finance. He has
>
> skills and likes it, I don't. I like spending [too much] [laughing].
>
> He earns lots.
>
> (Samuel, same-sex partnership, 45, senior manager, middle class)

Family and home status from higher earnings for men within the family did not change when I looked at male same-sex households. Gay men also believed that one partner was better able to control the money than the other, and that this person was the man with higher earnings. This suggests that earning more money made men deem that they had more ability to control it and justified their household power over decision-making.

The role of men as providers within families shaped the form of masculinity that men enacted and remains important in different national contexts (Hobson & Morgan, 2002; Morgan, 2005). In my sample, the role of being a provider in the family was entangled with 'the meaning of family' and this was linked with the financial responsibility that men had (see Chapter 4, Section 3.1). This meant that when middle-class men earned less than women/partners their position in the family did not change very much because they still had stable jobs and access to resources. Earning less than

their partners did not threaten male power, or the sense of moral responsibility that they felt for their family, and therefore men were able to fulfil their role as provider (this is not the experience of working-class men, as I discuss below). For instance, Benjamin, a middle-class man who was cohabiting and had a son (aged one), was a civil servant and his partner worked in the creative industries:

> She earns more than me, but she doesn't know how much I earn. I
>
> have the money. I decide if we get a loan or not. I decided to buy
>
> the apartment and the car [...] she's fine, sometimes she buys food.
>
> (Benjamin, cohabiting, 34, civil servant, middle class)

The fact that he earned less than his partner did not lead to a more egalitarian relationship in terms of money control or decisions concerning money. Usually, men asserted their rights to control money despite earning less than their partners. As previously mentioned above, whilst men spent it on long-term assets and high value items, women bought food and clothing and other disposables. Furthermore, when Benjamin said that his partner was 'fine' with his greater decision-making power over expenditure, he implied that his partner recognised that as the man in the family he had the financial responsibility. This suggested that masculinity was reinforced by assumptions about male control of money; it was unchallenged, but also protected because when men earned less, men chose not to disclose their 'failure' to do what was expected as Benjamin implied with 'she doesn't know how much I earn'. Therefore, men did not expose their financial shortcomings in order to maintain monetary control and fulfil their socially expected breadwinner role.

Earning money was also important for men as fathers; as well as displaying masculinity their earnings allowed them to maintain their paternal identities and

contribute to fathering activities (Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). A stable income was particularly important for divorced and separated fathers because they were able to fulfil their financial obligations to their children, and therefore maintained access to them (Catlett & McKenry, 2004). This was certainly true for my sample. Two fathers with permanent employment contracts and stable incomes had greater access to their children than other men who had less earnings, and experienced feelings of happiness. This was because earning money enabled them to carry on supporting their children, which they were expected to do, and, therefore, they avoided problems with their ex-partners. The lone father who worked in a transnational corporation, for instance, was financially responsible for his son, who lived with him, while the child's mother only paid for his English lessons. Likewise, Diego, who had a shared custody arrangement (Chapter 4), was on a permanent contract and mentioned having a similar income to his ex-wife. In contrast, the self-employed father had conflicts about access with the mother of his son because he was unable to share financial responsibility for his child due to an unstable income; he resented the problems this created.

These examples suggested that men's income influenced family arrangements and the emotions that father's experienced after separation. When couples split up, power over money became more visible, and earning similar or higher earnings enabled men to secure access to their children. If men earned enough money to support their children, or at least contribute to their support, separated/divorced fathers engaged in better agreements with, and experienced better feelings towards, ex-partners that facilitated the father-child relationship. This suggested that money allowed these separated fathers to fulfil their financial responsibilities (see Chapter 4, Section 3.1) and retain involvement in the lives of their children.

3.1.2 Women's earnings

Most of the middle-class women earned less than their partners; they spent their earnings on their children and were unable to save money (Pahl, 2005). For instance, Clara, an academic married to Vicente, a senior manager, had three children and an *empleada* worked for them six days a week:

> I earn a quarter of what my husband earns. I pay the *empleada*, my
>
> children's sports and English lessons. I pay for my dancing
>
> sessions and keep a bit of money for petrol, lunch and that's all,
>
> my money has gone.
>
> (Clara, married, 40, academic, middle class)

Clara's experience was a typical example of how women spent money within middle-class heterosexual families, where they often earned a fraction of what their husbands did. They usually divided their money between their children's extra-curricular activities, their domestic workers, personal expenditure (such as gym and leisure activities) and everyday expenses. Women paid for what were considered extras and to replace their own domestic labour. Childcare which would otherwise be their responsibility was also counted against their income (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2010). My participants took this gendered practice completely for granted and did not question it. Furthermore, usually middle-class mothers paid for culturally valuable extras which helped to maintain the family's class status, such as foreign language lessons, sports and arts. This was an important gendered practice that was more often mentioned by mothers than fathers; indeed, one middle-class father knew only vaguely what his daughter's lessons were because this was a matter of her mother's choice, and he believed that she would take this decision much better than him. This suggested

that mothers were involved more deeply than fathers in the lives of their children, and that practices of cultural activities involved women's earnings: a sharp division of responsibility.

Women's lower earnings affected their ability to save, and therefore most of the heterosexual women in employment (seven out of ten) could not save money. Blanca said, 'I pay everything for my children but can't save money for me', and Clara said, 'I can't save money, any money'. Their lower earnings also made it difficult to maintain their independence, if necessary, from men in the family. This inequality was taken for granted because women were expected to spend their earnings on children and earned less than their partners, and these expectations and practices reinforced male power within families in relation to earnings.

There was one exception to this assumption in my sample. One of the middle-class women earned more than her partner and this created a more equal balance of power. Asuncion, a middle-class mother, lived with her partner and baby (aged one). Both were professionals and had an *empleada* three days a week:

> I earn more than my partner, and we keep our finances separate.
>
> But we also save together for a house.
>
> (Asuncion, cohabiting, 32, surgeon, middle class)

Asuncion's situation showed that when a woman earns more money both partners were likely to be in a better financial position; consequently, these women had more control over their own money, and they spent it as they want. When a woman earned more than her partner or when women did not have children women had more financial independence. For example, the married and single women without children in this

study mentioned having savings, spending money on trips with friends, or for themselves, and single women also mentioned having their own property. This showed that women had more financial independence if their income was higher than their partners, or if they did not have financial responsibility for dependants.

The relevance of women earning less than men did not end with the dissolution of a marriage, and, in fact, divorce/separation made the implications of inequality more explicit. The financial resources of divorced and separated mothers were relatively limited, but these women's situations and attitudes varied. All of them were the main supporters of their children, but some remained more dependent on their ex-partner than others – for help with childcare as well as money. Amanda, for instance, was a middle-class lone mother who lived with her son (aged one) and her mother. She was a civil servant and had an *empleada* five days a week. She as lucky that she did not need to depend financially on her ex-husband, and was explicit about the autonomy this gave her:

> My son's father contributes around 10% of total household income
>
> and to his childcare [...] I find this unfair, but I'm happy that I'm in
>
> my son's life all the time [laughing]. I would never change this,
>
> and I have a good salary.
>
> (Amanda, lone mother, 35, civil servant, middle class)

Amanda was typical of lone mothers in not wanting to ask for more child support from their ex-partners as they feared it would give their former partners more control over them and everyday involvement with their children. But Amanda was in a better position than most, because her salary allowed her to be independent of the relationship with the father of her son, enabling her to be autonomous in how she

organised her family and raised her son. This suggested that well-paid work was crucial for middle-class lone mothers, which could provide them with a different experience than working class lone mothers, as I discuss in Section 4.1. For women living with their partners, though, even the income from paid work might not offset the power that male earners claimed.

More typically, however, lone mothers were more pressed than Amanda, and had to accept whatever their ex-partners contributed to maintain their good will. For example, Pascuala a self-employed lone mother (37, psychologist, middle class) said, 'my ex-husband pays almost nothing, it's unfair but he cares some days for my son, so I'm not reliant only on an *empleada*'. In contrast, Nicolas the one lone father in my sample did not struggle for money or for help with childcare from his ex-partner due to higher earnings. The accounts of lone mothers above, made explicit some of the problems of depending on higher-paid partners, even in a two-parent family, which not only relied on two incomes but buried gender inequality in access to resources within the normative expectations of how resources in family life were shared.

3.2 Time as a resource

Time was a resource that allowed families to engage in activities together which cemented their sense of family; this resource was shaped partly by working hours, but also by expectations about men's and women's rights to leisure time (Deem, 1996; Henderson & Shaw, 2006). Time as a resource also affected perceptions of time conflicts between paid work and family, which has been a key issue in the literature on women and employment (Brannen, 2005; Lyonette & Crompton, 2015; Warren, 2003).

3.2.1 Men's time

In my sample, although men participants worked longer hours than female participants, as mentioned in Section 2, most men – heterosexual and gay – had much more leisure time in the week and at the weekend than any of the women; this was true for 11 of my 12 middle-class men. Middle-class men in both opposite- and same-sex families did not see any conflict between their working hours and leisure time; in part because their working hours were relatively flexible, but mostly because middle-class fathers' childcare tasks were so sporadic that they did not seem to infringe on their leisure time. In contrast, middle-class women often reported feeling hard-pressed to meet their obligations at work and at home. Participants without children did not see any conflict between working hours and leisure time, but single participants and the lesbian couple were more likely than those with children or in heterosexual partnerships to work some weekends and resented having to do so.

Paid work, leisure and home were all important dimensions in men's lives (Robinson & Hockey, 2011) and all my male middle-class participants made time for them. For instance, Vicente, a middle-class man married to Clara, was a senior manager and she was an academic. They had three children (aged 13, 12 and six) and an *empleada* six days a week. He said that:

> My job allows me to have leisure time with my family, like
>
> holidays and trips […] In the week, sometimes I meet friends and
>
> always watch the football match [...] I cycle every Saturday and
>
> occasionally I go with my bike club to cycle out of the city.
>
> (Vicente, married, 44, senior manager, middle class)

Vicente was typical of most of the male middle-class participants, heterosexual and gay, who saw themselves as having enough time for activities with family and friends and for themselves. They rarely had to work on a weekend, so had two full days a week which they treated as leisure, and generous holidays. Their situation also showed how heterosexual partners had relatively segregated social lives; men said that the weekend was for the family (although they did sports on weekend mornings), and evenings in the week were for friends (although they also tried to have at least one family meal in the week). Only three middle-class men did not follow this routine, because they worked over 48 hours a week, but they still had weekends free, time spent with their family and time for themselves and their interests. The middle-class gay couple mentioned that they had reduced their time in the gym together because they got home too late on weekdays, whereas men in opposite-sex families did not mention any such adjustments.

Conflict between working hours and other responsibilities did not seem to be an issue for middle-class men. They did not mention partners or children resenting their schedule which clearly depended, for heterosexual men, on their women partners who took almost all the responsibility for organising the family's domestic life, managing the *empleada*, and, for those with children, providing childcare for young children or supervising older children and teenagers. For instance, Vicente (married, 44, manager, middle class) said, 'I feel that my work combines well with my family life, and my time', and this was similar for most gay and heterosexual men. They seemed to take for granted their rights to leisure time.

Although the middle-class fathers saw themselves as helping to sustain their families – not just through earning, but through spending time together – they saw their family

roles as only one of their identities. Men spent a lot of their spare time maintaining their friendships with other men, especially through sports. Robinson (2008) found sports to be a masculine collective space which fostered male bonding and masculine identity. This was also true for the gay couple and single man who spent time with their friends, but slightly less than men in heterosexual couples. Sport and friendship, therefore, provided men with a valuable sense of community, outside of and unconnected to their families.

3.2.2 Women's time

For the middle-class female participants, the picture was quite different. Middle-class women worked fewer hours than their partners, most of them had leisure time at the weekend, but few had leisure time during the week. Middle-class mothers found it difficult to combine work and family. The lesbian couple had difficulty keeping their paid work from encroaching on family time or individual leisure time while the middle-class woman who lived on her own did not find managing work and family time or leisure problematic but sometimes resented working weekends.

It is clear, therefore, that time as a resource was strongly gendered in middle-class participants' families. Men had far more access to leisure time as a resource. Although middle-class women did have some time for themselves, they were more likely to use it to do things with their children. For instance, Clara spoke of her husband, Vicente:

> My husband spends the entire Saturday morning cycling. I take the
>
> children to sports and do some dancing. Sometimes in the week I
>
> see my friends after work.
>
> (Clara, married, 43, academic, middle class)

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Clara suggested a pattern which was typical of participants in which the responsibilities and activities of men and women were separate: the domestic sphere played a much larger role for women.

My sample showed that men went out to work and earned a wage, whereas women who also worked for a living spent much of the rest of their time looking after the home and the children. Like middle-class men, most middle-class women nurtured their social and personal life, and had some time for themselves but, unlike men, this was only to the extent that childcare allowed. Women said that their partners made an important contribution by taking them on holidays and not interfering with their leisure time in the week, which seemed to legitimise men's absence from caring responsibilities. Clara said that her leisure time 'is negotiated, everyone has their choices', but usually mothers' choices involved spending their leisure time with their children, and possibly an hour for yoga or a book club, whereas male partners usually had different choices and spent more hours on sporting activities than time with their children, as shown above.

Lone mothers mentioned having less time for themselves than women in two-parent households, their leisure time was usually when their children spent a weekend with their father. They mentioned enjoying clothes shopping and spending a bit of time with friends, but all of them wanted more leisure time.

Middle-class working mothers described a completely different situation than middle-class fathers, which involved combining work and family life. Women faced conflicts between childcare and work, and said that they were constantly tired or talked about lacking time to sleep. Furthermore, mothers were more likely than fathers to adapt their working hours to fit around children and families, and lone mothers were more

likely than other mothers to be self-employed. Pascuala, for instance, who was a lone mother, changed from a full-time job to self-employment because it enabled her to adjust her working hours around childcare. Additionally, typical of married mothers, Leonor, who worked as a CEO, had two children (aged 12 and 13), and employed an *empleada* 5 days a week, said:

> I don't give explanations to anyone at work. I feel like I'm a
>
> present mother [*madre presente*] But without an *empleada* I'd
>
> never have been able to work!
>
> (Leonor, married, 42, CEO, middle class)

Her ability to employ an *empleada* allowed her to define herself as a 'present mother' who works. This idea of being present for their children as well as working leads some middle-class mothers to work from home if their children were ill, and to ensure they were involved in children's activities at school (I will return to this idea in Chapter 6). Others, like Pascuala, adjusted their working hours to fit in with their childcare responsibilities. Thus, the married woman who did informal work, gave up her job as an optician[31] because she did not feel present with her children and resented working long hours and at weekends. Mothers felt present [*presente*] in the lives of their children and did not challenge normative expectations of motherhood because of their work. Even though some fathers mentioned that any decisions relating to work took their families into account, none mentioned adjusting their working hours to fit in with their families.

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[31] She used to work in an optician's at a shopping centre 44 hours per week from Monday to Sunday with two non-consecutive days off during the week.

Despite this tension, working mothers expressed that they felt happy with their work-life balance and none mentioned challenging their partners to take on more childcare responsibilities. Indeed, most of them were able to have a social life, saw friends and went out for meals, and for many, as I will show in Chapter 6, this was made possible by having an *empleada*. Asuncion, who earned more than her partner, said that her leisure time did not change much after giving birth: 'I used to meet friends at the weekend and in the week. Now it's the same, just we need to agree more on who cares for our son'. For Asuncion, it seemed that her higher earnings meant that her partner was willing to look after the child so that she has access to leisure time. However, this practice was in contrast with most partnered mothers and stepmothers. Whilst some mentioned 'agreements' with their partners for looking after the children during leisure time, if their leisure times overlapped with the husband's leisure time then women asked their *empleadas* to look after the children, or paid for a babysitter, often a family member who women paid a little bit of money to. Men rarely looked after the children or made such arrangements when their female partners wanted to go out, and only one man mentioned paying for a babysitter – his wife's niece.

Leisure time for women, therefore, needed to fit around family responsibilities, and women were responsible for securing this time, whereas leisure time for men was taken for granted. Furthermore, some women in opposite-sex couples also mentioned paying for a babysitter to have 'couple time' to foster their relationships, but organising this was their responsibility. Only one male participant mentioned he paid a babysitter to have couple time, but finding the babysitter was his wife's job. Therefore, men's leisure time or couple time was facilitated by women in the family.

Women without children were likely to work similar hours to men and mentioned more holidays abroad than mothers did, but most women had considerably less leisure time than the men.

One of the lesbian couples illustrated that keeping work and family separate was something they were not able to do in the way that heterosexual couples arranged it. The lesbian couple who ran a dog grooming business together, lived with their pets, and found it difficult to create boundaries between work and family. Eliana, who was in partnership with Rebeca, mentioned:

> We are eating, watching TV and Rebeca's working […] It's one in
>
> the morning and she works, replying to messages […] I feel
>
> frustrated that she works all the time and never rests.
>
> (Eliana, same-sex partnership, 34, entrepreneur, middle class)

They also mentioned working weekends and bank holidays, and sometimes lost track of the days of the week. This was different from most heterosexual participants and gay men who also worked long hours but were still able to ensure that their weekends were free. In contrast, as entrepreneurs Eliana and Rebecca felt they had to meet the demands of their customers, while working at home also made it easy to blur the division between work and the rest of life, including family time and leisure time. However, in their case work also needed to be understood as something they did together and which they saw as part of the process of making their family.

In the next section I discuss working-class families and show how access to resources varies by class as well as gender.

4. Access to resources in working-class families

4.1 Earnings as a resource

Going out to work enabled working-class participants to access money to provide the material resources for family life such as food, bills and rent. However, their wages were lower than those of middle-class participants; thus, most of them struggled to pay the rent and, as I have shown in Section 2, Chapter 4, several lived in extended-family households. Furthermore, they were not able to afford homeownership, private or higher education for their children, or holidays, and they had limited healthcare options. Most of my working-class participants had formal employment (see Tables 3.3 and 5.1). Their jobs were not the most precarious or menial in society, as they had jobs with either temporary or fixed-term contracts, but they were low status jobs compared to the middle-class jobs in my sample. In general, men held permanent and fixed-term contracts, whereas women held temporary contracts or were self-employed.

Working-class men had better working conditions and earned more money than the working-class women in my sample. A few working-class fathers were able to access public or private health care for their partners and children, as it was covered by their employment contracts, but otherwise they relied on the public health care system or had the option to pay for private care, which many could not afford. Self-employment was a particular disadvantage for the women, as it did not provide access to health care, and they therefore had difficulty paying for medication, doctors' appointments and surgery for their children. Participants who had working-class jobs lived in deprived areas of Santiago, usually on the outskirts of the city in *poblaciónes* [downtown], shantytowns or industrial areas.

4.1.1 Men's earnings

As with the middle-class men, most of the working-class heterosexual and gay men controlled the money in the family and made decisions about expenditure. As shown in Table 5.2 (Section 4.1), informal earnings were an important source of income for men; they used this money to treat their families, while the gay man was saving to buy a house.

The privileged position of heterosexual working-class men within families started with financial decision-making and extended to the division of labour. Almost all men (nine out of ten) said that they controlled the money and financial decision-making. For instance, Hugo, a cohabiting working-class man, worked as a doorman and his partner worked informally at home. They had a child (aged five) and they lived in his partner's parents' house. He explained how their finances were organised:

> I'm organised. I pay for everything and keep a little bit for saving
> [...] I didn't want to live with my in-laws. But better to save money
> instead of paying rent. I pay some of my household's bills […] My
> partner pays for our daughter's dance lesson and clothes […] I
> teach her how to manage the money [laughing].
>
> (Hugo, cohabiting, 38, doorman, working class)

Hugo's account was typical of working-class men who thought that they had more ability to deal with the finances than their partners. This justified men's control over money, along with their higher earnings and, usually, more secure, formal employment. It also meant that men were able to fulfil the role of the breadwinner. Furthermore, a couple's division of financial expenditure enhanced men's status.

Men's earnings usually went on accommodation and long-term costs, and some were able to contribute to meeting the long-term costs of the extended family with whom they lived. Women's earnings were more likely to be spent on their children's short-term needs, such as food and clothes. Although this expenditure was visible, it was not seen as investing in the family's future or contributing to the entire household which undermined women's status. Moreover, as Hugo told me during his interview, women's earnings cannot be relied upon because they were lower than men's and informal earnings were especially unreliable.

Men living in extended family households were proud that they contributed significantly to paying the bills and refurnishing parts of the home, and sometimes they could afford expensive new items, such as a car or a modern television. Therefore, parents-in-law, primarily the fathers of their partners, respected them as 'good men' and did not see them as dependents or a burden.

Working-class men also thought that the woman's main role was in the home with the children. Although they might recognise that the family needed the woman's earnings, this did not challenge the men's status as the breadwinner because women earned far less than men. For instance, Cristobal, a male participant whose wife worked as an *empleada* for a few hours a week, said, 'the money wasn't enough, so she found a job […] It's good because she goes out, is not bored at home and brings in some money' (married, 42, clerk, working class). Cristobal's account implied that his wife's wage was needed as he did not earn enough. This was a common attitude to women's earnings amongst working-class heterosexual men. All the male participants' female partners tended to give up formal work when they gave birth to their first child, not only because the men thought that the main function of women was childcare, but also

because women's earnings were not high, and they could manage without them. However, the women typically started informally working at home or as an *empleada* to bring in some extra income for the family when their children were a bit older; this work could be fitted around their childcare responsibilities.

When women gave up work, and their meagre earnings when they were in employment, it reproduced the idea that the man was able to support the family and be the provider. With one exception, discussed in Subsection 4.1.2, my heterosexual working-class male participants understood paid work as a male sphere of family life, and the domestic sphere as entirely a female responsibility.

Men's strong identification with the male breadwinner role and their ability to provide for their families made it hard for them if the family had to depend on financial support from other family members. For instance, Lautaro, a working-class man who was cohabiting with Soledad, lived in a one-room apartment with their child, aged two, and Soledad's son, aged nine, from a previous relationship. He worked as a construction worker and Soledad worked informally at home as a dressmaker (see Figure 5.1). Lautaro explained his feelings about his lack of earnings:

> It was difficult to accept that I didn't have the money for my
>
> children's well-being. Asking my uncle for money to buy milk,
>
> nappies. I was deeply sad [*achacado*] that I couldn't buy candies
>
> or get my children comfortable. It was terrible not to have money.
>
> (Lautaro, stepfamily, 32, construction worker, working class)

Lautaro's sadness and shame because of his difficulties in earning enough money made him feel that he was failing as a man. This concern about playing the proper role

of breadwinner was mentioned by all the working-class fathers, and therefore most of them had two jobs or made money informally at the weekends (see below). Their earnings were central to their masculine status and identity as being a proper man was to go out to work and bring in the resources to look after the family in the sense of protecting and providing for them. This suggested that for men family life going against gender norms was a problem because they could feel ashamed, and their status as head of the household, as a father and as a man, was undermined.

Ivan implied that his decision to forego a higher paid job for one that allowed him to spend more time with his family was resented by his partner. Ivan said, 'I changed my job and I earn less; my wife changed a bit' (married, 38, bus driver, working class). So, contradictions might exist between men who were fulfilling the breadwinner role, thereby sustaining the norms of family life, and their involvement in the family in other ways. This situation was because precarious earnings and increasing levels of job insecurity undermined men's ability to fulfil the provider role (Charles & James, 2005). In my sample, some working-class fathers mentioned resentment and shame for this situation, whereas middle-class fathers did not mention these feelings because their earnings were enough to fulfil the breadwinner role, and even if they earned less than their partners they earned enough to secure their status in the family.

Implicit moral contracts were embedded in the exchange of money within families (Neale & Smart, 2002). A lack of money means that fathers felt shamed, and a lack of funds also constrained their possibilities of making family. Low-income divorced/separated fathers struggled to fulfil the role of provider. For instance, they experienced tension with ex-partners because they could not provide money, and this affected their ability to maintain a relationship with their children (Catlett & McKenry,

2004; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005). Tadeo, for example, a separated working-class father, was unemployed. He was in a relationship and lived with his partner and his partner's daughters (aged ten and 15). He also had a child, aged four, who lived with her mother. He used to work as a cashier before becoming unemployed, and explained the difficulties agreeing monthly child support with the mother of his child:

> It was difficult to have an agreement with the mother of my child.
> She wanted $500,000 pesos [£513 monthly] as child support. But I
> could pay $100,000 pesos [£102 monthly]. Now, I'm unemployed.
> I can't pay child support and my daughter's mother doesn't allow
> me to see my child.
>
> (Tadeo, stepfamily, unemployed, 28, working class)

Tadeo illustrated the difficulties of reconciling child support and family relationships. As he was unemployed, Tadeo could not pay child support to his daughter's mother, and therefore she did not allow him to visit his daughter. Tadeo lost the moral authority of a father because he was unable to meet the financial obligations of supporting his daughter. The consequences were more severe for him than for other fathers because of separation from the child's mother. This meant that his lack of earnings made it impossible for him to have a relationship with his daughter, and, therefore, he could not be a father which he resented. This suggested that problems in family life emerged when men's ability to fulfil gendered responsibilities did not meet the normative expectations of what family should be.

Earning also gave status to gay men. The two working-class gay men I interviewed did not mention experiencing discrimination in the labour market and both of them

had partners who work. Similar, to the single man, they financially supported their family of origin and extended family and none mentioned financial difficulties.

4.1.2 Women's earnings

The picture acquired from the working-class women participants about the importance of employment, money and resources differed from what the men told me. Most of the working-class women in paid work (eight out of ten) saw their jobs as an important dimension of their lives and exercise some form of control over the use of their money in the family. Lone mothers, however, struggled with money more than those who lived as part of a heterosexual couple.

Women engaged in paid work had some status and power within families, although their position was not as powerful as men's. Most working-class partnered women earned less than their partners, but they were responsible for managing most of the family finances and the men agreed with this arrangement. For instance, Sara said, 'I'm like a mother [laughing] Salvador is very disorganised, so I manage and distribute the money [in the family]' (cohabiting, 24, healthcare assistant, working class). These women mentioned being like 'mothers', implying a maternalistic ability of women to manage the money. Women's money management was accepted by their husbands, because when their men managed the money there was nothing left at the end of the month and they struggled to pay bills and have food. Furthermore, women talked about distributing the money that their partners gave them, but did not mention taking control over men's earnings, which implied that they did not undermine the identity of men as the breadwinner.

The families of working-class lone mothers were more disadvantaged than those of mothers in couples. The fathers of their children did not support them, they relied on

their parents for housing, and, therefore, they struggled more to provide for their children. Rita, for instance, was unable to pay for her 20-year-old daughter's health care. Rita worked as a clerk and her daughter was a sales assistant in a shop on a zero-hours contract which means that she could not afford health insurance. Rita's mother used to work as an *empleada* and Rita and her daughter lived in Rita's mother's home:

> My daughter is ill and needs lots of blood and urine tests. She
>
> didn't get anything from her job. Her dad didn't help. I have to pay
>
> for everything, and it is expensive, like $20,000 pesos [£20] for
>
> each test. And I can't, I really can't help more! [strong
>
> exclamation]
>
> (Rita, lone mother, 41, medical receptionist, working class)

The sense of being overwhelmed and exhausted with having to pay for private healthcare for children was experienced by all working-class mothers but was more evident amongst lone mothers. The casualisation of their work and low earnings affected them most severely. They wanted to be independent of their ex-partners and sometimes did not want to involve the law to ask for child support. The father of their children took advantage of this situation and did not accept any economic responsibility. Working-class women were likely to choose private healthcare over the public healthcare system[32] because they saw waiting lists as a drawback for their families, and many of them had bad experiences through other relatives who were treated in public hospitals. Most of them told me that if they were able to pay for

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[32] In Chile, the healthcare system is formed of two separate subsystems: *Fonasa*, public healthcare that provides services through public hospitals and *Isapre,* private healthcare that provides services through insurance companies. *Fonasa,* mostly, covers poor and low-income families, whereas *Isapre* covers middle- and upper-middle class families (World Bank, 2013).

treatment or tests, they were willing to do it, to avoid unpleasant experiences. However, the choice of paying for private healthcare was stressful and contradicts the struggles they had as a result of earning lower incomes.

One exception amongst the working-class women in my sample was Ursula as a woman who controlled the money and was able to save, and therefore had power over this resource in the family. Ursula was a married working-class woman. She had a small business in a street market and twins aged 17. Her husband had temporary work as a jeweller and sometimes worked for her. She said:

> I'm the man in the house. I bring in the money. I have the power to
> save. But I've changed. I'm not a lovely woman. I'm cold now [...]
> My husband doesn't like it. He is jealous of me. We've had issues
> […] My daughters blamed me because their dad is sad. If I work
> it's a problem, but if I don't who brings in the money? Who pays
> the bills? Nobody! [strong exclamation]
>
> (Ursula, married, 38, small entrepreneur, working class)

Ursula's account illustrated the conflicts arising when the reality of family income came up against normative and gendered expectations; there were no positive images for a woman supporting her family financially in Chile, rather she was seen as taking over the man's role. Ursula recognised that her higher earnings not only changed the balance of power between her and her husband, but also had implications for her femininity. She commented on a having had a personality change ('I'm not a lovely woman. I'm cold now') from being kind to being cold. She linked this change to employing young men in her business where she had an authoritative role over them in, what was, typically, a male-dominated position. This was significant because in

both her home and work life she did not follow normative expectations, and it affected how she felt about her femininity. Going against gendered expectations, therefore, created contradictions and conflict for her. However, she was able to deal with these negative views because of the power she experienced from being able to save for her retirement, take two or three days of holiday with her family and pay for her mother's birthday, which they were able to celebrate for the first time due to her earnings.

4.1.3 Informal earnings

Informal earnings provided an important source of income for working-class households. Thirteen of the 20 working-class men and women participants did some type of informal work, on top of a full-time job. Men saw the money as theirs while women saw it as belonging to the family as, usually, men saved these informal earnings or spent them on leisure activities, whilst women used them for living expenses for their families or personal expenditure for themselves. Informal income therefore meant different things to women and men: women saw it as helping them to meet their obligations to their families, whilst men saw the money as their own and gained more status because they were able to 'treat' their families.

Women and men did different types of informal work. As shown in Table 5.2, below, most men tended to sell their partner' products and did DIY, whereas women sold items from catalogues and made things to sell from home. The four women who did informal work on top of their formal employment sold cosmetic products: three for a catalogue, and one made her own cosmetic products with her husband which he sold at his workplace or at a street market during the weekend. The two women who only did informal work sold bakery products and handmade clothes, such as jumpers and T-shirts. The woman who made the bakery products sold these informally from her

home and was applying for permission from the City Council to set up a store at home. In contrast, the woman who made the clothes sold these online (see Figure 5.1), at informal street markets at the weekends, and in a high street shop, which took a proportion of the money from each sale. For both women, their partners also sold these products in their workplaces.

Figure 5.1 Clothing Soledad sells online through social media
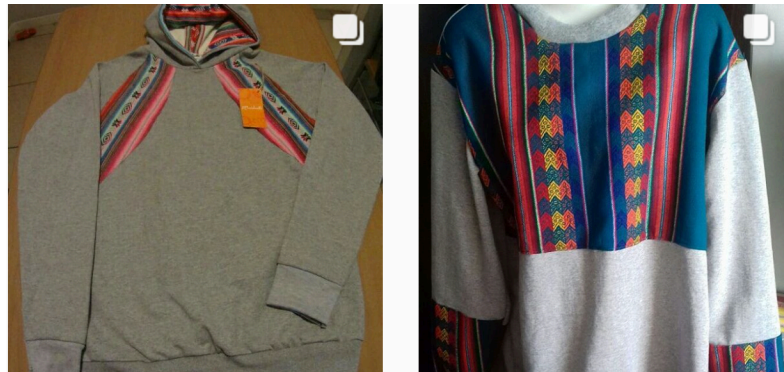
Pictures of two of the items listed on Soledad's website showed to me during an observation on 14th June 2017, Santiago. Author's photograph.

Male participants who lived in heterosexual partnerships and whose partners work in the informal sector did informal work with their partners. In contrast, my gay participant, Baltasar, ordered products online that he and his partner sold together.

Table 5.2 shows men and women participants who did informal work on top of a job or for whom it was their only source of income. Most of my participants supplemented their earnings from paid employment with informal work. Informal work needed to be understood as doing family and spending time together because usually participants did this labour with their partners and sometimes their children. This labour represented togetherness and provides well-being for the family. For instance, Soledad and Lautaro went to the street market with their children to sell their products, and they mentioned enjoying this time they spent together outside the house.

Furthermore, informal earnings were a mutual contribution that men and women made to their households; by having done this work together and having made money, participants made visible their effort to provide resources. Women talked about selling items from a catalogue as a time that they engaged in a form of socialising in the workplace and neighbourhood. Unpartnered women did not have much leisure time, and thus delivering these items and offering them to colleagues at work gave them time to engage in conversations with other women. Most of them told me that they did not make much money but enjoyed 'the chatting' and it did not take much time to order the products. This meant that through informal work women got a bit of time for themselves and conversations with friends. Women who were only in informal work liked to have their own income because it gave them some independence.

Table 5.2 Informal income

Male participants						Female participants						Couples participants				
Participant	Living arrangement	Products sold	Where from	Made by/in	Sold/source by	**Participant**	Living arrangement	Products sold	Where from	Made by/in	Sold by	Living arrangement	Products sold	Where from	Made by	Sold by
Ivan	Married	Bakery	Homemade	Wife	Him	**Iris[b]**	Married	Bakery	Homemade	Her	Her	Stepfamily **Soledad[b] + Lautaro**	Clothes	Homemade	Her	Both
Hugo	Co-habiting	Handcraft and Bakery	Homemade	Partner	Both	**Sara[c]**	Co-habiting	Food	State	-	Her	Stepfamily **Alba + Dario**	Food and cosmetics	Homemade	Both	Both
		DIY	-	-	Him											
Baltasar	Same-sex partnership	Toys	Online	China	Both	**Rita**	Lone mother	Cosmetics	Catalogue	Brazil	Her					
Jose[a]	Shared house	Room renting	He built	-	Grandmother	**Ester**	Lone mother	Cosmetics	Catalogue	Brazil	Her					
						Ines	Living with her dog	Cosmetics	Catalogue	Brazil	Her					

[a] He built two rooms in his grandmother's house to rent out. His grandmother manages the properties and they split the informal rent income, from cash in hand payments.
[b] This is their only source of income, with no income from a formal job.
[c] She has a baby and receives *Leche Purita* (akin to formula milk) from the government which she sells so she can afford a different formula milk.

Alba and Dario also engaged in informal work together. Figure 5.2, below, shows them making shampoo, and their little bottles contained homemade cannabis oil. They were both healthcare assistants and lived in Alba's apartment. She was the only working-class participant who could afford a home which she bought after her divorce from the father of her children. Dario sold their products at work. They also used the products they made at home; they did this because they thought the products were special and made them a particular and different family, and couple.

Figure 5.2 Alba and Dario making cosmetics products at home

The couple in their living room during observation 25th March 2017, Santiago. Author's photograph.

My data suggested the power that working-class men had within the family was tenuous because it stemmed from their ability to be a financial provider, and their income sources were precarious. Furthermore, women's income could make a big difference to a working-class household and could counterbalance the power that men

had within families. However, for most of them this possibility was limited as women had lower earnings than men, in general.

4.2 Time as a resource

Time was a resource that allowed families to engage in activities together which strengthened their sense of family (Deem, 1996; Henderson & Shaw, 2006). In my sample, working-class male participants worked longer hours than either working-class women or all middle-class participants (Table 5.1). They usually worked overtime and did informal work at weekends, and mentioned being tired and wanting to have more than one day a week off. Those working in manual labour were often away from home between 4.30 a.m. and 7 p.m., and some worked a long way from home. This meant that they either had to live away from home during their working week or spend a long time commuting back and forth from their place of work each day.

4.2.1 Men's time

For some working-class men their time at work allowed them to form strong friendships with fellow workers, which some regarded as quasi-family relations. For instance, Lautaro, who lived with Soledad, their son and Soledad's child, worked night shifts on construction sites about 50 hours per week, but sometimes he did overtime at the weekends which meant working up to 60 hours a week:

> I have a family at work [laughing]. I have my brothers. We've
>
> been more than five years together. We laugh and work together.

> We spend lots time together. We support each other because our
>
> job is slavery and hard.

> (Lautaro, stepfamily, 32, construction worker, working class)

For working-class men work was a site of mutual support which helped them to sustain their long working hours. They developed a quasi-familial bond, referring to each other as 'brothers', and sharing meals together. This rapport, like 'family', was also found in low-waged workers in the US where men formed friendships based on many years of working together (Williams, 2004). For my participants, the companionship and friendship networks that they built made the long hours manageable and gave them confidence that the sacrifice made as workers and as fathers was worthwhile. Moreover, they could share their difficulties at work with each other; in a way they did not, or felt they could not, with their own families. Time at work provided men with male bonding time, supportive male social networks and leisure time. Cristobal, for instance, said: 'I have a bit of time for myself, but I go out with my co-workers' (Cristobal, married, 42, clerk, working class). This suggested that working-class men benefited from work through fostering friendships, and that their work- and gender-based networks enabled them to sustain their jobs.

However, two participants, Ivan and Salvador, talked about resenting long periods spent at work, rather than enjoying the male bonding it represented. One did long nightshifts and the other, before changing jobs, had to live away from home for half the month. Both wanted to be able to spend more time with their children. For instance, Ivan was a married working-class father of 32 and had two children, aged four and eight. He recounted how he left his previous job as a bus driver because it involved being away from home for 15 days at a time:

I never saw my children […] Once my child said, "Are you

coming to my birthday? You never are at my birthday." I was sad

[...] I saw a bus outside the Council, and I asked, "How I can find a

job here? I can't spend time with my daughters. I want to be a

present father [*padre presente*]." A man said, "Come back", I got

the job […] Now, my children run happily to me, we eat together!

(Ivan, married, 32, bus driver, working class)

Ivan's account illustrated the sadness experienced because his previous job prevented him being at home with his children. When Ivan said he wanted to be a 'present father' [*padre presente*], he meant he wanted to be present every day at home, to sleep and eat there, and be able to do all the things which make a family and a home, such as celebrating his children's birthdays. He did not mean spending more time doing childcare or taking more of the day-to-day responsibility for children. Instead, being a present father was showing up at family events, being with his daughters, and also being seen by others to be doing fatherhood.

In line with this, Ivan told me that every day he was back home, his daughters ran to hug him, and his neighbours saw them, and he was happy to be seen as a proper father and that the children were happy with him. This suggested that displaying fathering gained him respect because he came back from work – demonstrating he was a good worker – and hugged the children – demonstrating he was a good father – and made him a good family man, overall.

However, most of the other fathers, despite their long working hours, did not see any conflict between the demands of their paid employment and their families. They said that if there was a crisis in their family they came home, but they would not think of

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changing their work to spend more time with their family. Furthermore, to be a present father was not an easy decision because Ivan chose to change to a job in which he earned less money and, as previously mentioned in Section 4.1, he felt that his wife resented this.

Working-class participants in same-sex partnerships mentioned that they disliked their partner working long hours because they could not spend time together at weekends, whereas a few heterosexual men complained about disliking their partner's working hours due to their partner's tiredness. For instance, Baltasar, a working-class gay man, worked as a sales assistant Monday to Saturday, as did his partner. They lived in Baltasar's mother's home and both worked more than 50 hours, weekly. Baltasar also studied three days a week after work and on Saturdays. Despite these extensive hours of work and study, he resented the fact that his partner's hours were even longer and unpredictable:

> I don't like my partner's work. Because he always has to spend
> more time at work. We need to change our plans. We plan go to
> the cinema or a pub, but we need to postpone because of his job.
> Everything that we plan, we have to change.
>
> (Baltasar, same-sex partnership, 27, sales assistant, working class)

Baltasar disliked his partner's long working hours, but did not complain to his partner about it because he understood that his partner's job was a priority for him. My two gay men (Baltasar and Adrian) both mentioned disliking their partner's working hours, but accepted their choices. For both working-class gay men, the disadvantage of long hours and the wish to spend more time together during the week was the main reason that they started living with their partners.

Despite working long hours, working overtime and sometimes working weekends, working-class, heterosexual and gay men usually found time to do things for themselves. Most of the participants spent time doing sports and/or studying or taking training courses. For instance, Hugo said: 'Usually I'm busy after work, but I run three times a week for about 30 or 40 minutes' and Jose, living in a shared house, said, 'If I'm free at the weekend, I choose to study'.

Even the fathers with a baby at home were able to secure time to play football once a month. Usually this was possible because women did most of the domestic labour (I discuss this further in Chapter 6). Working-class men without children, both heterosexual and gay, mentioned finding time for themselves by relying on their mother or another woman to do the housework in communal areas if they lived in extended family households. This suggested that despite precarious earnings, gendered assumptions about men's leisure time exempted them from spending any time on domestic labour and showed that access to time is gendered.

4.2.2 Women's time

Working-class women's working hours depended on the ages of their children or whether they had children at all. The only woman with a baby lived in an extended-family household and was able to work 48 hours per week split over 12-hour shifts Monday to Sunday[33]. The small entrepreneur and the lone mothers with adult children were able to work 50 hours during the week as well as some additional weekends[34]. The lesbian couple also followed this working pattern. The single woman was able to

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[33] Sara used to work night shifts, but changed this arrangement after the birth of her son. The other two women with children under 12 years old did informal work at home.

[34] Rita mentioned working 60 hours per week (when she did shifts).

work night shifts and weekends. The two mothers with young children who did not have help with childcare from relatives worked informally at home with unknown hours because the time being spent on domestic work was unmeasured.

Women mentioned working long hours and being tired, similar to men, but women tended to have less time for their family and social life than men. Regarding access to leisure time, women's situations were completely different from working-class men's. Most women in paid work mentioned that they did not have any leisure time at all, either at weekends or on weekdays. Two exceptions were Ines, who lived with her dog, and Ursula, the small entrepreneur, mentioned above, who earned the bulk of the household income. Many of the women with adult children mentioned that if they did not have work at the weekend they chose to sleep and rest at home alone; for instance, Rita and her adult daughter who lived in her 84-year-old mother's home. However, those with young children did not mention this. Rita said:

> At the weekend I rather prefer to be at home and sleep. I love
>
> sleeping and it's how I enjoy my time […] I do all the housework
>
> that I haven't done in the week also. My mum is old. She can't do
>
> much […] I hardly ever go for a coffee with a friend after work.
>
> (Rita, lone mother, 41, medical receptionist, working class)

Rita's account was typical of working-class women in formal paid work who did not have leisure time. They did not go out with friends or colleagues as the men did. Whether this was because of a lack of money, or a lack of time, we cannot know, though from the interviews it appeared to be a combination of the two. Furthermore, working-class mothers with young children did not feel able to ask their parents for help with childcare so that they could have some leisure time, although they were able

to ask for help to do formal paid work. Moreover, mothers in my sample did not ask their partners to care for their children so they could have free time, and never questioned that the men had access to spare time and they did not. Men's right to leisure time, and women's lack of it, was not discussed by men or women. This illustrated that there was a culture of highly unequal and gendered access to resources – money and time – with men having access to more of these resources than women, and that this was accepted by both women and men.

Two exceptions, I mentioned above, involved women in formal work having leisure time to socialise with friends and co-workers. One was a single woman, Ines, with much more autonomy than the other women over how she spent her time; the other, Ursula, a small entrepreneur and mother of twins (aged 17), worked 62 hours weekly and had Sundays and Mondays free. Usually on Mondays she did administrative tasks for her work, like going to the bank, or took care of personal business, like doctors' appointments, but she was able to make some time for her own social life:

> I don't have much time, but I find time to go out for pizzas with
>
> my daughters […] Sometimes I feel alone but I go for drinks with
>
> my friends from the market. They understand me.
>
> (Ursula, married, 38, small entrepreneur, working class)

Although Ursula socialised with friends from the market where she worked, when she was not working she spent time with her daughters. Spending family time with children and including them in leisure activities was more typical of mothers than fathers. Furthermore, Ursula who said that she was 'the man in the family', made friendships and social networks with her workmates, but they seemed to be based more on sharing confidences and problems than men's relationships were. When she said

she 'feel[s] alone' she was referring to tensions within her family. Her husband and daughters disapproved of her role as provider and her position as a hardworking woman was not valued in the family (with the exception of her mother who supported her, see Chapter 6). She was able to share these feelings with her friends from the market. She did not socialise with her husband, instead she chose a same-sex friendships which gave her a sense of community and support network (Green, 1998). This suggested that Ursula, who saw herself as 'a man', found support at work in the way men did.

In summary, the data discussed throughout Section 4 suggested that as well as being gendered, access to resources was unequal between classes. Earnings for working-class participants were precarious and lower than middle-class participants; consequently, they rarely had holidays, have less leisure time, and often worked till they were very tired. This meant that working-class families were less likely to spend time together as a family. Instead, they found ways to create family time via spending time together on informal work for the benefit of the household. Access to resources amongst my working- and middle-class participants was also strongly gendered. This partly reflected differences in what men and women earned, but also expectations regarding what they should spend their earnings on and how they should spend their time when they were not at work.

5. Moving away from heteronormativity

The discussion in this chapter so far, has emphasised the normative expectations amongst most of my participants, and highlights their gendered rationale for why unequal access to resources was acceptable and legitimate. Yet more egalitarian families existed in my sample. These couples usually showed mutual respect,

undertook informal work together, made an effort to share domestic work, and treated each other as companions, rather than being locked into gender roles. In this section, I look at more egalitarian ways of doing family. I do not include the disruption to gender divisions of labour when working-class men were unable to earn and women took over the breadwinner role, which Ursula illustrated, and the resulting acrimony arising from gender roles being subverted; such changes were not perceived as moves away from gendered norms though they certainly challenged them. I start by looking at the only heterosexual couple (Alba and Dario) to demonstrate a more egalitarian gender division of paid work and access to resources. I then look at two lesbian couples who were creating families in which the couple relationship was not defined by heterosexual norms.

Alba and Dario, who I mentioned when looking at informal work (see Figure 5.2), have adopted a more egalitarian division of labour than most of my other participants. It was probably not a coincidence that their relationship was atypical. Both worked as health care assistants. Alba was older, by 15 years, and had access to more resources before they got together. They lived in Alba's apartment, which she was able to buy with money from her divorce, and her daughter (aged 21) lived with them. Neither seemed to see themselves as head of household or claimed the right to control their earnings or to have more leisure time. Alba also worked 12 hours per week for an NGO. During one of my visits, she was finishing a report for this organisation, and Dario was helping her to organise the paperwork to allow her to finish earlier so they could go to a summer festival. I noted that Alba did most of the tidying up before they went, but Dario went out to buy our lunch and also packed both of their backpacks. Although Dario did most of the selling of the cannabis-based products they made, when they worked together at home they worked companionably, as equals. Their

relationship appeared more egalitarian than any of the others, but one can see just how many factors underlaid the balance of power in the household, including especially Alba's ownership of their flat.

However, my data also showed that a woman being the main breadwinner did not necessarily imply a more egalitarian way of making family. Ursula, who earned more than her husband, experienced conflict and jealousy from him. Nevertheless, her higher earnings challenged the balance of power within the family which enabled her to access leisure time with friends and socialise without her husband, as well as rejecting domestic labour tasks that she disliked (I discuss this further in Chapter 6).

Lesbian families challenged gender norms by definition, and they did family in a more egalitarian way than any of the heterosexual couples of my study. For instance, Eliana and Rebeca, the middle-class lesbian couple who we already met in Subsection 3.2.2, gave up their previous jobs to work together as entrepreneurs. I interviewed them together, and they explained how they engaged in financial bargaining at home:

> Rebeca: I manage the money at home. I pay the mortgage, food
>
> and bills. Everything that we earn, I manage [...] because I'm more
>
> organised. She did once and it didn't work.

> Eliana: She is a very controlling woman [both friendly, laughing],
>
> but it was her choice, and I'm OK (with it).

> (Rebeca and Eliana, same-sex partnership, 32 and 34,
>
> entrepreneurs, middle class)

This account illustrated a more egalitarian control of money; they were explicit in their acknowledgement of the problem of power (control), leading them to negotiate and

see how they could distribute resources between them. As a result, they had a more egalitarian division of labour that seemed to lead to a more egalitarian family relationship than other participants. This extended to their being business partners and workmates as well as family, and trying to avoid the gender inequalities and hierarchies that they both experienced in their previous jobs. They were also running a business in which they did something that they both enjoyed and loved: a dog grooming business. Figure 5.3 shows their business premises in their converted garage.

Figure 5.3 Eliana and Rebeca's dog grooming business

The couple opened the front of their pet boutique to show me what they offered customers during observation 20th March 2017, Santiago. Author's photograph.

Celeste and Violeta, the working-class lesbian couple, also showed an egalitarian approach to access to money. Celeste lived with Violeta and their cat in a shed in Violeta's mother's garden. Celeste worked as a travel agent and Violeta as an Uber driver:

> We both organise family finances […] We always do a monthly
>
> plan together […] Actually, we saved our money and built our
>
> home.

> (Celeste, same-sex partnership, 28, travel agent, working class)

Similar to the middle-class lesbian couple, the working-class lesbian couple shared their resources and planned their expenditure together, something that was not mentioned by other participants. They also built the place where they lived. Working together and making a space to live together can be understood as doing family. Their home and family were underpinned by paid and unpaid work, but they did not see one of them being responsible for paid work and the other being responsible for domestic work. This evidences that there were possibilities for the development of more egalitarian family practices, but these were only seen for a few participants.

The data in this section showed that women, heterosexuals and lesbians, were much better than men at maintaining an egalitarian relationship even when women had access to more resources than men. Women recognised the power of money in the family and the value of work which could present a challenge to gender inequalities in families. The heterosexual couples in which women had access to more money than their male partners allowed women to have more leisure time and, exceptionally, to develop a more egalitarian family life. Both lesbian couples had a more equal access to resources, either because they earned a similar amount or they ran a business together, and this was associated with a more egalitarian family life.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how paid work shaped access to the resources of money and time within families, and how access to these resources shaped the way people make family. My discussion showed that men had access to more resources than women. They had access to jobs that paid better and they were more likely than women to be in paid work. They also had access to more leisure time than women. These gender differences in access to resources were legitimated by strong normative expectations about what women and men should do in families. With only a few participants who showed any divergence from the heteronormative model. Access to resources was limited for women compared with men, and for working-class participants compared with middle-class participants. The implications of this disparity of access in terms of family practices was that the unequal access to resources in which my participants did family was accepted, and therefore there was little room to make family in a more egalitarian way, and, in almost all families, it was women who made family by caring for children and doing domestic work, while men's contribution to making family was to provide the wages. Men's access to higher wages meant that they had decision-making power over expenditure which they understood in terms of their greater skill.

Amongst middle-class families, men had a bit more time than working-class men to spend with their families and they used this to go on holiday and to have meals out; they also enjoyed much more access to leisure time than women did. Middle-class women had more leisure time than working-class women in the week and a bit of time with their partners because they had the resources to pay for a babysitter. In working-class families, men were rather marginal regarding the time they spent with partners

and children, and some women were able to balance the power in the family when men's earnings were lower than theirs. In both social classes, family practices reproduced a woman-centred family.

While most heterosexual couples accepted unequal access to resources and the gendered inequalities associated with them, some participants challenged this way of doing family. Heterosexual couples disrupted the heteronormative assumption about male breadwinners and male dominance within families because women had access to resources of their own. While lesbian couples challenged the culture of unequal and gendered access to resources because their resources were more equally distributed, and they were creative in challenging the power that resources of time and earnings brought to the family. This suggested that it was possible to challenge heteronormative ways of doing family in families where men's income was precarious, or where the link between access to resources and power was recognised. In my sample, changes towards more egalitarian ways of making family were, however, marginal, as patterns of making family life were framed by an unchallenged, heteronormative culture which was broadly accepted.

In the next chapter I will discuss domestic work as a family practice and how this labour shaped family life.

Chapter 6. Domestic Labour as a Family Practice

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss how the ways my participants practised domestic labour created and sustained family life. To do this I draw on in-depth interviews, day-long observations and photographs taken during observation. I was interested in how the making of families was underpinned by participants' understandings of domestic work, how they divided household tasks between them, and the actual labour they expended, including physical labour and emotional work. I was particularly interested in participants' ideas about the value of 'sharing' [*compartir*] domestic work, which was mentioned by almost half of them, and how these varied by class and gender.

Fundamentally, by considering the above aspects, I argue that domestic work is a collection of strongly gendered family practices. A range of these practices were mentioned by all my participants, and they all felt that domestic work contributed to making family, even if their own contribution was minimal. I was able to observe some of these practices during my observations. Domestic work, which was done mainly by women, seemed to provide them with a sense of being a proper family.

This chapter is organised into three main sections. The first two sections examine participants' understandings of domestic work and how it is organised in their families. My discussion in these sections is structured by social class and focusses on the meanings of domestic work and how participants saw this in relation to sustaining family life. The third section discusses the few families practising domestic work in

more egalitarian ways and, I note here, that it is possible to discern challenges to heteronormative family practices.

2. Domestic work in middle-class families

This section explores how family life was shaped by the way domestic work was understood and practised within middle-class families. Firstly, I talk about men's understandings of domestic work, but I focus most attention on women and the practices of domestic work in which they engaged.

2.1 Understandings of middle-class domestic work

2.1.1 Men's ideas

Most of the middle-class participants saw domestic work as a contribution to making family, but their understandings of it reflected gendered assumptions. When I asked, 'What do you understand by domestic work?' [*Que entiendes tu/ud por trabajo domestico*?], most of the middle-class men answered that it was the work that was done in the home and that it was predominantly carried out by women. But they also included, as examples, domestic work that they themselves did at home – such as DIY, mending a table or buying children's clothes. For instance, Vicente was married to Clara, they had three children and employed an *empleada* six days a week. He was a senior manager, and she was an academic:

> Domestic work is all the work done at home […] Like cooking,
> cleaning, shopping, buying clothes for my children, changing
> sheets, keeping the house clean.
>
> (Vicente, married, 44, senior manager, middle class)

Additionally, Humberto – an entrepreneur, who was cohabiting with Lucrecia (she previously worked as an optician and left employment to look after their home and their three children) – said:

> Domestic work is all the domestic work done at home and the
> maintenance of the home. Like cleaning and all the repairs at
> home. And we couldn't live without it because if my house isn't
> cleaned how I could live here?
>
> (Humberto, cohabiting, 42, entrepreneur, middle class)

Both Vicente's and Humberto's accounts were typical of middle-class men who associated domestic work with what they and their partners did in the home. Domestic work involved specific tasks that contributed to a comfortable home life. This can be understood as a set of practices through which men and women do family. When defining domestic work, both men mentioned 'cleaning' and Humberto made explicit the importance of keeping the home tidy. This suggested that men expected to have a proper tidy home, of a high standard ('we couldn't live without'), for them, as providers, to come home to after work. Thus, men implied that this labour brought the comfort of having a proper place to live in, and it was their reward for what they did for their family. When men consciously included some non-routine tasks that they did sporadically in the home they acknowledged their contribution to making family life.

Many men mentioned that domestic work was done by an *empleada* and was paid. Men usually did not include childcare when listing tasks related to domestic work; however, some of them talked about childcare in the context of housework. These men usually had a *niñera* to care for the children (one has an au pair), and an *empleada* to do the housework. This inclusion or exclusion of childcare enables us to see that it

only became domestic work when it was paid for because men who did not have a *niñera* did not mention childcare as a domestic chore. They also implied that this labour – and, by implication, those who did this work – was respectable, but those who carried out the work was not necessarily them or their partners because they had paid work and did not spend much time on domestic work. For instance, Abelardo, a married middle-class man, worked as a professional in a transnational corporation. He had two daughters, aged two and four, his wife taught in a college, and they had a *niñera* and an *empleada* six days a week. He said:

> Domestic work is doing work at home and it deserves the highest
>
> of my respects.
>
> (Abelardo, married, 33, engineer, middle class)

Some men tended to talk about this labour with an emotional distance and a lack of empathy for the women who did it. Indeed, the gay father explicitly stated that he did not want a '*sirvienta*, *empleada'* [servant] to look after his children. This was because they saw the home as an important place for children and tried to secure 'good' care for them, and thus they took the view that not all domestic work was of equal value nor, importantly, could it contribute to making family.

All these aspects, have shown that men understood that domestic work was important because it made a comfortable home, it was a respectable job done by an *empleada*, and they usually distinguished between housework and childcare. Furthermore, the gendering of this work was assumed by the men rather than commented on explicitly.

2.1.2 Women's ideas

Gendered assumptions underpinned the way domestic work was practised for my participants, which meant that women understood domestic work to be gendered. Women's talk reflected gendered divisions of labour and the normative assumptions on which it was based, but, also, they understood domestic work in relational terms, seeing what they did as an expression of love. For instance, Pascuala, a middle-class lone mother; her parents lived nearby to help with childcare (she had a son aged four) and she also had an *empleada* two days a week:

> Domestic work is everything to maintain the home and keep the
> household going. Like washing, cleaning, tidying up, going
> shopping, taking my child to the nursery, picking up him from my
> parents. It's really boring but necessary and better to do with love.
> I couldn't do it without my *empleada* [laugh].
>
> (Pascuala, lone mother, psychologist, 37, middle class)

Women understood what domestic work entailed, they did it for somebody and they mentioned doing it 'with love' which shows the emotional connection that this work involved. Furthermore, Pascuala's notion of domestic work, like most of the other middle-class women's, was broader than men's because it included more domestic tasks, especially childcare tasks – something few men referenced. In addition, she said that it needed to be performed 'with love' which partly explained the inclusion of childcare chores. This suggested that involvement in childcare for mothers was greater than fathers (I return to this idea in Section 2.2 below) and sometimes took precedence over other responsibilities, such as Lucrecia who left her job because she could not care for her children as she wanted (Chapter 5). All of these aspects illustrated that

love was an essential part of the practices of domestic work for women, and that domestic work involved emotional labour. For women this practice entailed care responsibilities for those who they loved and considered family; domestic work was therefore part of making family.

Most women mentioned *empleadas* in their understanding of domestic work which showed an appreciation of other people's contributions. This was because *empleadas* replaced the domestic labour of middle-class women and helped them to keep their connection with home. Middle-class women were very aware of the work of *empleadas* because they saw this labour as a substitute for their own. Overall, childcare remained their responsibility in the household, and they managed this work through the *empleada*. Although middle-class women, like their husbands, enjoyed the fruits of the *empleada's* labour, such as a clean home and clean laundry, they remained responsible for the organisation of domestic work and the mental loads involved in this. In contrast, the men were not responsible. For instance, Amanda – a lone mother who had a son aged two, and an *empleada* five days a week – explained:

> It's the work of cleaning but also the organisation of the work. The
> time spent on planning what needs to be done at home. Calling the
> plumber and checking that the work was done properly. Telling my
> *empleada* when she does the washing and what meals to cook.
> Like I do the managerial domestic work [laugh].
>
> (Amanda, lone mother, 35, civil servant, middle class)

This pattern of middle-class female participants who took the mental load of the organisation of domestic labour was widespread in my sample. This showed that domestic work was work in itself, and through carrying the 'managerial and domestic

work', such as being responsible for paying their *empleadas*, middle-class women retained their sense of responsibility for the comfort and well-being of the family. It was not coincidental that most of the middle-class women mentioned *empleadas* when talking about their understanding of domestic work while the men did not.

Over half my middle-class participants, men and women, employed an *empleada*. This suggested that class was embedded in the normative idea of family life and part of being a middle-class family was to have an *empleada*. The labour of *empleadas*, therefore, brought class relations into the home because middle-class women considered themselves as a 'general manager' and an *empleada* as a labourer following instructions (McDowell, 2006, 2014). Amanda, above, illustrated this point when she made a distinction between her labour and that of her domestic worker. She mentioned managing the domestic work and that of her *empleada*; this indicated a relation of power and the division of labour on which was based and made explicit the contractual relationship between employer-employee.

Most of the middle-class women recognised the work of *empleadas* as other woman helping them, some *empleadas* had been working for over 15 years with the same family, one participant was even looked after by her *empleada* in her childhood and considered her *empleada* to be 'like her mother' (Section 2, Chapter 4). Others recognised that they were able to be in employment because of *empleadas* handling a lot of the domestic work for them (Subsection 3.2.2, Chapter 5). Middle-class women cared about looking after their children and their home and this was manifested by bringing in other, trustworthy women who they could build a long-term and 'trusting' relationship with. For example, they gave them access to the house keys. None of the female participants talked about hiring an unknown person or someone through an

agency, instead they always mentioned that they found their *empleadas* through family networks. Middle-class women were conscious of the importance of the quality of this labour to making family life, and the care taken in choosing employees and managing their work indicated that they did not abdicate their responsibilities.

The work of an *empleada* was important for middle-class women as they were able to do things with their children because the *empleada* did all the routine chores, such as washing and cleaning. For instance, in Leonor's household, I observed that on a Friday afternoon she picked up her children from school and then worked at home (she was a CEO). While working, she sat next to her daughter who was watching TV. They chatted, whilst cuddling each other, and Leonor stroked her daughter's hair sometimes. The *empleada* came in bringing tea and cakes, said hello and informed Leonor that she was ironing and preparing clothes for the holidays. Leonor told her not to worry about dinner, because they would eat out when Pablo, her husband, finished work[35]. Around 6 p.m. Eva, the *empleada,* came to say goodbye and said, 'I left all the washing and ironing ready, and I cooked a cake.' Both women gave each other a friendly kiss goodbye[36].

I saw a cordial relationship here, since Eva had worked with Leonor since her eldest son's birth and she was living in the house until eight months ago (at the time of observation). From the above observations, I understood what middle-class women meant by 'management of the home', and why some of them recognised the labour of *empleadas*. Making home was a woman's domain and *empleadas* gave women time

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[35] During the observation, Pablo called her after work, they talked for a bit and he said that he would come back around 8.30 p.m. because he had tennis at the club. Leonor said that a friend of hers was coming and then she would finish her book for her book club.

[36] A cheek-to-cheek kiss commonly given in Chile between friends.

at home to make family. Middle-class women did mothering, a bit of work and rest at home because they could rely on their *empleada* to do most of the domestic work. Furthermore, household management was linked to the responsibility of being an employer; all the middle-class women mentioned having a formal contract with their *empleadas* which gave the *empleada* stability as an employee, although some of the women did not know how many hours their *empleadas* worked. It was in the context of that employment relationship that middle-class women established a friendly relationship with their *empleada*, but it was not as simple as friendship because it was based on an unequal relationship between women (Anderson, 2000, 2001; Elden & Anving, 2019; Galvez & Todaro, 1991; Maher & Staab 2005).

The relational understanding that women had of domestic work meant that some of them mentioned the pleasure associated with it and, by implication, that this work was not necessarily seen as a burden and a chore. For instance, Margarita said, 'It's a job that I do with pleasure, it's not an obligation'. This way of talking about domestic work indicated that this labour was a way of doing family. It was linked with the emotions of 'love', 'pleasure' and emotional labour, because what women chose to do as domestic work made family and involved emotional connection.

These understandings were tied up with the gendered practices of domestic work and by doing domestic work women and men were 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009a), as I discuss in more depth in the next section.

2.2 The gendered practices of middle-class domestic work

An important aspect of making family life was the part domestic work played in doing family and making a home. Middle-class heterosexual participants showed strongly

gendered practices of domestic work, whereas the practices of my five middle-class

gay and lesbian participants were not so gendered (I discuss this in Section 4 later on).

In order to explore the practices of domestic work, I read participants a list of 21

domestic tasks and asked them who did those tasks in their household. The tasks were

grouped into six main categories: childcare[37], preparing meals[38], laundry[39], cleaning[40],

maintenance[41], caring[42] and DIY[43] (Appendix E). For each category I asked: 'Would

you tell me which person does this task most of the time in your home?'[44].

2.2.1 Men's domestic work

Most of the nine heterosexual men mentioned doing DIY and car maintenance 'most

of the time', some men (five out of nine) mentioned cooking, only at weekends and

for family occasions such as Christmas, birthdays and Chile's national day [*fiestas

patrias*]; they also talked about taking children to nursery/school. Some of these tasks

were routine, done on the way to work, and did not take lots of time, such as taking

children to school/nursery, while others were occasional, such as DIY, or cooking a

special meal once a year. Therefore, heterosexual men did not spend much time doing

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[37] Making breakfast, putting child/ren to bed, helping with homework, playing with child/ren, taking child/ren to school/nursery, and taking child/ren to extracurricular sports/lessons.

[38] Shopping groceries, cooking and washing dishes.

[39] Washing clothes, ironing and folding clothes.

[40] Vacuuming, tidying up, taking bins out.
[41] Cars and/or bikes.

[42] Pets, plants and the garden.

[43] DIY such as repairing and fixing things at home.

[44] Sometimes when I asked about shopping, they said, 'I do the shopping, the *empleada* cooks.' If this occurred, I continued to ask about every task on the list, such as cooking, even when previously mentioned. When I finished the list, I asked if they wanted to tell me of another task that they do at home that had not been mentioned. None mentioned any additional tasks.

domestic labour on a daily basis, but as I show below, what they did was visible within families.

Most (eight out of nine) of the heterosexual men said they did DIY because they 'love it', 'it's therapy' and they 'enjoy it'. Some also mentioned their pride at 'being the DIY-man at home'. The DIY these men did at home took time, usually at the weekend when all the family was at home so men could display their contribution to family life by doing this labour, but they were also able to save money by doing it.

Men's contribution was connected to their ideas of masculinity and how they did masculinity at home. For instance, Abelardo, a married man with two daughters, said:

> I do repairs that need strength. I do those things better than my
> wife. She won't drill a wall, no! I fixed the curtains that were
> detached. I take on these tasks because I'm more appropriate than
> her.
>
> (Abelardo, married, 33, engineer, middle class)

Abelardo illustrated a typical gendered practice of domestic work among heterosexual male participants who mentioned the need for masculine physical traits to do DIY and repairs at home. Men understood gendered bodies in terms of strength and weakness, but this binary distinction was seen as protecting women from dangerous tasks. When Abelardo was saying 'no!', this did not necessarily mean that his wife was unable to do such tasks, instead his comments were more related with protecting her from getting hurt, because her body was smaller and holding a drill was 'inappropriate' for her size and safety. Therefore, men doing DIY was a form of 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman, 2009a), a gendered family practice underpinned by expectations of what

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a good family man should do. Usually, men mentioned that women asked them to do repairs that the women identified, and the men never reported spotting these themselves. This practice of pointing out repairs to be done was interpreted by men as being helpful, the men expressed that they were always available if partners asked for help and were content to contribute towards making a home.

Through displaying their masculinity in this way, men were recognised by other members of the family as having specific masculine abilities. For instance, some of the fathers indicated that because they fixed things at home the children asked them to fix their toys: 'my daughters ask me to fix their toys, they are amazed by it, and they look at me' (Abelardo). They also mentioned a sense of pride. Fathers, for instance, involved their children by showing them their work and this practice could be understood in terms of doing fathering as well as doing masculinity (Johansson & Andreasson, 2017b). This did not mean that fathers always involved children with DIY or spent time together, but the ability to do so was presented as something that they valued. Thus, DIY could be understood as a form of doing and making family life.

Research on men and cooking has found that in general men cook for special occasions, such as on weekends and for pleasure, but some men have taken on greater cooking responsibility within families (O'Connell, Knight, & Brannen, 2019; Szabo, 2014; Szabo & Koch, 2017). My data suggested that some heterosexual men cooked occasionally, and that they considered this sporadic cooking as a way of caring for their families. For instance, Diego, a divorced father, lived with his partner, their baby and Diego's son from his previous marriage, as he and his partner both worked they had an *empleada* five days a week:

My role is totally different from my dad. He didn't do anything at
home. I'm not like that. I like cooking and after, I wash up. I'm
dedicated to my boys and care of them. I feel like I evolved
[laugh]. I'm a modern father [*padre moderno*]. I recognised that
it's not good the other way.

(Diego, stepfamily, 44, civil servant, middle class)

Diego voiced an idea shared by heterosexual middle-class men, many of whom
mentioned cooking. Men usually remarked that they did more than their fathers did in
the household and felt that their masculinity had 'evolved' concerning the contribution
they made to family life, whether or not they were fathers. Accordingly, they talked
about cooking as an enjoyable task, through which they liked treating family and
friends. However, rather than cooking most of the time their cooking was limited to
annual special occasions. Some of the men, such as Diego and Jaime who lived on his
own, mentioned cooking sometimes at weekends and this meant frozen food –
'nuggets and chips' – or microwaving what the *empleada* had cooked on a Friday.
Most of the time *empleadas* and women partners did the cooking, but men understood
their contribution to family as significant because they did more than their fathers and
cooking for family gatherings was visible. It was striking that these occasional
contributions to family life were so important for them, and this was linked to enabling
them to feel modern [*moderno*] rather than having a macho attitude [*machista*].
Indeed, Vicente told me that he cooked more than Clara at the weekend because 'I
cook tastier than her [laugh]'. However, during my three observations (twice at the
weekend and once on a weekday) at their home I always saw Vicente making drinks
for himself and Clara, rather than cooking. This suggested that for heterosexual

middle-class men there was an element of choice about doing more domestic work than was expected, while although some women also mentioned choice they were expected to do more at home than men. Furthermore, the emotional connection between caring and cooking means that some tasks, such as cooking, were recognised as part of making home. By doing a bit of cooking Diego displayed his care for his children and became a modern father [*padre moderno*] (O'Connell, 2010, p. 580).

Fathers usually organised childcare tasks around their paid work. For example, some fathers explained that 'most of the time' they took children to school/nursery. Benjamin, for instance, said, 'My partner puts the child to bed. I take him to nursery. It's on my way to work'. Fathers were likely to engage in some childcare chores on a daily basis when it fit in with their work commitments and did not take much time. Most fathers recognised fathering in the form of *caring about* their children's needs sporadically rather than *caring for* children all the time (Dermott, 2005). For instance, Vicente with three children (aged 13, 12 and six) mentioned 'If I have a family emergency like children's doctor's appointments or pick up at my children's school. I don't have a problem, but if I really have to'. Therefore, fathers often mentioned practices of fatherhood that involved occasional rather than routine forms of caring which meant that they were not taking time off every day to pick the children up from school. This form of childcare did not vary much when fathers were divorced/separated. Nicolas, the lone father, said, 'when my child is ill, he goes to his mother or my mum cares for him'. This suggested that women were the ones expected to do the childcare even when men were lone fathers because fathers asked the women in their wider kin networks for support.

2.2.2 Women's domestic work

In terms of domestic tasks, most of the heterosexual middle-class women mentioned doing shopping for food and cooking for the family 'most of the time', and in addition mothers explained that they put the children to bed. This gendered labour took place on a daily basis, usually took more time than men's domestic work, and involved mothers in an intimate relation with their children. My participants understood the gendered practices of shopping for food and cooking as *caring* and *providing nourishment* for families. For instance, Isidora, a married middle-class woman, said:

> Cooking is a pleasure for me. I love doing it and being in the
>
> kitchen. It's like a way of conveying my messages, a
>
> communication. I do the food shopping because my husband just
>
> could bring toilet paper. I know what my kitchen needs and what
>
> food to buy. I enjoy going to the supermarket. Then, we eat all
>
> together.
>
> (Isidora, stepfamily, 40, psychologist, middle class)

Isidora illustrated a common pattern within the sample of heterosexual middle-class women who were responsible for daily meals. Similar gendered practices have been found in British families wherein eating together is understood as a family practice (O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). By shopping for and cooking meals, women provided a time for togetherness and also an individual moment to enjoy for themselves. Usually, these women saw cooking and shopping as one task because it was a practice that followed certain norms in terms of diet, tastes and creativity. When Isidora described her husband going to the supermarket, she implied that he did not know what they needed or what foods to buy, except for 'toilet paper'. Instead it was Isidora

who knew how the family needed to be fed and could do it 'properly', to care for the family's well-being. These practices displayed care and were an important part of the emotional life of families (DeVault, 1991).

Indeed, one way of communicating 'love' to family members was by cooking and then eating together. Some women mentioned that *empleadas* cooked most of the time, but they themselves did the shopping for 'nutritious and healthy food', and, therefore, found a way to be involved with meals even when they did not cook. For instance, Clara said that her *empleada* cooked and left food prepared for the weekend. I saw during observation, that she did not spend much time cooking, but that she still cooked for dinner at the weekend, and that she did the shopping for vegetables and food for the children. Her husband shopped only for celebrations or barbecues. She told me that her children eat 'proper' nutritious and healthy food, which meant plenty of fruit, vegetables, a bit of meat and everything fresh. Furthermore, all the women mentioned eating together as a family; in this way they reproduced family relations and the meaning of family (Chapter 4).

Meals were family occasions (Charles & Kerr, 1988; DeVault, 1991). Some women mentioned enjoying cooking for the family, such as Margarita: 'I enjoy cooking, I love cooking at my partner's home' and Mirta 'Once a month I cook for my husband and I make him happy [laugh]'. This illustrated the relationality of domestic work and the pleasure of doing it. As well as women enjoying cooking this task was also a form of displaying and doing gender. When the women cooked, it was considered a special family occasion and gave importance to their families as most of the weekly cooking was done by *empleadas*. Cooking also displayed class status: women cooked food that they had eaten during holidays abroad with the family, they invited friends to their

home, gave parties and cooked 'gourmet' food. This suggested that food practices were crucial in the reproduction of family relations, in the display of social status and in the construction of gender identities (O'Connell, 2010; Szabo & Koch, 2017).

Some mothers mentioned playing with children and putting them to bed as something they did 'most of the time'. Mothers were likely to be more engaged in the lives of their children than their partners were; for instance, Leonor, married with two children (aged 12 and 13), said, 'If one of my children is ill, I work from home. If I have to pick up my children, I do. If they have a school presentation on Monday morning, I go.' This was a typical practice of middle-class mothers, who were involved in different activities around their children during working days and at the weekends. Mothers also went to museums to help teachers as part of their childcare activities, and if their children were ill mothers worked from home. This was in line with being a present mother [*madre presente*] (discussed in Subsection 3.2.2, Chapter 5); middle-class women valued their work but their motherhood took precedence in their lives.

In contrast to cooking, cleaning the home had associations with dirty work usually undertaken by women and lower classes (Ruth Simpson, Slutskaya, Lewis, & Höpfl, 2012, p. 7). Most of the middle-class participants mentioned that routine cleaning and laundry tasks – such as washing, ironing, folding clothes, vacuuming, tidying up and cleaning a pet's area – were done 'most of the time' by their *empleadas*. Some middle-class participants remarked that although they did these tasks 'sometimes', often at the weekend, they were an *empleada's* main responsibility. Thus, the dirty work of family life was left to a lower-class woman who made elements of choice possible for middle-class women and men, and allowed middle-class families to have time and comfort within the home. As I showed earlier in Section 2.1, above, having an *empleada* was

a big part of making middle-class families, and not having to do this labour constituted proper middle-class family life.

2.2.3 Sharing

Middle-class participants in opposite-sex families, lone parents and people living alone did not comment on the gendering of domestic work practices, rather they took the division of labour for granted. Most of them said: '[the division] it happened really naturally'; 'the division was understood like that'; '[we] never talked, it just evolved'; 'I don't know how it happened [laughing]'. In Spanish mostly the term '*se va dando*' [so it goes] was used to express this gendered contract. In practice this meant that the gendering of domestic work was considered normal and the segregation of tasks by gender was accepted.

Furthermore, an element of gendered practices was common concerning the shared labour of making family. Many men in opposite-sex families mentioned sharing [*compartir*] domestic work. Sharing for men meant doing domestic tasks at the weekend when women told them to, as well as occasional repairs at home and things that the women did not enjoy such as washing-up. Even when men did very little, however, they felt that what they did was an important contribution to making family.

Some men mentioned that they should be 'helping' [*ayudar*] their partners at the weekend and some did help the children to tidy up their bedrooms while women tidied up the rest of the house. Men were happy with this organisation; they had a positive perception of themselves and they felt that they made a valuable contribution. However, they stated that they started 'helping' and 'sharing' because their partners complained; this could be understood as women's resistance to gendered divisions of labour. For instance, Abelardo a middle-class married man with two daughters, said:

Before, I didn't set a table for dinner or change a nappy. My wife complained, "how it's possible that you don't help me, I work, I'm tired!" Now I help and we share it. I like the agreement because it's democratic. It's divided to our time. If I return home late from work, she puts our children in bed. Perfect!

(Abelardo, married, 33, engineer, middle class)

Abelardo's comments were typical; men did things if they were asked and not as a matter of course, unless it involved something that they enjoyed and it was occasional, such as DIY. Some men mentioned that following this change of contribution women complained less than before because they were 'helping' with little things at the weekends. For men phrasing their labour in the home as 'helping' meant that women had responsibility for the domestic sphere. This was assumed by men, and therefore men helped their partners fulfil their gendered responsibilities rather than challenging the gendering of responsibilities.

Many middle-class women also mentioned 'sharing' [*compartir*] and some of them mentioned 'dividing up' [*dividir*] domestic work. Both ways of phrasing underlined their acceptance of gendered practices which they saw as a fair way of dividing the work. Women also talked about managing the work done by their male partners, their *empleadas,* and others such as plumbers. This was all part of the gendered expectations that underpinned the division of domestic work and legitimated it. This meant that women did not need to do the work themselves because they told others what to do, and in this way were dividing up the tasks. Mirta, a married woman without children, talked about managing her husband: 'I manage my husband, I tell him what to do, it's easy'. What women meant by managing or dividing up the household tasks was that

they were in control of the home, and that others made a contribution to family life at the weekend when they were available and under the women's direction. This illustrated that managing others was a key part of women's domestic work.

All middle-class women, whatever their living arrangements, mentioned that they 'like to be in control of the home.' They were responsible for domestic labour and accepted gendered family practices. As I have shown above, some of them challenged their partner's lack of involvement in domestic labour which resulted in some men 'helping' and a degree of 'sharing'. Overall, however, women accepted these normative expectations and men's helping operated within those expectations rather than challenging them. For instance, Isidora, a married stepmother, was a counsellor and her husband an academic and they had an *empleada*. She explained the gendered division of domestic work from her perspective:

> The division is unspoken. It's like cultural design. I try to change
> it, but it doesn't work. I've tried negotiating with him doing the
> washing-up, but he doesn't care. I do care! I should yell, make a
> fuss or whatever. I lose there, I won't do that, I move forward
> [*aperrai*]. I believe in this division; he maintains the car and I the
> home.

(Isidora, stepfamily, 40, psychologist, middle class)

Isidora illustrated the recognition amongst heterosexual women of the normative gendered practices of domestic work and assumptions that governed domestic labour within families. Some women mentioned trying to change this by asking their husbands to 'help', but these normative practices were difficult to change, and therefore were accepted as long as men did masculine tasks such as repairs, car

maintenance and calling in an electrician or plumber when needed. Women also mentioned 'failed negotiations' by which they meant complaining about the lack of help at weekends with tasks that they did not enjoy, and primarily were done by *empleadas* during the week, such as washing-up. What women meant by 'negotiations' was that they voiced their resentment of having sole responsibility for cleaning and tidying-up, and sometimes discussed it with their partners, but this had not led to a change of gendered domestic work practices, even at the weekend. Instead, usually couples agreed to employ an *empleada* for more days a week or to buy new appliances to do the work, such as a dishwasher. This suggested that the work was still the responsibility of the women.

Most heterosexual couples mentioned sharing domestic work. This often meant that the *empleada* did most of the work. I visited one couple three times, both mentioned sharing the labour of meal preparation and being happy with it in their interviews, and on one of my visits I saw what they meant by sharing when they prepared a meal at the weekend. On a Sunday evening, Clara cooked pasta, boiling water in a pan and adding the pasta, while Vicente made alcoholic drinks for both of them, *pisco sours*[45]. Both the juice for the drinks and the sauce for the pasta was made for them by their *empleada*, it was in the fridge. Vicente mixed the juice with alcohol in a blender and Clara microwaved the sauce. Both of them were in the kitchen for about 30 minutes, but Vicente finished his task earlier. Their young daughter came to see them in the kitchen and accompanied Clara whilst she drained the pasta.

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[45] Pisco is a traditional alcoholic drink in Chile and Peru. Usually, it is made by pouring pisco, lime juice, ice and sugar into a cocktail shaker.

In the above scene, Clara and Vicente were making family by working together and sharing the labour. However, this did not require much labour from either of them, due to the *empleada's* preparation work, although Clara spent longer than Vicente on the tasks. This time they spent together, preparing a meal, illuminated what is meant by 'sharing': men do a masculine task – almost nothing – and women do a feminine task, a bit of cooking, but both their activities were underpinned by the labour of their *empleada.*

In this section, I have shown that women and men engaged in different home- and family-making practices which were strongly gendered. As well as doing family, these practices were about doing gender and displaying their gendered contribution to family life.

3. Domestic work in working-class families

This section discusses how family life was shaped by domestic work and how domestic work was divided within working-class participants' families. Firstly, I will discuss men's understanding of domestic work focusing most attention on women, followed by the divisions of domestic work in which they engaged.

3.1 Understandings of working-class domestic work

Working-class participants' responses revealed gendered norms which underpinned the domestic division of labour. Most of them saw this labour as a gendered duty that contributed to making home and family. Working-class heterosexual participants showed strongly gendered practices of domestic work, whereas working-class gay and lesbian participants (four participants in total) showed more significant changes in making home that I discuss later.

3.1.1 Men's ideas

As described in the previous section, I asked participants what they understood by 'domestic work'. Most working-class, heterosexual men saw domestic work as women's responsibility, although some linked it with family respectability as well. In general, repairs were the only domestic work that working-class men undertook. Women's work in the home was seen not just as a responsibility but as a duty, so that no recompense or reward was necessary. For instance, Hugo, who worked as doorman and lived in his partner's parents' home with his daughter (aged five) and their dog, defined domestic work in the following way:

> It's when you pay to an *empleada* to clean a house. My partner is
>
> at home, it's her duty to maintain, clean and tidy the home. It's
>
> important to have a clean house, [it's] like dressing to impress,
>
> people will see the house and it's beautiful. I like to be in an
>
> immaculate [*inmaculada*] home.
>
> (Hugo, cohabiting, 38, doorman, working class)

Most of the men associated domestic work [*trabajo domestico*] with paid cleaning that a woman did for someone else. What their partners did in their own home was a 'duty' that had to be done by women and was not rewarded. These views were underpinned by normative expectations of family life by which men had a duty to go out to work and earn a wage to support their partners and children (Subsection 4.1.1, Chapter 5), and women had an obligation to look after the home and do the domestic work. For men, having a clean and well-organised home had strong moral connotations as it was a form of showing respectability and displaying themselves as a respectable family. Hugo's comparison about how people dressed 'to impress' meant he was conscious

that respectability was something displayed, and how others saw you and treated you was associated with an 'immaculate' [*inmaculada*] home, that was achieved via cleaning and repairs. These gendered and classed practices showed that women doing domestic work in the home was connected with the practice of respectability and it made working-class family life respectable (Skeggs, 2002). Domestic work was, therefore, important to working-class families because it contributed to respectability and it was undertaken by women. This fitted with men working very long hours and trying to bring enough money into the home to avoid their partners having to go out to work (Section 4, Chapter 5).

Working-class men thought that domestic tasks were a woman's duty unless they involved physical strength which men usually equated with the manual labour that they did at work. For instance, Lautaro, a working-class man, cohabited with Soledad. They lived with their son and Lautaro's stepson (aged two and nine). He worked on construction sites and Soledad did informal work from their home. Lautaro said:

> Domestic work is like fixing a furniture or a window, because it's
>
> like my work, it needs strength. Washing dishes, cleaning, no,
>
> that's a duty because it's normal to do it, to have the home
>
> beautiful and live comfortably.
>
> (Lautaro, stepfamily, 32, construction worker, working class)

Here Lautaro distinguished between domestic work, which was similar to what he did at work, and duty, which differed from his work. Most of the working-class men who had manual jobs (five out of ten) saw the non-routine domestic tasks they undertook at home as work, such as DIY and home repairs. Their contribution to making home and family was similar to what they did at work, and, conversely, what their partners

did was not work but duty. This related to the acceptance of separate domains of family life according to which men work and women were homemakers. This accompanied the expectation that men will work hard for their family to ensure a comfortable family life. Their long hours of work introduced constraints and only allowed men to do a little labour in the home, and thereby reproduced gendered practices of domestic work as women took on the main role. Furthermore, the idea of duty was underpinned by an implicit agreement about women's responsibility for making 'home beautiful' and men 'going out to work'.

Furthermore, the ideas that domestic work entailed respectability were also mentioned by the two working-class gay men. For instance, Adrian a gay man working as clerk, said, 'I like ironing my shirts, [also] I'm really atypical because I like tidying up'. Both men mentioned ironing their own clothes. Partly they did it by themselves because they might not have the money to pay a woman to do it. But also, because they said that they do it 'right' which implied making respectability.

3.1.2 Women's ideas

Most of the working-class women in heterosexual partnerships agreed with the men and understood domestic work to be their duty; they exercised control in the home and cleaning in particular was associated with making their families respectable. Usually, domestic work gave women some source of autonomy in the home and this contribution to their families was enjoyable. For instance, Iris did informal work which involved selling bakery products and she and her husband and three children lived in her father-in-law's home. Her understanding of domestic work was that:

> It's a duty! It's my duty because nobody else can do it like me
>
> [laughing]. My husband sometimes helps me. He sweeps and I'm

sweeping behind him. Because I'm as much of a perfectionist as

other women. I do cleaning as I want. If I move the furniture,

nobody complains or restricts me.

(Iris, married, 43, informal work, working class)

Most of the women did not see domestic work as a burden, in part because it did not involve taking orders from others. They felt autonomous doing this work because they could set their own standards despite expectations about respectability that they had to meet. This suggested that women's responsibility was making the family respectable through cleaning, and that it was something that they enjoyed. When Iris said that domestic work was her 'duty' because no one else could do it the way she could she claimed this work as something that was her own and – because it was her own, and no one else could do it the way she did – it was also her duty. This meant that women spent time on cleaning, they recognised female skills that make them feel happy with their home, and therefore it was a duty that they enjoyed meeting.

The above connection between cleaning and respectability shed light on the connection between domestic work and family life more generally. For instance, Ursula was a married working-class woman whose mother usually cooked for her family because she had a small business in a street market. She lived with her husband and twins (aged 17). Ursula said:

Domestic work is tidying the house. But not being an *empleada*,

no! Like organising the home. I organise it, my husband doesn't

exist for it, no, nothing. I like to have my house clean [*limpiecita*].

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> I'm a modern woman [*mujer moderna*] I have ceramic tiles in my
>
> garden, not just flowers. It looks shinier to others, really clean!
>
> (Ursula, married, 38, small entrepreneur, working class)

Ursula's was a common experience for working-class women who mentioned that the practice of cleaning was a big part of making home. There was a difference between cleaning the home for others as an *empleada*, and Ursula's cleaning and organising; cleaning your own home displayed your family's respectability. Displaying respectability was linked with having a clean and tidy house, with shiny tiles that were easy and quicker to clean, and, therefore, this way of cleanliness made her modern [*moderna*]. Women spent time on cleaning; women in paid work were likely to do fewer domestic tasks than women without employment, and tried to find ways of doing it quicker. But always they were conscious of the need to maintain respectability through displaying a clean family home. Women agreed with the men that domestic work was a woman's duty which makes a proper family.

The two working-class lesbian participants, similar to working-class heterosexual participants were concerned about respectability and how domestic work underpinned it. For instance, Violeta, a working-class lesbian woman, said, 'domestic work is part of ethics, like, not because I'm poor, I will have everything dirty'. This suggested that part of cleaning was about respectability in family life.

3.2 The gendered practice of working-class domestic work

One important part of making family was the way in which domestic work was divided according to gender, and the role gender played in establishing femininities and masculinities within families. As explained in Section 2, I asked participants 'Would

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you tell me who is the person who does this task most of the time in your home?' with the tasks divided into six categories.

3.2.1 Men's domestic work

Working-class men mentioned shopping for food 'most of the time' with partners and children, plus DIY. Only one father, Ivan, mentioned making breakfast and putting milk in the baby's bottle 'most of the time,' and another mentioned doing childcare when his partner was at work or was cleaning the home. One of these tasks was sporadic – DIY – but others, such as shopping or putting milk in the baby's bottle, were regular and had to be done. These were examples of men helping and men regarded them as significant contributions to family life.

As it was for my middle-class participants, making home was linked with doing gender for working-class participants. For my working-class participants, however, it took different forms. For instance, Jose, a working-class man was a lodger and rented a room in a house where he was the only man. He described the masculine tasks he did as follows:

> I'm in charge of all the DIY at home. I do everything manually. If
> I don't know, I find a man to do it. Sometimes, I ask my uncle and
> I help him.
>
> (Jose, living on his own[46], 31, mining operator, working class)

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[46] I use the category living on his own because this is one of the categories that I developed for participants' living arrangements. However, I recognise that there is a contradiction here as he is not living on his own, but he shares a home with three more people.

Jose's comments illustrated that gendered assumptions about what men did at home did not necessarily change if the living arrangement was not a nuclear family. He shared a house with a woman and her two children who also rented rooms, all of them were lodgers but the domestic tasks were divided on a gendered basis; the woman did the main housework such as cleaning the toilet and the kitchen and sometimes during the week left some food out for him, while he took responsibility for DIY. He benefited from normative ideas of domestic labour because he and his fellow lodgers divided the domestic tasks according to gendered expectations. Almost all men, both gay and heterosexual men who lived in extended family households, benefited from gendered practices of domestic work because they only cleaned their room, as they found it too intimate to allow a woman to do it unless she was their partner. However, cleaning the bathroom and communal areas was done by women.

Men in different types of living arrangements mentioned shopping for food 'most of the time'. Shopping for the family was primarily significant for fathers, who usually mentioned this as a 'family activity' because they went with children and partners; after shopping sometimes they 'go together to the playground outside the supermarket', 'it's like a day out'. This was also important for gay men who 'go together' with their partners. All men mentioned the enjoyment of buying food with their families and the special 'treat' they bought for themselves. This suggested that the practice of buying food was an important way that men felt that they contributed to family life; it made visible their role as provider, displayed their masculinity, and therefore reproduced family relations. This was highlighted by men feeling shame if they were not able to bring money home and were unable to buy food for their children (Subsection 4.1.1, Chapter 5).

Two working-class fathers mentioned doing childcare, with only one working-class father who mentioned doing a childcare task 'most of the time'. Ivan, the present father [*padre presente*], said:

> I make the milk bottle [*mamadera*] every morning for my child.
> She says "milk, milk" I don't like her crying. My wife is [busy]
> getting my elder daughter dressed for school.
>
> (Ivan, married, 32, bus driver, working class)

Food was significant in family relations because it symbolised emotional connection with others. This father described a daily task of making up the feed for his child, which made him a present father, and he took this role seriously even if the task was not time consuming. Caring for his child in this way marked him out from the other fathers who tended to be less involved because of their working hours, motivations and gendered assumptions of family practices. As I have shown (Section 4.2, Chapter 5), being a present father meant doing some shopping, making a quick meal for a child and being present on family occasions; it does not, however, imply that domestic tasks were shared equally.

3.2.2 Women's domestic work

Most of the working-class women mentioned that the tasks they did 'most of the time' involved shopping for food, cooking, tidying, washing; in addition, those who were mothers listed helping children with schoolwork, putting children to bed and making breakfast. Women did more labour than men on a daily basis: they were also deeply involved in the lives of their children.

Feeding the family contributed to the production of gender identities as well as families (DeVault, 1991, p. 95). Working-class heterosexual and lesbian women were responsible for shopping for food and cooking for their families. For instance, Soledad, who cohabited with Lautaro and two children (aged two and nine), did informal work at home:

> I like cooking. Everyone sits down at the table and they enjoy my
>
> cooking. They love it! That's why I like cooking and why I always
>
> do it.
>
> (Soledad, stepfamily, 29, informal work, working class)

Soledad's comments emphasised providing enjoyment for her family through cooking, a view she shared with other working-class women. This was in line with the link between care and female responsibility for feeding the family as a form of doing family. Women usually described cooking in a way that emphasised enjoyment and their relationship with other members of the family, rather than their skill in cooking. However, unlike the middle-class women participants the working-class women did not mention preparing nutritious and healthy food but said that they made dishes such as 'pasta' and 'soup', emphasising the importance of having food and getting a meal on the table daily.

The meals working-class women made for their families varied substantially. I visited Soledad and Lautaro's household once on a weekday when he was at work and she was at home. Both children were at home, as the older child was a bit ill. I saw that Soledad cooked different meals for the children at 12 o'clock, which was the only meal they ate during the time I was there. For the youngest child, Soledad fried a frankfurter sausage [*vienesa*] and instant mashed potato together in a pan with, she

informed me, reused oil. She made half a cup of rice each for the elder child, herself, and her partner to eat later. She then fried mincemeat in the same frying pan used to cook the younger child's meal with the reused oil. This oil was kept in a jar from frying chips two days previously which prevented it being wasted. They enjoyed the meal because the children were with their mother, and Soledad's son told me that he does not like school food. I understood that Soledad's priority was to feed her children and make sure they were not hungry, but she struggled because they did not have much money. The children appreciated the food and the time together as they were laughing and wanting more food, but there was not much, so she made some tea[47]. This suggested that the family suffered from Latauro's unwillingness to let his wife work outside the home and the resulting shortage of money.

There was a difference when women had paid work because the amount and quality of food available for the family to cook was likely to be better. When I visited Sara, I saw plenty of food, such as vegetables and bread. Sara lived in an extended family household consisting of herself, her two siblings, her parents, her son (aged one) and her partner. She was the main cook of the household, and the day that I visited her she cooked a meal for everyone, excluding her son who had eaten earlier. They ate the same food and there was plenty of it: a big fish each, with rice, bread and a lettuce salad. She fried the fish. Fresh oil was used for cooking for each dish and none was kept after being used. Everyone was grateful for her cooking and enjoyed the family meal. I understood that preparing this meal was a big part of displaying femininity and her care for the family, and indeed displaying this care to me as a visitor. But also, Sara did not struggle as much as Soledad to feed her family, she had her own earnings

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[47] I left for home at 9 p.m., I did not eat, but I was drinking juice that I provided for their meal while they were eating.

and told me that if there was something that she needed to cook and she did not have it, she could buy it. In contrast, I saw Soledad wanting to buy tomatoes, but buying only one and using half of it. Both women spent a similar length of time cooking, around an hour, and tried to make sure that the food was tasty. Meals were important for spending time together, for mothering and displaying femininity, and through the practice of cooking, women were involved in making family.

3.2.3 Sharing

The way that practices of domestic work were evolving amongst working-class participants varied. While men in opposite-sex families and a man sharing a house mentioned 'it just happens', 'nothing to discuss', 'I work, my partner does it', women in paid work and in opposite-sex families and women on their own mentioned, 'I started worked and just changed it', while women in informal work remarked, 'it just happens, it's like everyday life'. The lesbian couple and gay participants were the only ones who mentioned 'we discussed'. Thus, women who were employed said that the division of labour changed when they went out to work, gay participants discussed it, whereas men and women in informal work said that it just happened. However they arrived at their allocation of tasks, all of them found their division of domestic work fair [*justa*]. This fairness was entangled with duty and with the gendered normative assumptions which underpinned family life. The division of labour was fair because everyone in the family made a contribution; men work and women had a source of autonomy in making the home, and, therefore, they displayed respectability as a family.

Three men mentioned 'sharing' domestic work which sometimes meant that they had to make sure it was done properly. For instance, Ivan, a married man with two daughters (aged four and eight) who worked as a bus driver. Said:

> We share everything at home. She should do it, but thousands of times I have had to do it. I've come back from work and the home is a total mess. So, I have to do washing and many times I've done it.
>
> (Ivan, married, 32, bus driver, working class)

Similar to Ivan, some other working-class men also said that they did the work at home when their partner did not, and they complained that their partners were not doing what they were expected to do. These men resented that women did not fulfil their duty of undertaking the labour that makes family life respectable, but also men felt that women did not do their half of the gendered contract being assumed in the division of labour. These working-class men felt that they were unrewarded for their long working hours and their role as providers, and that they deserved to come home and be comfortable. Ivan was one of the few fathers who was aware of family and work conflicts – 'it's complicated to be a family' he said. Because of this he changed his job to be a 'present father' [*padre presente*] (Section 4.2, Chapter 5). But being a present father still required the woman to provide a clean and tidy home, otherwise family life was not what it should be.

Two women who were in paid work also mentioned 'sharing' domestic work. Sara was in partnership with Salvador and they had a child aged one; they lived in Sara's parents' home, and she worked as a healthcare assistant:

> We share – like Salvador plays with the boy while I'm washing,
>
> tidying up, doing some cooking. Get everything ready for
>
> Salvador's job and my boy. I feel that I don't have any burden and
>
> we aren't lazy [laugh].
>
> (Sara, cohabiting, 24, healthcare assistant, working class)

Women usually mentioned that they did a lot of domestic labour and childcare, but did not see it as a burden or unfair as long as men did a little bit. Sara implied that Salvador did more childcare than other men that she knew, because when she worked shifts at the weekend he looked after their child and spent most of the time with him, but also because he wanted to take care of the child whilst she did housework. Thus, 'sharing' domestic work did not necessarily mean that men engaged in housework, other than DIY, but that they took care of the children – enjoyable and not necessarily the most exhausting aspect of parenting – whilst mothers were doing the housework. This suggested that women's domestic labour supported time for fatherhood in the sense of men's active involvement with their children, and, therefore, it made possible the emotional connection between father and child which was significant for family life.

When I visited Sara and Salvador's household (once on a weekday and once on Sara's day off), I saw that Sara organised a videocall with Salvador during their son's lunch. She was feeding her son and put the phone to his ear so that the three of them could share the meal. This was significant in terms of family relations: by sharing a meal – even remotely – Sara made eating together possible, and Salvador took a bit of time to be with them doing family[48].

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[48] The phone call was between 5 and 7 minutes long.

In this section, I have shown that domestic work was a gendered family practice which had several components. Working-class participants made and displayed respectability through the practice of cleaning. The moral significance of cleanliness was entangled with gendered assumptions and normative practices within families. Shopping for and preparing food was another essential component of family life and both men and women mentioned doing food shopping 'most of the time'; only women, however, mentioned cooking 'most of the time' for the family.

In Section 4, I will discuss minor and significant moves away from these heteronormative practices of domestic work.

4. Signs of change

Some indication of change emerged in the gendered expectations of family life, but only for a few participants. Whilst heterosexual participants showed minor changes, the most significant transformations were for gay and lesbian couples. In this section, I look first at middle- and working-class heterosexual participants before discussing gay and lesbian couples.

4.1 Heterosexual families

Only one middle-class woman, Asuncion, said that the allocation of domestic work in her household was due to her 'liking', although she said that this applied to some tasks more than others. She earned more than her partner and he did the domestic tasks she disliked. Another middle-class woman, Mariana, who lived on her own, mentioned not having an *empleada* and cleaning her home while listening to music. She said that she liked the cleaning which involved water – for instance, washing-up or cleaning the toilets – and thought that cleaning gave her control in her home as well as looking after

the material things that she paid for. She was the only middle-class woman who did her own ironing, and she did not pay for any DIY as she asked her father or brother to come over to her home to do it: she told me that this was like a 'family occasion' for them. This woman along with middle-class lone mothers mentioned taking responsibility for the maintenance of their cars. They sometimes went to the garage to check over their cars; for example, making sure that tyre pressures and oil levels were correct. They told me, in addition to finding it enjoyable, that they had a working knowledge of their cars to prevent being ripped off by male mechanics. They also expressed that they were able to change a wheel if a car's tyre is punctured; some mentioned, for instance, changing a wheel on the side of the motorway. The women who were on their own had no choice but to take on what were normatively masculine tasks, but Asuncion's position as the main earner in the family enabled her to delegate some domestic tasks to her partner.

Very few middle-class men did any domestic work that challenged gendered domestic tasks apart from helping with the children. There was only one, a stepfather, who mentioned doing his ironing and this was because he believed it was his responsibility and liked to know how many T-shirts he had; additionally, he did not like his partner or *empleada* to do it.

I noted earlier that working-class women in paid work mentioned changes in the practices of domestic work since having their own income. For instance, Ursula, a married working-class woman, had a small business in a street market and explained that she refused to do some domestic tasks:

> Everyone knows that I don't like ironing. I don't do it. My
>
> husband has to deal with his mess. He irons and folds his clothes. I
>
> get bored and just stop doing it.
>
> (Ursula, married, 38, small entrepreneur, working class)

Ursula was the provider for the family, the same as Asuncion (Section 3.1, Chapter 5), she said she was 'like a man' in this respect and seemed to hold the balance of power in the family. As we saw in Subsection 4.1, Chapter 5, she was able to go out with friends from the market, and when the stall was busy she employed her husband and other men. Despite some criticism that she received from her husband and daughters, the power she derived from her position as main earner allowed her to refuse to do the ironing. Ursula said that she was a 'modern woman' [*mujer moderna*] by doing this as she did not depend on a husband and did not do any specific domestic task for him. This did not mean that she did not take responsibility for domestic work but that she was more able to refuse domestic tasks which benefited her partner rather than the family as a whole. The women who were providers for their families changed the balance of power in them; they had more leisure time and could reject some domestic work. This happened across classes.

Another working-class woman who tried to alter the domestic division of labour in her family was Sara who worked as a healthcare assistant. She was a mother and lived with her partner, Salvador, in her parents' home. Sara believed that it was important that her son helped her with activities in the house, so that he did not become as 'lazy' as her adult brother, who did not know how to cook. This domestic education was a significant sign of change because it indicated that women were bringing up their sons to be able to cook and clean. Iris also mentioned teaching her children how to cook

and tidy their rooms. These mothers wanted to establish their sons' future independence by showing them how to do some domestic tasks now; it was also a way they could spend time together. Sara complained that her adult brother did not do any work, and even that Salvador did more housework than her brother. By involving her son in domestic tasks she was conveying that she and Salvador were not 'lazy', as I showed in Subsection 3.2.3, above. Both Sara and Salvador had paid work and did domestic labour, despite Salvador only doing childcare as also mentioned in Subsection 3.2.3, and thus Sara engaged her son in her notion of family life. Below, Figure 6.1 illustrates Sara and her son sharing domestic work.

Figure 6.1 Sara sharing domestic labour with her son, Manuel

Mother and her son in the kitchen during observation 7th July 2017, Santiago. Author's photograph.

Another example of making more egalitarian family relations was provided by Dario and Alba who were married and held working-class jobs, as healthcare assistants. Both mentioned that the domestic division of labour made them 'equals' [*iguales*] because 'we do a collaborative work; this is for us and we like it'. Alba said, 'Dario and my daughter accept that I like organising the home'.

In my visits to their household, their home was always meticulously organised with boxes and containers for storing things; the kitchen, for instance, had everything stored in cupboards or hung in order along the wall. I commented on this to Alba, wondering how she kept everything so tidy. She replied, laughing, that she did it because she loved her home. I understood this as a form of caring; she and her husband spent long hours at work and by cleaning and organising Alba provided the material accoutrements of comfort. In one of these visits, I came to understand what Dario and Alba meant by equals: supporting each other to make it possible for them to be together. They planned to take three days off to go to a festival, Dario packed the bags for the trip and brought a coffee to Alba, who was finishing some assignments for her job (as a work trainee). When Alba finished her work, both started cleaning. Alba vacuumed and Dario dusted the furniture and were ready to leave in an hour. Their long working hours and their different shifts sometimes made it difficult for them to be together, however, their home was important to them, and both contributed to making it a nice place to live. I noted that they usually put on some music and sang while they were doing things. It seemed to me that they enjoyed this but, despite the cooperation, gendered practices of domestic work were still evident in so far as the cooking is done by Alba and the DIY by Dario, with Alba doing more of the housework during a normal week. They felt like equals, partly because Dario did more of what was expected for a man to do in a heterosexual family, without Alba complaining or managing him. It seemed that this way of making family collaborative and equal [*igual*] operated within normative ideas of family, but this work had value in its contribution to family well-being.

4.2 Gay and lesbian families

The most significant changes in practices of domestic work were amongst gay and lesbian participants. Middle-class lesbian women mentioned doing the domestic work 'together' because neither of them enjoyed it, and therefore it was 'better to do together, both are lazy [laugh]'. Rebeca and Eliana would have liked to have an *empleada* but chose not to because they were 'OK now', but usually their domestic labour took a lot of time. I saw during my three visits to their home that they were constantly working, recall that they ran a dog grooming business at home, and therefore they did not leave their home very much. They were considering whether to pay for domestic help because they wanted to have more leisure time together instead of working most of the time. They described their division of domestic work as 'helping each other'; what they meant by that is that they did the work that they enjoyed together, but if one of them did not like a task the other partner helped with it. Furthermore, part of making family for them was doing all the jobs together, but also discovering things that they have not done before. For instance, Rebeca said:

> We had a water leak, but we wouldn't pay for a man to do the job.
> It couldn't be so difficult. We went to the shop, bought a
> replacement stopcock, read the instructions and did it. I learnt and
> now I do that maintenance at home.
>
> (Rebeca, same-sex partnership, 32, entrepreneur, middle class)

In Rebeca's account DIY did not have to be done by a man. She recognised that usually men did it; however, she showed that this could be changed. This meant that in their partnership they were able to explore other ways of practising domestic work. I

showed in Chapters 4 and 5 that making home for them was a more egalitarian practice than in opposite-sex families. Most of the time, they were negotiating, and discovering themselves as family which led to more symmetrical family relations than amongst heterosexual participants; in this they were an exception. This was in line with their commitment towards balancing power in family life and making their own lifestyle.

The middle-class lesbian couple also lived in a multi-species household (Charles, 2014); they gave centrality to their animals and a big part of their family life revolved around their two dogs and two cats. As their business was a dog grooming business, their pets had a lot of freedom in the home. Eliana and Rebeca were constantly checking up on them, playing with them and laughing. When they were working usually the pets were by themselves, and when they were resting or doing domestic work the animals were around them. This was a form of companionship that gave significance and distinctiveness to their way of making family.

The one middle-class gay couple, Raul and Nestor, also mentioned 'sharing' domestic work which meant that they complained to each other, but also laughed about in their joint interview, about the lack of tidying up if one came back from work earlier. However, they also did domestic tasks together and helped each other with cooking, tidying the bedroom and decorating. Similar to the middle-class lesbian couple, Eliana and Rebeca, doing domestic tasks together made them family.

The working-class lesbian couple, Celeste and Violeta, similar to the middle-class lesbian couple mentioned doing domestic work 'together'. They built the place where they lived – a shack in Violeta's mother's garden – and enjoyed their time spent on it. Celeste said, 'Violeta loves DIY [laugh] but I learnt, and we both like'. Celeste recognised that Violeta knew a bit more because she used to work in a DIY store and

did some trainee there, and therefore, knew some materials and way of building the shack. They recognised that one had better skills than the other to do some jobs such as DIY. For example, when they built the shack. But they mentioned 'doing together' all the other chores. By 'doing together' they meant in companionship and that it was not isolated work in their family.

The two working-class gay men, Adrian and Baltasar, mentioned 'sharing' [*compartir*] the domestic work. They mentioned that their respective partners, Joaquin and Horacio, were untidier than them, but they usually did not complain and tried to be flexible. They tended to do housework when they were not together, and they told me that their places were not big – Baltasar only cleaned his room as he lived with his partner in an extended family household – so they mentioned they did not spend a lot of time on cleaning. They cooked simple things and tried to eat out. It seemed that they did not give the same importance to this labour as other participants in terms of making family, but more in terms of respectability (discussed earlier in Section 3.1).

In this section, I have suggested that challenges to the gendering of domestic work were evident amongst a few of my participants. The most significant changes were shown by lesbian participants; a heterosexual partnership challenged normative expectations, particularly where men wanted to be present fathers and get involved in some form of childcare, and when women earned more than their husbands and women did not do chores that they disliked.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, have discussed how the practices of domestic work were gendered and the way in which these practices contributed to make family. I have shown that the

allocation of domestic tasks was underpinned by normative expectations of what women and men should contribute to family life. Almost all the participants saw both men and women making contributions towards domestic work, and, therefore, making family. But their contributions were gender specific. Domestic work was, therefore, entangled with gender norms which meant that doing domestic tasks were also ways of doing masculinity and femininity. This gendering was apparent across classes. However, there were also important differences between the middle-class and working-class families, and between the opposite-sex and same-sex families of this study. Middle-class women had *empleadas* who they managed, while working-class women regarded doing domestic work as a duty and that it was necessary to maintain respectability. Thus, women were responsible for the domestic work across classes, and the form this took was shaped by class. Furthermore, middle-class men tended to contribute a bit with tasks that involved meal preparation, such as cooking and shopping for food, as well as DIY; working-class men tended to contribute predominantly through DIY, household repairs and shopping for food. In only two exceptions did working-class men contribute a bit of childcare. Men valued their contributions to domestic chores because they understood them in terms of making family. Gay and lesbian participants illustrated less gendered expectations of family tasks through dividing their household task more by what they enjoyed or thought that they had more skills in, with the only exception being the gay father that seemed to follow a normative family structure, comparable to other middle-class fathers.

Making family was based on ideas of 'sharing' cross class, but this took different forms. Sharing in middle-class families meant that the work was the responsibility of women who managed *empleadas*, partners and children. This form was possible in heterosexual families because women resisted their husbands by complaining that they

were tired with work and the men did not collaborate with the housework. Men recognised their partners' complaints and did a bit of family tasks because they recognised in this work a way of doing family, and that this work made them visible at home. Sharing in working-class families meant that the domestic work was a duty of the women who did most of the housework, and sometimes the men did a bit of childcare. This form was possible in heterosexual families because women were employed, and, therefore, this changed the way in which divisions of labour took place within families. But also this form was possible because fathers wanted to be involved in the lives of their children. Sharing was seen as fair because everyone did what it was expected – a bit more than the usual. Primarily, because participants compared their gendered domestic practices with other members of the family this meant that middle-class families tended to compare the division of tasks in the household with their parents, whereas working-class families drew a comparison with their extended family members.

One working-class heterosexual couple in this study demonstrated egalitarian practices of domestic work and talked about 'equals'. This meant that they usually did domestic work at the same time and it was not a female duty, rather a responsibility for both of them to make a home. The real commitment to greater equality was found within the lesbian couples of this study, whereas real change – which challenges gendered power – was seen in the two couples where the woman earned more than her partner. When women earned more this changes the status quo by giving women more power to negotiate what they wanted to do. The way in which the two lesbian couples made family more egalitarian involved doing domestic work 'together' so this labour was not the responsibility of one person. But most importantly, this work was not

conducted in isolation, but in association with their animals and both of them were doing tasks together.

A striking point that arose from my participants' experiences was that the making of 'respectability' underpinned the task of 'cleaning properly' amongst working-class families, and, therefore, domestic work in itself was important and had value in the making of family.

In the next chapter I will discuss family photography as family practices and how this involves displaying family life.

Chapter 7. Displaying family: family photography as family practice

1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer the third of my research questions: What does the production and display of family photographs contribute to family life in Chile? I argue that for my participants family photography was a way of 'displaying family' through which they could convey to each other, within their families, and to others, that they were 'doing family' properly (Finch, 2007). By treating family photography as a family practice, I am able to show how it intersects with other family practices. However, as a family practice family photography had two distinctive features. First, we cannot assume a family photograph presented a transparent picture of how people 'do family' because the content of family photographs was structured by what was in front of the camera and also by conventions of family photography as a specific photographic genre (Rose, 2010, p. 12). Second, another distinctive feature of family photography, at least in this thesis and compared to the other family practices I have examined, is that asking participants to talk about their pictures seemed to encourage them to talk more about their emotional attachments to and investments in their families.

However, research focusing on 'displaying family' has not always taken into account that some families were less able to display family than others, because access to resources – such as time, money, space and social status – enhanced or limited the ways different families were able to display family (Gabb, 2011; Heaphy, 2011). As

we shall see, family photography as a family practice was an important aspect of everyday family life for almost all my participants, but middle-class families engaged in family photography more actively than working-class participants because they had more resources to devote to it, and more opportunities to display family to others.

Examining the making and sharing of family photographs, a distinct genre of photography, was an especially useful way of producing and analysing data on family practices. This was because, as I will show, family photography involved people doing family in at least three ways. First, family photography was in itself a family practice, and indicated that the people producing the photographs (and appearing in them) saw themselves as a family group (Rose, 2010), and helped them constitute themselves as a family (Dermott & Seymour, 2011). Second, family photographs usually displayed family practices that were perceived to be cornerstones of family life (such as photographs that depicted shared special occasions), and therefore photographs conveyed the meanings of family and made those meanings visible. Third, taking and sharing photographs was part of the process of developing families' stories about themselves as families, so as a social practice family photography was also central to the making of individual and family memories (S. Edwards, 2006; Sandbye, 2014; Smart, 2007a).

This chapter is based on my analysis of in-depth interviews I conducted with men and women participants and 118 pictures chosen by my participants and shared with me during the interviews. Although some of my participants also saved videos they made of their families, I decided to restrict my analysis to still photographs, so that I could draw on images produced by all the participants. I will also draw on my own observations in participants' homes, so as to consider how they displayed their

photographs. In Chapter 3, I explained how I collected photographs during the interviews, how I obtained participants' consent to my use of their images, and that I sought to ensure that participants understood the uses to which I might put the photographs. It is worth repeating here that the faces of all participants will be obscured before the thesis becomes available to readers.

In this chapter, I examine two aspects of family photography as a family practice. I first outline family photographic practices my participants mentioned themselves, or which I deduced from the pictures they showed me. This broad overview identifies similarities and differences in the photographic practices of participants of different genders, social classes and those in diverse types of households. This discussion also sheds additional light on the roles which family members play in and for their families, for instance as photographers. Secondly, I examine the significance that particular family photographs held. Besides learning from participants why they valued their photographs, this also enabled me to examine visual representations of what participants valued about their families and their roles in them – to actually try to *see* what they said was important to them about family life, and their own contribution to it.

To examine these aspects, this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first looks at four family photographic practices in detail: taking photographs, preserving photographs, displaying photographs and sharing photographs. I pay particular attention to who in the family engaged in these practices and to the resources they required. The second main section looks at how photographs represented the participants' families, from their point of view; the meaning of particular family photographs, the temporality of the photographs, how they saw their photographs in

the context of changes in their family over time, and what emotions these pictures mobilised. Although all these elements overlap, since participants usually showed emotions when talking about their photographs, by separating these dimensions analytically I can make them more visible. Then I draw some conclusions from the findings, which show how much participants valued family photography as an important family practice which created and maintained a sense of themselves as family.

2. Family photographic practices

In this section, I identify the main photographic practices that participants engaged in as part of making and sharing family photographs. 'Displaying family', in Finch's (2007) sense, involved more than literally showing family photographs to others, since producing and using family photographs was more complicated. Rather, showing photographs to others, or displaying them in the home or at work, was embedded in a longer series of practices, including first producing or taking the photographs, then preserving them, and then sharing and displaying them. I am particularly interested in looking at who was involved in these four practices and how their engagement varied. From the outset we could say that all the men and women participants were involved in an active way in at least one of these four photographic practices. However, these practices were gendered with women having engaged in more practices than men; for instance, they took more pictures than men and spent more time preserving them. Also, these practices were classed. For instance, as noted elsewhere (Van House, 2011), middle-class families' photographs might incorporate the work of professional photographers, whereas working-class families produced all their images themselves.

2.1 Taking photographs

Unfortunately, I did not ask directly about participants' family photographic practices during the interviews. However, I built a picture of these practices by using the photographs the participants chose to show me and what they said about them as a sample. I asked them, at the end of each interview, to show me a family photograph that was significant to them [*una foto familiar significativa*]. Overall, my participants showed me 118 photographs, split into 73 for the middle-class participants (47 from female and 26 from male participants) and 45 for the working-class participants (30 from female and 15 from male participants). Each participant showed me between one to six pictures. This suggested at the outset that the women participants were more active in the making of family photographs than men, and more interested in sharing them, and this coincided with the more active role women play in making family in other respects.

The photographs participants chose to show me recorded a family practice, and primarily sought to display when people were together as family (Chapter 4). I identified two categories of photographs taken, which are, in order of frequency, 'significant' occasions and 'ordinary' family life. Significant occasions included: family celebrations (e.g., Christmas, New Year and birthdays) (46); family milestones (e.g., graduation, weddings, honeymoons, birth of child and first day of primary school) (32); family holidays (18) and family gatherings on Chilean National Day (18th September) (7). Ordinary family life related to everyday life with pets (12) and loving in everyday life (3). These photographs aimed to capture special moments which connected participants to their family members and loved ones, and which they wished to ensure could all be remembered later (Smart, 2007a). Once produced, the

photographs might be reviewed and talked about many times, family practices that ensured these moments became a part of shared family memories.

Broadly speaking, there was a strong preference for participants to picture their immediate nuclear family and for showing off their children for those participants who were parents. These favoured pictures illustrated normative family life and the ideal to which most participants aspire, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Almost all the heterosexual married or partnered participants chose, for example, as their significant picture one consisting of themselves and their partner, along with their children, including participants in blended families. Even when the picture had been taken at a family gathering at which other, extended family members were present, frequently only the participant's immediate family was shown in the picture (for example Figure 7.10, below, shows Asuncion and her partner and child at a Chilean National Day celebration of their extended family, while Figure 7.13 shows Nicolas and his son on holiday abroad, although other relatives were with them). The focus on the participant's immediate family coincided with the distinction some working-class participants made between their 'family' and the extended kin with whom they shared a household (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3). Few partnered participants chose a picture of their extended family as their significant photograph. These included Mirta, a middle-class married woman who did not have children, who showed me a picture of her extended family that related to who she counted as family (Chapter 4), and Ursula's picture of her extended family at her daughters' graduation (Figure 7.17, discussed below).

The photographs taken by participants who did not live in heterosexual nuclear families were more diverse. Lone mothers and separated/divorced fathers all showed

me pictures of themselves with their children, or pictures of their children alone. The photographs valued by gay men, both middle and working class, usually showed themselves and their partners within an extended family context, highlighting the acceptance of their partner by their family of origin. Although one of the lesbian participants shared a picture of herself, her partner and her mother, most of their pictures were of themselves as couples with their pets, in the intimacy of the home. Single participants usually showed me a picture of their family of origin, although there were only two photographs showing the participant's grandparents as part of the family group, both chosen by single working-class men and women participants.

Children tended to be portrayed more frequently than adults, and working-class participants' family photographs were more likely to portray children by themselves, whereas middle-class participants were more likely to portray children with parents. This might be because the working-class parent had taken the picture, whereas middle-class parents had used a more elaborate set-up which enabled them to get into the picture, or hire a photographer (for instance, Figure 7.11, below). Pets in the domestic sphere were portrayed with their guardians, and frequently with children, across the social classes. Men appeared much more frequently than women in the photographs, because, as I discuss below, it was usually the women who had taken family photographs. Generally, women and girls in family photographs were smiling, especially in the pictures shown by middle-class participants, while young working-class boys were particularly unlikely to smile. However the numbers for this study were too small to generalise.

Who was pictured in photographs partly reflected who took them. Judging by the sample of family photographs that I was given (118 pictures), women took more

family photographs than men. Specifically, two thirds of my sample of family photographs were taken by women. This was somewhat different from the findings of other research on family photography in the US or the UK, which found that it was mainly men who took family photographs (Edwards, 2006). However, the gender difference in my sample was partly explained by the composition of my sample of photographs. Women showed me more pictures than men (see Table 3.12) and they usually showed me photographs they had taken themselves. Many of the middle-class men showed me pictures that were on their desk at work, and these too had usually been taken by their wife or another person (see Chapter 3, methodology). (The only exception was a middle-class man who had taken the family picture he showed me; he was a keen photographer with high-end equipment). In this sample of family photographs, female relatives of the participants were also more likely to have taken the picture than male relatives, perhaps reflecting the kin work that women did in the family, and their role in maintaining family ties. However, the sample of 118 pictures might not tell the whole story, since considering family photography more generally, nine of the 12 middle-class men said they had camera equipment that they took with them on holiday, suggesting that they might have taken more of the family photographs than the sample indicated.

For working-class participants, from the sample of 118 photographs, taking family pictures was a less woman-dominated practice than for the middle-class participants. The pictures that working-class men and women participants showed were almost all taken by themselves on a smartphone. Working-class men who showed me a photograph were more likely than middle-class men to choose one they had taken themselves, perhaps because it was readily to hand on their smartphone. Only three out of the 15 working-class men showed me a picture that had been taken by partner,

relative or friend. This active male engagement in showing pictures that they had taken themselves might reflect their wish to make themselves visible in the family; for example, with photographs that showed them as present on those 'family occasions' that epitomised the meaning of family. Most of them found it important to be present, although for some this presence was complicated by their lack of time (Chapter 5). An illustration of male visibility in the family was the narrative of the 'present father' [*padre presente*] (see Chapters 4 and 5 and Figure 7.14 below).

Working-class participants, both men and women, also displayed photographs to indicate their social status. For instance, they said that the family events captured in their photographs showed how much better off they were now than their family of origin was. They were also proud that they could do family photography with their smartphones. Working-class men displayed their access to and command over technology (several said that they had taken the photograph because their camera phone was better quality than their partner's), although working-class women might also have seen themselves as skilled photographers; for instance, Ursula said she took the family photographs, as she was quicker at capturing family moments. Taking pictures was particularly important for women because, most of them discussed that they did not have family photographs from their childhood, so they wanted to record photographs of their families and loved ones as much as they could (I return to this point in Section 2.4 below).

Both men and women saw their propensity to take photographs as a matter of preference. Some middle-class men said, 'I like pictures, but I don't take them' or 'I don't take too much, my partner is crazy doing it'. Some working-class men said that 'I enjoy taking pictures', but that they often took the picture due to having better

smartphones than the women in their families. Women said things like 'I like taking pictures' as a way of preserving memories. Women usually described taking pictures as being integrated with and emerging naturally out of their everyday life, something enabled by the proliferation of smartphones. In contrast, middle-class men were much more likely to use camera equipment and to see photography as a hobby. Indeed, the middle-class single man mentioned having a camera, whereas the middle-class single woman did not. Some middle-class families also displayed photographs taken by professional photographers.

Taking pictures was a way of displaying status or social mobility and an important practice that produced family memory. The fact that many working-class men and women showed me a picture that they had taken themselves illustrated their effort to create family memories and visual representations of their families. The fact that middle-class men and women showed a photo taken by a female relative also hinted at the involvement of the wider kin network in producing photographs. Participants' active involvement in producing photographs was linked with them doing family photography as part of making family (Van House, 2011), something that will become even more evident when I discuss the other aspects of family photography practice, below.

2.2 Preserving photographs

Preserving photographs was an important part of family photography, making it possible to share memories of one's own childhood and those of other generations. Smart (2007) argued that preserving photographs was akin to preserving memories and enabled people to represent their families and other personal relationships to

themselves and others. But while all my participants saved some of their pictures, the amount of effort and resources they were able to give to this varied greatly.

The biggest difference had to do with the greater use middle-class participants made of printed photographs, often collected in albums. Although middle-class participants also saved their pictures in electronic albums, families devoted attention and money to making sure their images were secure. As Mariana said, 'if I get a [computer] virus, I lose all my pictures', while Nicolas said, 'The photograph's like keeping memory alive'. Albums of printed photographs also made it easy for them to share their photographs with each other and with visitors.

The middle-class participants tended to have at least some of their photographs printed professionally, on special paper (or, in one case, printed themselves at home on special paper) and collected them in albums. All the middle-class participants had at least one family album in their home. Some middle-class men created photo albums by sending their electronic files to a third party printing service online, which then posted the finished product in the form of a photo album book. Whereas middle-class women selected photographs, printed them at home, and prepared albums. Below is an example of Mariana's family albums, a middle-class participant who lived on her own who printed many of her pictures herself (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Three family albums of printed photographs in Marianna's home

Mariana showed me the albums during an interview in her flat. Author's photograph.

Mariana kept these albums on a coffee table in the living room. The cardboard 'envelope' at the bottom of the pile of albums, to the right, contained three big pictures that she planned to put in frames. Most of Mariana's family pictures were from her childhood, and portrayed herself with her family of origin and at extended family gatherings. Similarly, the family albums that other middle-class participants showed me also contained 'family history' constituting what they saw as a form of family memory which enabled them to remember their past in the present.

Middle-class participants kept their family albums on coffee tables in the living room, so in eight out of 10 interviews conducted in middle-class participants' homes they were able to show me pictures. It was easy for them to evoke family memories from these photographs, and when they were telling me about these memories they were usually laughing because they were enjoying looking at the pictures and using them as an opportunity to recount stories of family life. Producing albums or video also emerged as a joint activity or hobby. One middle-class man who had a professional camera and equipment regarded photography as his hobby, which he said he enjoyed

with his partner; they looked at the pictures together and, afterwards, he liked to preserve them in the form of a video.

In contrast, working-class participants usually preserved their pictures only in electronic form. Most of the working-class participants (19) said they did not keep any printed albums. Most working-class women (nine) transferred the photographs into one electronic folder, although one of them had created a special electronic album of photographs of the birth of her baby (as well as an album of hard copies). But usually, they did not have time to create special electronic albums around particular events. Some working-class men mentioned wanting to do this, but they did not find the time either, so most of them left their pictures on their smartphones and if the phone's memory became full deleted already existing photographs. But these men also saw electronic images as more modern, commenting, 'I neither print pictures nor do a family album, it's old fashioned. I just show my phone'.

Working-class participants occasionally printed individual pictures at the office, on ordinary paper, or a print-out was purchased as a gift. For instance, the lesbian working-class couple had one printed picture of themselves, which was a gift from one of them to the other. As financial resources for the working-class participants were more limited than for the middle-class participants, printing family photographs was less likely to occur. Family photographs were more likely stored in a digital format rather than in photo albums, and the security of their photographs was therefore more precarious. However, by storing these photographs they actively engaged in preserving family memories digitally, and this partly explained why they also took many pictures.

Both middle- and working-class participants talked about their motivation for preserving photographs. Almost all motivations related to the idea of keeping memories alive. They all mentioned 'memories', 'keeping memories', 'having memories', 'seeing memories' [*memorias, hacer memoria, tener memoria, ver las memorias*]. Middle-class men usually talked about preserving family photographs so that they could look back on an enjoyable life. Working-class men's intentions were much more modest, mentioning only that they wanted to remember that they had 'some moments' of enjoyment with their families in otherwise difficult lives. Working-class men also mentioned wanting to avoid what they called *mala memoria*, not bad memories as such but the absence of a record of their family.

Both middle- and working-class women mentioned preserving family photographs as a way of keeping memories alive for their family, not just for themselves. They engaged in this activity by saving images in folders and trying to find time to keep family photographs in a safe place. These practices could be seen as ways of making family because the saved photographs themselves depicted meaningful family practices. The images that were preserved were a pictorial representation of the meaning of family; of being together [*estar juntos*], such as sharing a meal and celebrating together (see Chapter 4 and Section 3 below).

2.3 Displaying photographs

An important practice for many participants was displaying family photographs in the home and workplace, similar to what has been observed in previous studies (Almack, 2008; Rose, 2010). However, as this practice relied on printing, middle-class participants were more likely to engage with it than working-class participants. Usually, middle-class participants displayed their family photographs across their

living and dining room, hallways, bedrooms and study. Photographs were hung on walls and wardrobes, framed in different materials such as acrylic or wood (see Figure 7.2). Usually, this work was done by women. Women were more likely than men to display family photographs. For instance, Lucrecia took the pictures and did the printing and framing, and Humberto helped her hang the framed prints on the wall at the entrance of their home, along the corridor towards the children's rooms. Lucrecia showed me these pictures during the interview. Despite this gender divide, some fathers, especially those divorced or who enjoyed doing photo albums, mentioned printing and displaying pictures in the home.

Figure 7.2 Family photographs displayed in Lucrecia and Humberto's house

The photo frames show from the top left clockwise: Humberto with two of their three children; Lucrecia's grandmother; Lucrecia's mother with Lucrecia and Humberto's eldest son; and Lucrecia and Humberto's youngest son. Lucrecia showed me the pictures during the interview. Author's photograph.

Ten of the 12 middle-class men told me that they displayed photographs of their families in their workplaces, on their office desks and walls. For instance, Abelardo was a married middle-class man working as a professional in a transnational

corporation. He had two daughters (aged two and four), and his wife (a teacher) printed the photo which he had at work:

> I like having pictures of my daughters at work because I like that
>
> people see me with my daughters. I like showing off my family in
>
> the office.
>
> (Abelardo, married, 33, engineer, middle class)

Men's display of family photos at work made visible their status as a 'family man' – as the stable and responsible breadwinner in their families. Their role as head of household may have enhanced their authority at work, as found by Godoy et al. (2007), rather than being seen to conflict with their work roles. Two of the gay men, a middle-class couple (Nestor and Raul), even displayed a family photo in their respective workplaces, although their status as a couple was slightly buried in the picture of them at Nestor's extended family gathering. The single middle-class man, Jaime, also displayed a picture of his family of origin at work, showing him to be a dutiful and responsible son. Only two of the middle-class men did not display photographs at work. Both were fathers who tried to keep their work and private life separate. For instance, one of them, Hilario, who worked as social psychologist with low-income families, did not want his family to be recognised in the street by his clients: 'I wouldn't like to be going shopping and be recognised by someone,' he said.

In contrast, none of the middle-class women displayed photographs of their families at work. In part this was because many did not have their own office, as they shared offices with colleagues, worked in open plan offices, or worked in a cubicle. Additionally, like the male psychologist noted above, it might also be that they met with members of the public at work and did not wish to reveal anything about their

private lives. It might also be that the overlap between employment and family responsibilities, which enhanced men's status, tended to reduce women's status as workers. For instance, Leonor, a married middle-class woman with three children, said:

> I have pictures of my entire family at home. In my bedroom, living
>
> room, in the corridors, everywhere. But I don't have pictures at
>
> work, no! I don't have photos of my family.
>
> (Leonor, married, CEO, 42, middle class)

Women mentioned that they did not feel comfortable to be seen in their family roles in the workplace; they seemed to try to de-personalise their workplaces rather than to display their private lives. Only Margarita a middle-class lone mother, mentioned having a picture of her son at work, because it was a Mother's Day gift from her child, but she chose to keep it hidden in a drawer rather than displaying it. Hesitancy about sharing their family lives with colleagues prevented women displaying their family life at work and made their private life invisible. This suggested that displaying photos at work was highly gendered. It helped men because displaying their fatherhood made them look as if they were family men who were good and responsible workers, whereas for women the reverse was true. Women instead displayed their families in photographs in the home, reinforcing the division between public and private spheres for women. Their family roles were not visible at work, and their paid work was not visible in the home.

Working-class participants (six out of 20) also mentioned the practice of displaying photographs, but much less frequently than by middle-class participants. All working-class participants who showed me a significant family picture kept it on their phones

and their opportunities to display family, in Finch's (2007) sense, were limited. Some working-class participants displayed photographs in their homes, but none at work. Women were more likely than men to display family pictures in the home; often the pictures were gifts for special occasions and they were displayed in a more modest form than middle-class participants' pictures, such as photographs printed on ordinary paper and exhibited in frames of cardboard (see Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 Kitchen and dining area of Sara and Salvador's extended household

The two photographs on the fridge portray Manuel, their child. The photograph pinned to the fridge is of Manuel eating in the kitchen and the picture framed in cardboard on top of the fridge is Manuel at his christening. I was told that the pictures were displayed by Manuel's grandparents, as a picture of their first grandchild, rather than by Sara and Salvador themselves. Author's photograph.

While the middle-class families tended to spread their family photographs throughout the home, working-class women reported choosing one specific place for displaying photographs, such as the kitchen, bedroom or a corner of the corridor. Unlike Sara and Salvador's pictures of their son (Figure 7.3) displayed in the shared kitchen of their extended family, most working-class participants restricted their display to the area which belonged to them, as they did not feel 'right' displaying their photos in an area that was not 'their home'. Additionally, it might also be because working-class

participants had fewer resources to display photos as their houses were smaller, and the practice of printing and displaying was more expensive than simply saving family photos electronically. Indeed, amongst working-class participants, displaying was an occasional rather than an active family practice, unlike middle-class participants.

None of the working-class participants displayed photographs at work. Usually because they did not have the same access to space as middle-class men; they tended to do manual work which involved moving from place to place, and those who did white collar work did not have their own offices. But some working-class men liked to keep a picture of their family with them while they were at work if they could. For instance, Ivan, who worked as a bus driver, said, 'I have a picture of my children on my keyring for my coach keys. So, they are always with me' (see Figure 7.14). Carrying the picture of his children was part of his attempt to be a 'present father' [*padre presente*] in his daughters' lives (see Chapter 5), but he did not have the opportunity that middle-class fathers did of showing off his family to his work colleagues. Working-class women mentioned that they did not display photographs because 'it's my boss's office' and it was the boss who displayed photographs. Displaying photographs therefore required control of one's own space which working-class participants did not have at work, and at home working-class participants who lived in extended family households did not have their own space because they shared it with their parents (Chapter 4, Section 2). This meant that their display of photographs at work and at home took place only occasionally, and was less elaborate than for the middle-class participants. These differences highlight the underlying inequalities that permit some people, and not others, to display family in this way.

2.4 Sharing photographs

The practice of sharing photographs was another crucial activity in the making of family photography (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011). It was a practice mentioned by all the men and women in my sample, but there were differences between them in terms of privacy, social networks and the purpose of sharing. Looking at photographs together, which could be seen as a way of doing family, was a practice presented across my sample, but took different forms depending on social class. Usually, middle-class participants mentioned sharing photographs at a family gathering after going on holiday together, when they loaded all the digital pictures onto the television, looked at them together and commented. One man mentioned making an occasion of it with drinks and nibbles; this was the stepfather who was the exception among my middle-class men participants in having taken the family picture he showed me (with his camera equipment). Therefore, he was displaying his own expertise in photography as well as family by showing me the photograph.

Looking at pictures together could also be seen as making family because usually participants mentioned printing photographs and putting them in albums as a 'family'; the women living on their own and lone parents did this with their family of origin. Working-class participants also reported looking at photographs together after an important family event, and that it made them 'happy' to relive their moments with their nuclear and extended family, but they did not make an event of it the way the middle-class participants did, instead simply sharing their pictures on their phones.

Nonetheless sharing family photographs was very important to working-class women as nine out of ten mentioned that they did not have any pictures of their own childhood and Ursula regretted that 'my mother doesn't [even] have any pictures of her

grandsons […] when they were children'. One working-class woman said that she owned an album of her wedding photographs but had lost it when her house burnt down. Although this incident suggested that some working-class participants might have had photographs at some time in the past, it also suggested their precariousness. The absence of photographs of their families partly explained the engagement of women in preserving family photographs. Camera phones have clearly allowed working-class families a new and valued opportunity to create family memories in the form of photographs and share them with each other. They actively engaged in taking pictures and showing them to others, through which they displayed family as well as their family's social mobility.

It was striking how often participants shared their photographs with family members. Participants from both social classes exchanged photographs during the day and working-class participants shared them with their extended family on a daily basis. Sending a photograph was a way of keeping in touch and maintaining family ties even during the workday. Working-class men mentioned sharing pictures taken at work with the family, at least one or two pictures daily at lunch time or during a work break, while the two working-class mothers who did informal work at home mentioned sending pictures to their husband/partner several times a day. Middle-class participants did not mention sending each other pictures so frequently, but said that they sent pictures to the family if they were away for work and wanted to share what they were eating or doing. Middle-class parents also mentioned sharing pictures with their children if they were on holiday as a couple as a practice of maintaining contact.

Participants also mentioned sharing photographs on social media. They reported two main social media channels: WhatsApp and Facebook. Middle-class participants

shared photographs through 'family chats' while working-class participants usually shared pictures with individual family members, rather than as a group.

Using social media raises issues about the boundary between public and private communications. In general, the men were less concerned than the women about this. Middle- and working-class men tended to share pictures through Facebook more often than women. Showing me his Facebook site one middle-class man reported, 'Look at us, we were here on holiday' and a working-class man said, 'my nephew is gorgeous, he wore a shirt that I bought him, I uploaded his picture'. This pointed to the importance of sharing pictures that showed and displayed working-class participants' ability to buy things for the family (I return to this in in Section 3). Furthermore, it could be that middle-class men used Facebook more than women did because they were more likely to display family publicly than women, and because uploading images to Facebook was faster and quicker for others to see than using WhatsApp.

Middle-class women did not feel as confident as middle-class men about sharing photographs on Facebook. Mothers were particularly concerned, for instance Clara said, 'I try not to share pictures of my children because if one day they become politicians or whatever I don't want people to say, look how privileged they were in the past.' They usually were worried about the implications for the future if they posted photos of their children. Moreover, usually middle-class women had co-workers as friends on Facebook, which made them feel uncomfortable about sharing their private lives. This accorded with their wish to avoid displaying family at work – as they said, Facebook is a public forum whereas WhatsApp is a private way of sharing pictures.

Also, working-class women did not mention Facebook but used WhatsApp frequently to contact and send pictures to their family and friends. Sending photographs on

WhatsApp to the extended family was usually done on weekends, to share what they were doing at the time rather than to advertise their good fortune. It seemed therefore that women were more risk averse about displaying family publicly than men, and thus were probably more aware of problems that could arise from posting photos. Women's avoidance of risk might also be a reason they were reluctant to display photographs at work.

Overall, then, family photographic practices were a form of making family life which involved taking pictures, preserving, displaying and sharing them with nuclear and extended family and friends, other loved ones and sometimes at work. While these practices were readily recognised as helping to make and cement memories (Rose, 2010), preserving and sharing photographs were also important, especially for the women in my sample, in helping to maintain connectedness between family members, on a daily basis and in the long term.

Class and gender differences were evident in each of the family photographic practices described in this section. Taking pictures was a complex practice in terms of how photographs were taken, preserved, displayed and shared. First, it seemed that middle-class men took family photographs mainly on holiday with their cameras, while working-class men mainly took family photographs on their phones at family celebrations. For both middle-class and working-class women snapping pictures was more integrated in every day life. Second, preserving and sharing pictures was mainly women's work; especially for the working-class participants, with their circulation of images within the family being a form of kin work. This was also found by other researchers (Dermott & Seymour, 2011; Leonardo, 1987; Rose, 2010). Working-class men took more photographs than middle-class men, relative to their partners, but,

although they valued pictures of themselves with their children, they did not preserve photographs separately from the overloaded storage space on their phones. Third, displaying family also meant displaying social status; for middle-class participants this meant displaying photographs of foreign holidays and expensive celebrations, which I discuss in Section 3, while working-class participants saw their ownership and use of smartphones, as well as the family practices depicted in their pictures, as evidence of their social mobility. Fourth, related to sharing photographs, although family photography was clearly important to all the participants, as a family practice it varied between classes in another way. Working-class men and women took their own pictures and seemed to keep their photographs separately on their own phones, partly because they were limited in how far they could display photographs in the home, making it appear that they took and shared their photographs as individuals. For many of the middle-class participants, however, family photography was more of a shared activity; they enjoyed viewing pictures of the whole family on holiday together. For instance, Elias and Blanca chose pictures and created their printed albums together as well as hanging their pictures in the home (Figure 7.6).

In the next section I explore what participants valued about particular kinds of family pictures and the emotions these pictures evoked for them.

3. The meanings of family photographs

In the context of this overview of family photographic practices, we also need to consider what the participants' photographs told us about what was important to them about family. Photographs pictured things they valued, showing family practices and their own roles in their families; for instance, how their family met their ideals, or their own contributions to their family. Since I asked participants to show me a photograph

at the end of each interview, they often consciously chose photographs that illustrated something that they had already discussed with me.

In telling me why they chose a particular photograph, the participants' explanations of its significance for them usually had three components. These were, firstly, the family practice depicted in the photograph, along with the participants' contribution to their family that made this picture particularly significant for them. Secondly, the temporality of the photographs which participants often mentioned explicitly, such as saying that a picture showed the 'first time' something happened in their family. Participants' location of their photographs within the passage of time mirrored the often-remarked association between photography and temporality (Rose, 2010, p. 14). Thirdly, photographs evoked emotions for participants. While feelings were central to the subjective meaning of family photographs to the participants, I have separated this into a separate section in my analysis to show just how pronounced each of these three elements are.

In this section, I identify six distinct themes (Subsections 3.1 to 3.6) that emerged when participants talked about the photographs that were most significant to them. Talking about the images led them to reflect on the family practices they valued, shown in their photograph, and the roles that they themselves played in their families. Usually, they described the people in the photograph as those who they counted as family and described what they were doing in the photograph as, in effect, 'doing family'. They also highlighted how a picture fit into the passage of time, its temporality, and the emotions it evoked.

3.1 Togetherness

Most of my participants said their pictures represented what they called '*being together*' [*estamos juntos*] or '*all together*' [*todos juntos*], doing family things together, such as having dinner out or celebrating Christmas, New Year, and birthdays. They explicitly said that the photographs showed that they were in the presence of the people and animals that were important for them as family. For instance, Vicente (Figure 7.4) showed me a picture of his wedding at which he and his wife and children danced in front of their guests. They married in their forties, with three children aged six and over. (This was in line with the relatively late age of marriage in Chile nowadays Chapter 1). As Vicente said, 'we are together and dance together'. This photograph showed them displaying family to their friends and kin.

Figure 7.4 Togetherness at a wedding

The photograph shows, from left to right, Demetrio, eldest son of Vicente and Clara; Vicente's wife, Clara; Juan, youngest son of Vicente and Clara; Vicente, middle-class participant; and Sonia, Vicente and Clara's daughter. They are dancing at their wedding in front of their 200 guests. Photograph provided by Vicente and was taken by professional photographer. The picture is kept on Vicente's Facebook.

'Togetherness' was valued by all social classes, genders and sexualities in my sample but took different forms: sometimes it referred to the nuclear family, and at other times it referred to the family of origin, or other family members and friends, and sometimes to the couple and their animals. Pictures of family togetherness showed families at home or in public places. Enjoying being together at home was more often represented by working-class than middle-class participants and this might be because working-class participants did not have the money or time for holidays or going out, and, therefore, their celebrations were more likely to be at home (Chapter 5). For instance, Adrian showed a picture (Figure 7.5) of Christmas which showed, he said, that 'we are all together and enjoying it'. The picture, taken by his partner Joaquin, showed Adrian with his family of origin.

Adrian worked away from Santiago, usually in shifts comprised of 20 days away and 10 days at home in Santiago where he lived with his partner in a same-sex partnership. This picture was important to him because usually he was not there at Christmas[49], New Year, or other family occasions because of his work. His mother and father work long hours, she was an *empleada* and he was a builder, and sometimes they worked on Christmas day so the opportunity for them all to celebrate together was rare. Indeed, he said that 'it was a gift for his mother to have all the family together, and you can see her happiness [on her face]'.

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[49] Christmas in Chile falls during the summer and people have only one day off, 25th December. Christmas is celebrated on the evening of the 24th December and people return to work on 26th December.

Figure 7.5 Togetherness at Christmas

The photograph shows, from left to right, Adrian, working-class participant; his two older brothers, Camilo and Jorge; his father, Luis; his mother, Cecilia; and his youngest brother, Pablo. They embrace in a group hug as they pose for a photograph on Christmas Eve at his mother's home. The photograph, provided by Adrian, was taken by his partner and is kept on Adrian's Facebook.

Furthermore, some participants, primarily those who lived on their own, showed me a picture of their family of origin at a family gathering, including their parents and sometimes their grandparents (similar to Figure 7.5). They used their photographs to exemplify the strength of family ties, and the important role their extended family played in their personal lives.

3.2 Ideal families

Some of the participants chose a picture which, they said, showed how their family exemplify their ideal family. But the families shown varied radically, with some participants celebrating their formation of a conventional, heterosexually based family and others a more inclusive family, including their animals and friends.

For instance, Elias and Blanca (Figure 7.6) showed me a picture of which Elias said, 'This is the first holiday that the four of us took together [as a family]'. The viewer can see from this picture, taken on Easter Island, that they form a heterosexual

partnership with her children from Blanca's previous marriage. This picture shows their happiness at being established as a 'proper family'. Elias said that the picture showed them, for the first time, 'like a new family, before living together. We are doing family things [...] This is our family, this is us.' Research on stepfamilies also showed that holidays were important because they represented a time for celebration and reaffirmation of family belonging (Whiteside, 2004). Elias was interpreting this first holiday as a form of belonging because it was the first time that he travelled as the children's stepfather and as part of a family.

Figure 7.6 Elias and Blanca's ideal family

The photograph shows from left to right, Alonso, Blanca's son; Blanca, middle-class participant; Marta, Blanca's daughter; and Elias, Blanca's partner and middle-class participant in his own right. They are on holiday on Easter Island, Chile. Photograph provided by Blanca and Elias. It is displayed in a frame at home and was taken by Elias's camera on a tripod. Elias sent me the digital picture by e-mail.

Not only heterosexual couples talked about their ideal family. For instance, Eliana showed me a picture (Figure 7.7) of which she said, 'this is my family and my life'. She was a lesbian and her picture showed 'the women in my life': her partner Rebeca

and their three pets, in their bedroom. This suggested that different people held different ideas about what an ideal family is.

Figure 7.7 A beautiful morning

The photograph shows, from left to right, Titi, Eliana and Rebeca's dog; Perlita, Rebeca's dog, Rebeca, middle-class participant and Eliana's partner and Pilo Eliana and Rebeca's cat is in the foreground. They are resting in bed on a weekend morning at home. Photograph provided and taken by Eliana and is kept on her smartphone.

The inclusion of pets in this and in others' pictures illustrated the attachment that participants had to them, and the role that animals played in emotionally supporting my participants. In the lives of lesbian families, the inclusion of pets into their family implied their creativity in making a distinctive family life which challenged gendered normative assumptions about family.

Making animals visible in a picture made them family. For instance, Hugo, a working-class father, chose a picture in which his child was holding her dog, Freddy, and said, 'he [the dog] is very close to my daughter' (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8 Emotional support

The photograph depicts Hugo's daughter and her dog, Freddy, taken by Hugo while he, his wife and daughter were watching a Copa America football match. Photograph provided by Hugo and is kept on his smartphone.

Participants who chose pictures with their animals highlighted the physical closeness that they shared by holding them and showing their affection. For instance, Hugo was grateful for how their dog, Freddy, supported their daughter when she was recovering from surgery, and this was a crucial reason, he said, that he was like 'a member of the family'. He said that since Freddy's crucial role in his daughter's recovery he included him in the family budget as if he were 'another child'. This demonstrated that the emotional support that animals provided to my participants made them family, and thus portraying them in family photographs reinforced their significance in the lives of my participants.

An ideal family can also include friends, although this was rare. Baltasar (Figure 7.9) showed what he meant by his 'chosen family' [*familia que escogi*] who were 'my partner and friends'. His picture of his chosen family showed the first time that he

met his partner and symbolised the emotional support that his friends provided. He

stressed that his friends were fundamental in the making of their love relationship and

he felt free to share with them his personal life.

Figure 7.9 The chosen family

The photo depicts, from left to right, Baltasar, working-class participant; his friend; his partner, and three other friends in a running event at the weekend. Photograph taken by Baltasar using the selfie function in his smartphone. The picture is kept on his Facebook page.

3.3 *Chilenidad* [being Chilean]

Some participants showed a picture which they thought connected their family with their country, a form of patriotism or sense of being Chilean. These pictures conveyed a sense of belonging to the family and to something wider at the same time; they indicated a willingness to participate in 'the family' as a Chilean institution (a different emphasis from the focus on intrafamilial relations in Subsection 3.4). This meant that participants chose a picture in which they felt Chilean or that portrayed Chilean symbols.

Seven participants chose pictures in which some aspects of C*hilenidad* were portrayed, such as the Chilean flag, wearing clothes with the Chilean flag, wearing the traditional Chilean costume[50], which either consisted of a female dress called *huasa-china* or a male hat called *chupalla*. Usually, participants were portrayed doing 'Chilean things' on Chile's National Day and they felt 'Chilean' by dancing [*cueca]*[51], or because they were representing their country abroad (see also Figure 7.11). Four out of the seven participants who expressed the feeling of national pride were middle-class women, one was a middle-class man, and two were working-class men. All of them were heterosexual. For instance, Asuncion, a middle-class woman cohabiting with Felipe and their son aged one (Figure 7.10), said:

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[50] These non-indigenous traditional clothes are usually worn for dancing or relaxing on National Independence Day, 18th September. This is an expression by Chilean people who belong to Spanish ancestors, were born in Chile, and who started the process of Independence in 1810. This captures a nation-state which includes some aspects of colonization and excludes aspects of previous indigenous people who lived before the Chilean state.

[51] This is a non-indigenous dance, which became nationalised in the 19th century as part of the creation of Chile as a nation-state. The dance involves a heterosexual couple dancing to folklore music from rural areas. During the dictatorship, women whose male relatives disappeared due to the authoritarian regime of Pinochet danced *cueca* alone with a photo of their relatives. Nowadays, urban *cueca* or *cueca chora* is danced as a form of re-signified marginalised communities from urban areas, and contests homogeneous national identity (Carreño, 2010).

On *18 de Septiembre*, I dressed up my baby as a *huasito*, with a

chupalla and a *ponchito* [poncho]. My partner doesn't like this

thing. But he barbecued and felt really happy that our son was a

[proper] *huasito*[52]. I feel proud of my family.

(Asuncion, cohabiting, 32, surgeon, middle class)

It seemed that Asuncion's feeling of pride in her family was reinforced by ideas of what a Chilean family should be doing and how it should behave for certain occasions. Depicting themselves with what they believed were symbols of *Chilenidad*, the family embraced their feeling of family life. Indeed, Asuncion's account mentioned that her partner disliked the appurtenances associated with the national holiday, but he agreed that 'doing' a Chilean thing, barbecuing with his son and partner dressed in Chilean clothes, enhanced the value of family life. Through this example, it seemed that there were some national ideas of what a proper family was and through a photograph like this (Figure 7.10), my participants met these expected norms and felt that they were family.

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[52] An inhabitant of Latin America of European descent, especially of Spanish descent. It was a colonial idea of the social stratification of Chilean society in the 18th century. This was a racial idea of being white, Catholic and non-indigenous.

Figure 7.10 Family national pride

Asuncion's Chilean Independence Day and barbecuing. The photograph portrays Asuncion's son, Diego (aged one), dressed up as a *huaso* with Chilean *chupalla* and *poncho* for the family gathering in Asuncion's mother's home, and Asuncion, and her partner, Felipe. Photograph provided by Asuncion, was taken by her mother and is kept on Asuncion's smartphone.

Almost all the participants who chose these kinds of pictures to show me were women whose families conformed to an idea of 'the family' as an institution which gave them the sense of being a proper family. This meant that they shared some cultural

commonalities, social practices and values of what the Chilean 'family' meant to them, and their family photographs displayed cultural ideals of normal, proper and good families (Heaphy, 2011, p. 30).

3.4 Quality of intra-family relationships

Whereas participants such as Asuncion expressed pride in how their family belonged to a wider institutional order, others used their chosen picture to illustrate the quality of particular family *relationships*, including those between mothers and child/ren, fathers and child/ren, the couple's relationship and grandparents and grandchild/ren.

Some middle- and working-class mothers used their picture to illustrate their success and pleasure in good mothering. Usually, the pictures showed the mother and child spending time together supporting a child's interests or hobbies through which mothers sought to build a close relationship. For instance, Clara (Figure 7.11) showed me a picture of her daughter and herself doing acrobatics, her daughter's main interest. The picture was taken on a trip abroad with her daughter's team and other parents. Clara said that 'we were practising for over a year together and my daughter taught me how to do gymnastics'. Clara implied the significance of her relationship with her daughter and the one-on-one relationship that she hoped will outlive her daughter's childhood. Mothers used pictures to show aspects of their relationships with their children, primarily doing things together that were important to the children.

Figure 7.11 Middle-class mothering

The photograph shows, at the right bottom, Clara, participant; with her daughter, Sonia sat on the floor in front of her. The children's acrobatic team, along with other parents, were making a presentation in Finland, representing Chile abroad. Photograph taken by professional staff from the Chilean team and provided by Clara. The picture is kept with privacy on her Facebook.

Mothering in both social classes was likely to be represented by images of mothers spending time with their children and sharing their children's lives, but working-class mothers also used their picture to exemplify something important to themselves as working mothers: that they were able to provide wellbeing and enjoyment to their children. For instance, Rita (Figure 7.12) brought a picture of when she had taken her children on holiday to the beach. She said, 'this moment is very important for me' because it was the first time, she had been able to save enough money to take the children on holiday. This picture showed their 'relaxing' mood, and despite not wearing swimming costumes, they looked like they were enjoying being there. Usually, working-class mothers made remarks about seeking to make their family moments about things that their children enjoyed. Rita was particularly pleased with the holiday because it was the first time that her daughter had been to the beach.

Figure 7.12 Working-class mothering

The photo shows, from left to right, Rita, Rene (Rita's son), and Aurita (Rita's daughter). They are sitting on the sand on San Antonio's Beach during three days' holiday at the seaside. Photograph taken by Rita using the selfie function on her smartphone. The picture is kept on her phone.

In contrast, while fathers' pictures also showed them doing things with their children, the pictures tended to show activities that were important for them as fathers. For instance, Nicolas (Figure 7.13) showed me a picture of the first time that he went on holiday abroad with his son and he also took his parents and sister on the trip. We can see from this picture, Nicolas laughing with his son in the jaws of the *Jaws* (1975) film set at Disneyland. Usually, middle-class fathers used pictures to illustrate being able to share a personal 'dream' or 'wish' with their child or children, that for different reasons they had not been able to fulfil previously. Nicolas, for instance, said that he had wanted to visit Disneyland as a child. This wish fulfilment suggested that the photograph acted as an illustration of the father-child relationship in which middle-class fathers in my sample were more likely to enjoy time with their children by including their children in their personal interests.

Figure 7.13 Middle-class fathering

The photograph shows, from left to right, Nicolas's son, Mateo, and Nicolas, at Universal Studios, Orlando in the US. Photograph provided by Nicolas and was taken by his mother. The picture is displayed in a frame at home.

For other working-class fathers their pictures showed that they shared good times with their children in another way; they wanted to demonstrate that they could be with their children because they were able to be 'present' [*presente*] at family occasions or important events of their wider kin network. For instance, Ivan (Figure 7.14) showed me a picture of himself with his daughters at his cousin's wedding. He told me, 'this picture is priceless because I'm with my daughters at a family event. Before, I wasn't present. I was always working'. Previously he did not have time to be with his children and this photo showed him having time to spend with them (see also Figure 7.18). The family photographs of working-class men showed me and made it possible for them to talk about the centrality of their affection for their children as part of their family role, and to go beyond the emphasis on being the family breadwinner that dominated many of the interviews with working-class men.

Middle-class fathers were more likely than working-class fathers to show pictures of themselves playing with their children, especially on a family holiday abroad. This reflected the much greater resources of the middle-class families in my sample, in terms of time and money, to these family moments possible. Whereas working-class fathers were likely to illustrate their involvement in their child's life through participating in family events at or near their own homes.

Figure 7.14 Working-class fathering

The photograph shows, from left to right, Teresa, Ivan's younger daughter, Ivan; and Ema, Ivan's elder daughter. They are at his cousin's wedding in Santiago. Photograph provided by Ivan and was taken by his wife. The picture is kept on his mobile phone and keyring.

Several participants chose a picture to represent their couple relationship, but these could be very different. For instance, Isidora (Figure 7.15) showed me a picture of herself and her husband taken near a Venice canal during their honeymoon, whereas Celeste and Violeta (Figure 7.16) showed an intimate picture of them in their bedroom. The two pictures depicted the texture of the couple relationship differently, even if this was not intentional. Isidora's picture was of the couple in public, as tourists, and although they were holding hands it showed little intimacy. However, Celeste and Violeta's picture was intimate and loving, and showed them happily nested in their private world with their cat. It seemed significant that almost all the pictures the lesbian couples showed me were taken at home, in intimate situations, not in public, whereas none of the photographs of heterosexual participants showed this much intimacy. This suggested that displaying family life was a claim to recognition that was not 'wholly separate from conceptions of "proper" families which, in turn are closely connected to conceptions of morally and socially "good" families' (Heaphy, 2011, p. 31). However, these forms of inclusion and exclusion might be resisted by my lesbian couples because by displaying themselves and representing their family life so intimately they challenged those politics and made their family life visible. This couple's willingness to show intimacy and love in their photographs paralleled the lesbian participants' defining family in terms of the emotion of love (Chapter 4), the only participants to do so.

Figure 7.15 Honeymoon

The photograph shows, from left to right, Isidora, middle-class participant, and her husband, Juvenal. They are on their honeymoon in Venice, Italy. Photograph provided by Isidora and was taken by an unknown person. This photograph is displayed in a frame at home.

Figure 7.16 Loving
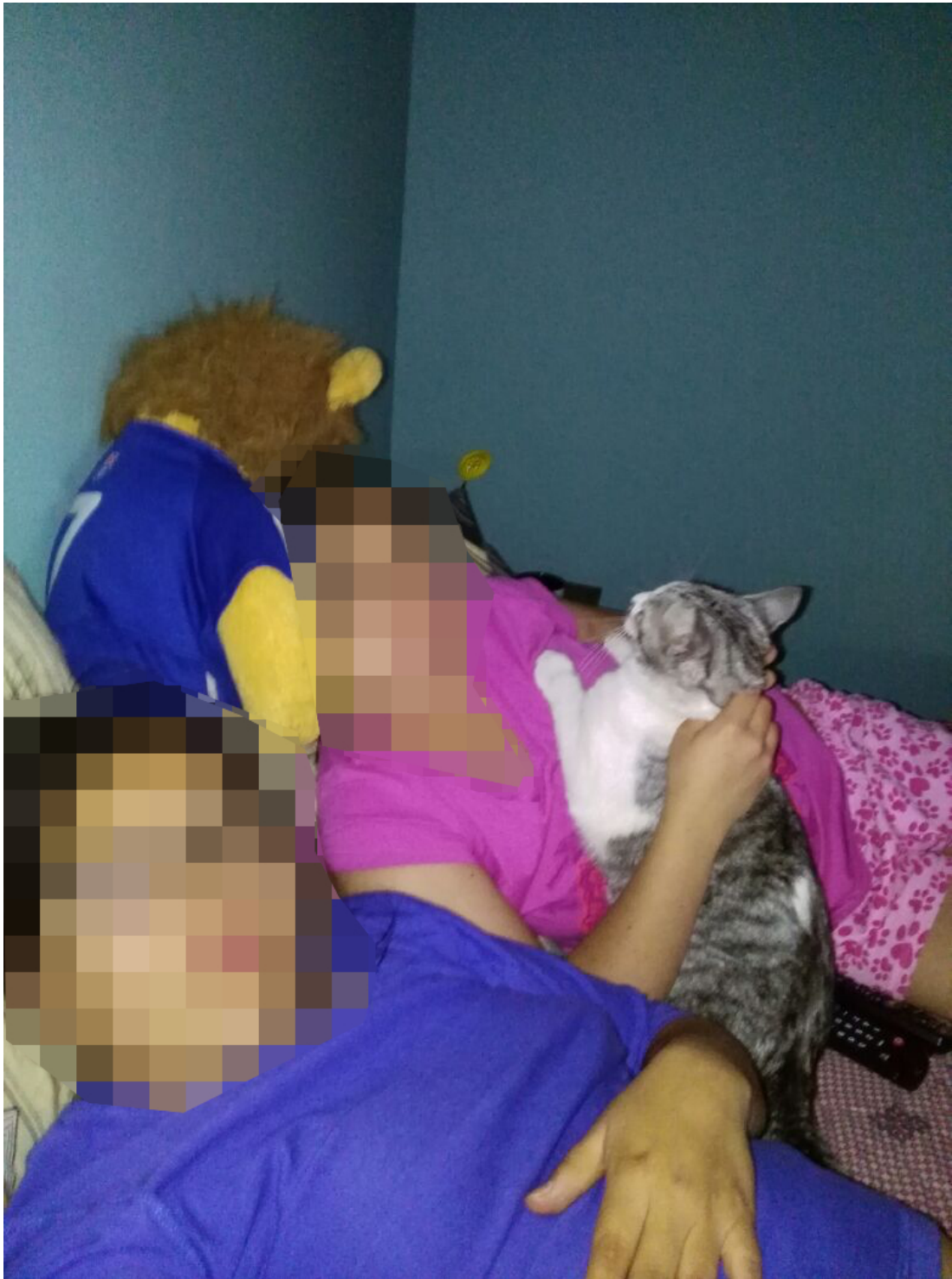
The photograph shows, from left to right, Celeste and Violeta, the couple and their cat, Pequeñito. They are lying on their bed in their room on a weekend morning. Photograph provided and taken by Celeste using the selfie function on her smartphone. The picture is kept on her phone.

Figure 7.17 Extended family relations

The photograph shows, from left to right, Victor, Jose's uncle; two of Jose's female cousins; Rosario, his grandmother; and Roberto, his grandfather. Jose is standing behind his grandfather and next to him is his male cousin, Claudio, then two of Jose's aunts and then Micaela, the girlfriend of his male cousin. They are having a lunch to celebrate his grandfather's birthday and his recovery from surgery. Photograph provided by Jose, taken by an uncle and is kept on his smartphone.

Some participants from both classes, primarily those who lived on their own, showed me a picture of their extended family, including their parents and grandparents. They used their photographs to exemplify the strength of family ties, and how their extended family was crucial in their personal lives; illustrating family connections through different generations. Usually, these pictures showed grandparents (and other members of their family of origin) at a family gathering. For instance, Jose (Figure 7.17), a single, working-class participant, showed me a picture with his grandparents and other relatives on his grandfather's birthday. In the picture his grandparents were at the far end of the table and Jose behind his father. All these photographs were mostly taken at extended family gatherings to celebrate the lives of their parents and grandparents. My participants said that for them such occasions were sometimes experienced as a form of farewell to a family member. The photograph helped them to capture the presence of grandparents and parents who were old and would not be around for ever, and, therefore, they were conscious of preserving their memories of

them. My participants appreciated these pictures especially because their grandparents often looked after them as children, and, in the case of a few working-class participants, raised them. Celebrating with their elders was a way of thanking them.

3.5 The temporality of the photograph

The relation between family photography and temporality was often implicit, as in the many allusions participants made about the importance of family photographs to memory making. But often participants connected the photograph and temporality more overtly. Although in telling me about their photographs participants referred to the occasion when they were taken (usually a holiday, birthday, wedding or birth), often the significance of the timing of the photograph was how it fitted within their family's history. For example, they most frequently mentioned that that the photograph showed 'the first time' that something happened to them as a family. Fourteen out of 45 participants mentioned this as the reason why a photograph was especially significant.

Usually, when middle-class participants emphasised that a photograph represented a first time, it was with reference to a holiday [*vacaciones*], as in Blanca and Elias's picture (Figure 7.6). For them their picture was important because it showed the 'first time' they and their children had taken a holiday together, an important step in becoming and doing family. But the middle-class family holiday had other meanings too, as expensive holidays also displayed the family's status (Section 3, Chapter 5). One example was when Isidora said that 'this picture is from our honeymoon and first holiday abroad'. It was not coincidental that all the significant photographs chosen by middle-class participants were either of them on foreign holidays or taking part in expensive, even glamorous, family events such as a wedding (Figure 7.4). This

suggested that part of what made a middle-class family photograph distinctive was the access to resources it demonstrates.

Working-class participants who showed me pictures of 'the first time' something happened showed much more modest events, but these were especially important to them because they did not have many photographs from the past. The working-class participants' pictures of 'the first time' included not only holidays, but also other events such as birthday celebrations and weddings. Working-class participants usually mentioned the first time that they were able to do something *for* the family that in the past had not been possible. Overall, eight working-class women and six men reported this. For instance, Ursula mentioned that 'my mother never had a birthday celebration, this was the first proper birthday in her life with her sisters, granddaughters, balloons and a cake,' and a father, Ivan, mentioned that 'this is the first picture of me with my children'.

For working-class participants the temporal dimension of the photograph also included a mention of their rare opportunities to be together, for instance, to celebrate holidays (Figure 7.12). Another example was of working-class women talking about the first time they could pay for something, such as Rita (Figure 7.12) mentioned earlier. Rita's picture showed the first time she had been able to take them on holiday. 'This moment is very important for me because I had saved a lot of money', she said. Her photograph thus displayed her role in family life – how she made family life possible by earning money which was linked to a sense of pride.

For Sara and Salvador, a working-class couple, the pictures from the birth of their son, Manuel, signified an obviously special time (Figure 7.18):

Sara: This was the most beautiful moment in my life. The [first]

time that I heard my son, smelt him, he was looking for me. He

was calm when he was next to me.

Salvador: I was anxious [and excited] to see him for the first time,

it's like a dream. This photo is like I can see myself in that

moment, it's really beautiful.

(Sara and Salvador, cohabiting, 24 and 25, healthcare assistant,

mining operator, working class)

The picture depicted a crucial moment for them as family and the emotions that they told me were felt at the time. This moment was also significant because since Salvador worked shifts away from home they had been worried whether they as parents would be able to be together for the birth of their son. Thus, this photograph reinforced that they have been able to experience childbirth as a family, with both of them there to share the birth of their child. This was not dissimilar to Adrian (Figure 7.4) who emphasised how rare it was for his whole family to be able to be together at Christmas, since one or the other were usually required to be at work. In other words, pictures were not only located in time, as a special event, but the participants' telling also showed something about the time constraints in their lives.

Figure 7.18 The birth of a child

The photograph shows Salvador and Sara just after the birth of Manuel, their son. They are in the neonatal unit of a hospital with medical professionals. Photograph provided by Sara and was taken by the midwife, who is friend of Sara's. The picture is kept on her smartphone.

3.6 Emotions

Participants' discussions of their significant photograph (and the other images revealed to me) almost always evoked emotions. Some participants laughed, others became tearful, others told a story about how they had responded to showing the picture to someone else. Photographs were a particular kind of object that conveyed emotions as well as meanings (Sandbye, 2014). Although participants often did not name the emotions a picture evoked, there were three emotions mentioned explicitly as the reason for choosing their particular, significant family photograph. In order of frequency, these were *orgullo* [pride], *felicidad* [happiness] and *nostalgia*.

Seven participants mentioned pride, and this involved more women than men. For men and women, it referred to being proud that they had been able to pay for something for

their families. For instance, Nicolas, a middle-class man, was proud to be able to take his son to Disneyworld (Figure 7.13) and Rita, a working-class woman, was proud to have saved enough money to take her children on a three-day trip to the beach (Figure 7.12). Middle-class women mentioned that 'I chose this picture because I'm proud that we do things as a family like dancing together', whereas the middle-class men who said that their chosen picture embodied pride reported that 'I feel proud to have a family' or 'My family is my pride'. These comments were always in relation to the photographs that participants chose and the family moments that were recorded and displayed in the picture. Their feelings of pride might reflect the status men gained when they 'had' a proper family life, i.e. were able to support their families. In contrast women's more routine labour of building family life (providing care and time) were rarely the direct focus of a photograph (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6). Sometimes, though, the creation and maintenance of a family felt like an achievement. For instance, Rebeca, a middle-class lesbian woman in partnership with Eliana, described her feelings about her family photograph, as follows (also see Figure 7.7, above):

> I never thought that I could live with the woman whom I love. I
> feel proud of myself because I'm with her. I achieved this in my
> life. This photo means that we did it together.
>
> (Rebeca, same-sex partnership, entrepreneur, 32, middle class)

Whilst pride for some heterosexual middle-class participants was reflected in a pictorial representation of proper family life linked to national pride (Figure 7.10), for Rebeca family life meant 'picturing themselves' as a lesbian couple who were able to do family. This meant that the creation of family was an achievement which they were proud of, and which they wanted to display. Lesbian participants

mentioned how they never thought they would be able to live together as a family, although my gay male participants did not mention this. These pictures were a visual representation of the possibilities of making a lesbian family in everyday life (see Figures 7.7 and 7.16).

Another emotion five women participants mentioned, most of them working class, was happiness. The two middle-class participants who explicitly mentioned happiness referred to the happiness of the people pictured in the photograph at the time it was taken, for instance while on holiday; whereas the working-class participants, all women in this case, talked about the happiness that seeing the photograph, talking about it, and showing it to others gave them. Working-class women mentioned that 'I feel happy, to have a photo like that' or 'I feel happy to see it, I wanted to have a photo like that' (see Figure 7.12), suggesting that their happiness was closely connected to feelings of pride.

For instance, Ursula, a working-class woman, chose a picture taken at her twin daughters' graduation (Figure 7.19):

Figure 7.19 Family milestone

The picture depicts Ursula's daughters' graduation at school. The photograph shows, from left to right, her brother-in-law, Felipe; husband, Javier; her twin daughters, Camila and Javiera; Ursula herself (wearing a white blouse); her mother, Rosa. Her niece, Francisca and her niece's son, Matias (top of head) are in the centre foreground of the picture. Photograph provided by Ursula and was taken by her brother-in-law using the selfie function on his smartphone. The picture is kept on her phone.

> This picture makes me feel happy, proud. My children finished
>
> school, they achieved it. You see me smile but it isn't every day.
>
> My mum used to cook and bring them meals to school [...] I
>
> invited my brother, but he couldn't come […] He says, "Thanks to
>
> my sister, I finished school, we have food". He's grateful.
>
> (Ursula, married, small entrepreneur, 38, working class)

Though her words and photograph, Ursula expressed pride in her daughters' achievements, but also happiness because the picture, as well as the event it records, accorded her with recognition for her contribution to family life, her involvement in the lives of her children and her brother, along with recognition of her own mother's

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contribution to keeping the girls at school. It seems that they felt that these pictures accorded a form of recognition of the difficulties faced in everyday life and how far they have overcome them. Indeed, Ursula made explicit that her 'smile' in the picture (i.e. her happiness) is not a frequent occurrence, as her life as mother, and as a woman supporting her family financially, was challenging (see Chapters 5 and 6). Her picture included members of her extended family, and for her represented their relationships.

Usually, women, from both social classes, when talking about their photographs, talked about family members, how they related to each other, and how they have learned from or have supported each other, and thus their photographs represented their connected lives. While telling me the names of the people in the picture, for example, Ursula mentioned 'my mother, the only one who respects my decisions'. Furthermore, women's accounts of an image typically include people who were not in the picture, because they felt that those people played an important role in their lives, as Ursula did by talking about her brother. By talking about their pictures these women illuminated the role of those family members in their lives and identities. As Rose (2010, p.46) proposed, the family photographs my participants shared helped to foster wider family and personal relationships, outside the nuclear family, picturing significant loved ones, including people who were not in the photograph, but also all the practices that were involved in maintaining those relationships.

The last emotion identified was *nostalgia* which three men and one woman explicitly mentioned. Nostalgia usually meant thinking that the past was better than the present and longing for things to be like that again. For instance, Jaime, a middle-class man showed me a picture from his childhood of him with his mother, who had since passed away. He said, 'I used to cry, but now I feel nostalgia when I see this photo, I miss my

mum and the [our] time together,' and another man, Abelardo, mentioned, 'I feel nostalgia when I see this picture because I would like to be there [on holidays together] with my family all the time'. However, note that nostalgia can also be rejected. The only woman who mentioned nostalgia was Amanda, a divorced middle-class mother who showed me a picture of herself, her former partner and their children. She said, '[Looking at this picture] I used to feel nostalgia, for the home and the meanings of it, but now I see it, I don't feel it. I'm happy for us, my boy and me'. Compared to the men who felt nostalgia in the form of longing for the past, for this woman the photograph reassured her that the decision to separate was the right one. The photograph reinforced her identity and new family life because of the absence of nostalgia and this accorded with the meaning of family for her because she did not count the father of her son as family any longer (Section 2, Chapter 4).

4. Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown, in answer to my research question, that my participants saw family photography as an important family practice in creating and maintaining a sense of themselves as family. Their pictures, and the ways they talked about their meaning, suggested that the meaning of 'family' varied, with those living in heterosexual couples, with their children, invariably choosing this as their significant family picture. However, overall, there was much diversity, with pictures ranging from Christmas celebrations with families of origin to intimate pictures of a couple lying in bed with their animals.

Moreover, all the participants were keenly aware of what they saw as the importance of memory making for a family's sense of family and maintaining this over time. The family events their pictures recorded were often milestones in time, such as a wedding

or children's graduation, or remembered as a special moment in time, such as the 'first time' something happened. Indeed, the content of the pictures, the occasions pictured, showed us which family practices were seen as significant for family history and, indirectly, which were taken for granted and rarely photographed. Although the content of family photographs might partly reflect family photography conventions (Rose, 2010) none the less participants explained and responded to their significant family photographs by drawing on their experiences of their own family life.

Social class clearly enhanced or limited families' capacity to display family. Family photography enabled my participants to display their families in different ways, as usually middle-class participants had more ability to invest resources of time, money and space to show others where they were – primarily on holidays abroad or at luxurious family events. For the middle-class participants a photograph displaying family was also usually one displaying high social status.

Working-class participants' photographs often also displayed social status, although more modestly. In talking about a picture, working-class participants often mentioned that it showed something they could afford, such as a gift to a relative or paying for a birthday celebration. For them even the ability to take and display photographs indicated that their social status was higher than their parents', who had not had access to cameras. For working-class men and women, theirs was the first generation able to make a family story through photographs, and it was not something taken for granted by them as it was in middle-class families. Given their continuing difficulty affording printed pictures, it seemed that smartphones and electronic images have democratised family photography and made it much more possible for families to have for the first-time pictures of themselves to record family moments.

Gender clearly shaped the ways in which family photography was practised. This was most clearly seen in differences in the ways participants display or share photographs. For instance, the middle-class men publicised their successful family lives through the pictures they displayed on their desks at work. Working-class men did not display photographs of their families at work in the same way, but they took photographs at work which they shared with others and might carry photographs with them, such as on a key chain used at work. Middle-class women in contrast tended to see pictures of the family as personal and private, and kept their pictures in files on their smartphones. All this suggested that differences in how men and women displayed photographs mirrored differences between men and women in how they experienced work and home as separate spheres (Ribbens & Edwards, 2011).

Furthermore, a striking finding was that a way of challenging the heteronormative visual representation of family life was made possible by the intimate pictures chosen by the lesbian couples. This was significant because in previous chapters I have shown that they tried to make a more egalitarian family life, with the challenges and difficulties that this involved, and they were constantly engaging in ways to make their families more equal and supportive. In some way, their pictures were a claim for recognition of their families as valid. They did not need to depict something exceptional to display that they were a 'family' because how they lived their lives made them distinctive in relation with other families in the sample.

Photography was a family practice that conserved other family practices. An important part of this process was displaying family, portraying the 'proper family' and the 'ideal family' which meant preserving important family practices that participants valued. Photography was also relevant to mobilise the emotions involved in family life that

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could not be so easily grasped through interviews, at least in my sample. However, the emotions shown in and evoked by the photographs said much more about the feelings that family practices entailed.

In the next chapter I will conclude my thesis, by reflecting on my key findings, how I developed my theoretical framework and methodology and my contribution to the existing literature and family policy.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

1. Introduction

This thesis has analysed how far the heteronormative family in Chile is being challenged and the possibilities for building more egalitarian families. Looking, in particular, at family practices, it shows that the making of family is sustained by family practices in which gender inequality is deeply embedded, at least in heterosexually based households, although the form this takes varies between social classes. These findings emerged from a combination of: qualitative methodologies, taking a feminist approach to investigating gender relations in families, and adopting Morgan's (1996) framework of 'family practices' and Finch's (2007) concept of 'displaying family'.

I identified three kinds of family practices which emerged from participants' accounts. First, practices important in constituting participants' understandings of family – taking responsibility, offering support and coming together to celebrate the people and animals who were counted as family. Second, gendered divisions of labour and the allocation of resources, including men's better employment opportunities and their greater access to money and leisure time in comparison to women. Third, family photography as a practice that helped to preserve other family practices and to represent what participants valued in their family life.

I showed that family practices usually reproduce a heteronormative pattern of family life. This picture was partly influenced by the composition of my sample. Most of my participants lived in heterosexual partnerships with children, conformed to heteronormative expectations and engaged in family practices which reproduce gender inequalities. Indeed, gendered family practices were assumed, legitimated and

reproduced in a society which accepted inequalities between women and men within families. However, possibilities to disrupt, resist and challenge heteronormative family life also existed, primarily amongst gay men and lesbian participants, whose family practices took less gendered forms, and who therefore made (and imagined) family in a more egalitarian way.

As well as being gendered, family practices were classed and varied by sexual identity. Social class was critical in the formation of the gender division of labour, especially because middle-class families could afford to employ *empleadas* and middle-class women benefited from this as well as from middle-class men contributing to childcare. Middle-class families 'display family', along with their class status, with expensive holidays and restaurant meals. Working-class families valued opportunities to 'do family' but had fewer opportunities to display family in public and were concerned about maintaining respectability. Gay and lesbian families – especially lesbian families – of either class went much further than others to articulate change in their domestic divisions of labour. However, other family practices were similar across classes and different living arrangements. There were strong similarities in the social practices which people saw as defining family, although the notion of 'taking responsibility' was more associated with heteronormative families, and 'offering support' was associated with family forms that challenged heteronormativity in some way. The only family practice not clearly gendered was family photography which was more affected by class-based differences in resources than by gender.

In this chapter, firstly, I will reflect on my theoretical choices and the decisions I made in relation to my methodology that led to the above findings. In the next section, I will discuss what makes a family, and then emotional labour and work within families. I

will identify gaps in my analysis and the possibilities of doing things differently; discussing the contributions that my findings offer to family sociology in Chile, social policy relating to families and political change, and, additionally, how I might benefit from these reflections in future research plans. The final section reflects on the relevance of my findings for family policy. I then share my plan for future research and, finally, conclude this chapter and the thesis.

2. Theoretical choices

In this section I explain the theoretical choices I made around family practices, displaying family and the intersectional and feminist approach of my thesis.

2.1 Family practices and displaying family

I used the concepts of 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996) and 'displaying family' (Finch, 2007), developed within British family sociology, as the basis of my theoretical framework. Furthermore, I took inspiration from the feminist discussion of the division of labour in Britain to look at gender and power relations within families. The use of concepts developed in the Global North to analyse social processes in the Global South has been contested (Bhambra, 2021; Mohanty, 2003; Weeks, 2012) so it was important that I explored the implications of my use of these concepts to understand family life in Chile.

In Chapter 2, I discussed my theoretical choices in relation to the limited development of critical ideas in family sociology in Chile,[53] alongside my wish to explore diverse

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[53] Another important limitation in terms of sociology and doing research are the few PhD opportunities for sociology in Chile. There are only two PhD programmes in sociology in Chilean universities, and both are based at Catholic universities. Therefore, the possibility of doing research (teaching and learning) on families and diverse domestic arrangements is limited, an intersectional approach to family

domestic arrangements in depth and how people do family. Sociologists have argued that Chilean sociology has been massively influenced by quantitative research and a predominantly survey-methodological approach (Garretón, 2005). Moreover, the struggles of the past and trauma from dictatorship have allowed conservative approaches to dominate the field of family, health, sexuality and gender relations (Garretón, 1997; 2005). When democratic rule returned in the 1990s, sociologists, understandably, were more focused on the power of the state than the domestic lives of ordinary people, and therefore the field has been marked by sharp ideological divisions (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012; Güell, 2002).

The implications of this divide for family sociology in Chile means that, at the moment, sociology still operates with a model of 'the family' as a co-residential heterosexual couple raising dependent children. Chilean family sociology is a relatively small field, a fragmented one and, to some extent, lacks critical sociological interest in comparative research. Primarily, no particular systematic analytical concepts have been presented to reconceptualise the dominant notion of 'the family' (Ramos, 1998; Valenzuela, Tironi, & Scully, 2006). Yet three main positions on the family can be identified. Firstly, sociologists at Catholic universities mostly do quantitative research and focus on whether 'the family' continues to be an essential source of identity and stability (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012). Secondly, feminist scholars face theoretical issues because of the validation that feminism has given to the notion of 'the family' in political resistance against dictatorship; that is, almost all family research naturalises heterosexuality and same-sex desire is seen as an exception (Hiner, 2019; Vidaurrazaga, 2013). Thirdly, sociologists in governmental agencies do

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life which includes sexuality is very unlikely and research continues to be shaped by 'the family' as a dominant notion.

mostly quantitative research on 'nuclear family households' and 'single-parent households'; furthermore this research implies that a single-parent household is inevitably inferior to two-parent households (Ramm & Gideon, 2019; Valenzuela et al., 2006). Thus, in family sociology in Chile neither systematic nor conceptual alternatives to the traditional notion of 'the family' have been suggested; family sociology is mostly quantitative and operates with issues in an isolated and fragmented way. Therefore, as some sociologists and feminists have suggested, in Chile and elsewhere, we need to do collaborative work and find a way to incorporate new perspectives into the discipline for better understanding of social change connected to 'the family' (hooks, 2014; Garretón, 1997).

This context shaped my decision to choose sociological concepts that were developed by British sociologists and critical of 'the family', viz. 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996; 2011) and 'displaying family' (Finch, 2007). These can investigate family life beyond 'the family', and can draw on qualitative research, which, in Britain, has produced extensive knowledge, critical thought and empirical research (Edwards, 2008; Jamieson, Simpson, & Lewis, 2011; May, 2012). I recognise that my theoretical choices might seem to neglect a 'decolonial challenge' (Meghji, 2021) due to the inspiration of concepts developed in certain debates in Britain and applying them to explore the lives of people in Chile. Despite these theoretical frameworks being developed by British sociologists and not necessarily being thought for other national contexts, the way that I have expanded them has enabled these frameworks to be useful for exploring family life in Chile.

In my research I have developed and extended Morgan's concept of family practices. My thesis has shown that such practices are classed, gendered and vary by sexuality.

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Morgan's original concept did not see family practices in these terms. Some decolonial feminists and critical scholars have argued that concepts travel globally and have, usually, been adopted and situated differently with the 'traveller' to explain further social realities; this suggests that concepts are not necessarily bound to their origins (Dongchao, 2016; Meghji, 2021). At the same time, there are some concepts that rarely travel or are less likely to travel to certain parts of the world affecting how society is interpreted (Davis, 2007; Dongchao, 2016). In Chile, feminists have criticised the lack of possibilities to access other concepts that may more comprehensively explain society, leaving us with few resources to challenge traditional forms of knowledge and their practices (Estupiñan, 2021; Ramm & Gideon, 2019). In some way, Chilean sociology has been affected by the lack of alternative concepts for studying family life and its possible alternatives. Alternatively, many sociologists have overemphasised changes in family life (Chapter 1, Section 2). In contrast, my thesis has shown that participants' family practices are in line with normative expectations of family life, with some of them challenging normative family practices. I developed Morgan's concept differently, adapting and situating it to understand family life in Chile, which enabled me to challenge 'the family' in Chilean sociology and to explore participants' ideas of family (discussed below). Therefore, my theoretical choices opened up a more diverse sociology in both national contexts.

Some critical scholars have argued that decolonising sociology needs the creation of a global dialogue and collaboration across national boundaries, within academia and between sociologists, so that sociology supports social justice (Collins, 2007; Pearce, 2020; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; 2019). I believe that my thesis contributes to this global academic dialogue, by expanding research on family practices outside the Global North and by facilitating collaboration across national borders. My thesis offers an

opportunity for global solidarity, on work done by critical sociologists and feminists (hooks, 2014; Olufemi, 2020). This work challenges the dichotomy between the Global North/South through practising connected sociologies within diverse societies, and making visible their particularities and realities (Bhambra, 2014). This is important because families, close relationships and communities exist in all societies, although they vary in different national contexts (Jamieson, 2011; Weeks, 2007). For instance, my thesis has shown that 'families of choice' (Weeks, Heaphy, & Donovan, 2001) amongst gay and lesbians in Santiago de Chile exist in a similar way to that in Britain. This finding emerged because exploring family practices showed how gay men and lesbians create family life. Therefore, my research has shown room exists to forge connections within sociological thought. Doing sociology in connection with other sociologists creates a more critical and reflexive discipline, committed to learning from each other in global relations and challenging the idea that concepts have nationality or ethnicity (Bhambra, 2021). In turn, as some critical scholars have argued, doing research in collaboration with other social scientists might support sociological thought and make visible the lives of people who have been marginalised, and therefore, might help to create a discipline that supports social transformation (hooks, 2014; Olufemi, 2020; Weeks, 2012).

I chose to use 'family practices' because I wanted to conceptualise family life differently from how it is normally conceptualised by academics in Chile (discussed above and in Chapter 3). Morgan's concept enabled me to capture the things that people do daily to cement family relations. I also wanted to investigate diverse domestic arrangements, to understand all the family relationships in which people are enmeshed and widen the context and extend the language of family to understand what people think of as family. Furthermore, I expanded Morgan's concepts to include

Finch's (2007) concept of 'displaying family'. I was able to do this by investigating the production and display of family photographs and the role which family photography plays in 'doing family'.

Although I began with the concepts developed by Morgan (1996; 2011) and Finch (2007), I developed both concepts further as, like many feminists, I have included work, both paid and unpaid, as part of family life (Charles & Brown, 1981; Collins, 2002; Lyonette & Crompton, 2015; Young, Wolkowitz, & McCullagh, 1984). The original concepts were limited because they did not include work as a family practice, and therefore the ways in which the division of labour shaped family life were not necessarily investigated. I developed the concept of family practices to include domestic and paid work and expanded the concept of displaying family to explore how these forms of work are displayed within families. I expanded it because I wished to investigate the division of labour that characterises families and how work is interwoven and interconnected in family life. In the process of my data analysis, I conceptualised the way in which paid work enables family practices and how domestic labour makes families. I conceptualised family photography as a family practice and as a form of 'displaying family' because I wanted to investigate both the visual representation of families and how photographic practices contribute to making family life.

While deploying the concepts of Morgan and Finch, I was able to identify the everyday concepts used by participants when they saw themselves as going against normative expectations in some way. These emerged from participants' interviews and included: present father [*padre presente*], modern father [*padre moderno*], present mother [*madre presente*], modern woman [*mujer moderna*] and displaying respectability

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[*respeto*]. Some of my working-class male participants mentioned the idea of the present father [*padre presente*]. They referred to themselves in this way because they wanted to spend time with their children, to be more involved in childcare than what they saw as the limited chores that men usually did, and they experienced a conflict between their work and their wish to spend more time with their family. This revealed a very different picture from previous sociological research which usually conceptualised working-class men as absent from families (Montecinos, 2007; Olavarría, 2000). The concept of the modern woman [*mujer moderna*] was used by working-class women to refer to making their home easier and quicker to clean in order to continue to display respectability while, at the same time, going out to work. The idea of the modern father [*padre moderno*] was used by middle-class men who recognised *machistas* [chauvinist] family practices as a disadvantage and wanted to engage in family practices, such as looking after their children or doing a bit of cooking, to show their involvement in the lives of their children. Some middle-class women referred to themselves as a present mother [*madre presente*] meaning someone who valued her work, but whose maternal identity took precedence over her professional life. She managed the home with the help of an *empleada* and it was this that enabled her to do paid work. These terms are indications of change and of participants' reflexivity when talking about themselves and add complexity to our understanding of family life in Chile and how it is changing.

I also had political reasons for my theoretical choices which related to Chilean sociology and society. As my analysis has shown, heteronormative family life is highly valued in Chile. Using the concepts of 'family practices' [*practicas familiares*] and 'displaying family' [*demostrando familia*] I retained the term 'family' [*familia*], and therefore, I captured the lived experiences that this term pointed to. This rationale

enabled me to *unpack* 'the family' [*la familia*], explore what people think families are, open up their composition and analysis. On reflection, I recognise that family practices may hide some aspects of family life such as arguments and domestic violence. The concept focusses on what creates and sustains family rather than exploring conflict. If I had used the notion of intimacy, which I explored in the literature review (Chapter 2, Section 3), I would have been better able to investigate the emotional and conflictual aspects of family life. Therefore, my analytical and ethical dilemmas would have been different; I return to this point in Section 3.

2.2 Intersectional and feminist approach

My rationale for taking an intersectional approach on gender, class, and sexuality to investigate family practices in Santiago de Chile was shaped by the expectations of family sociology in Chile. As discussed above, Chilean family sociology lacks critical intersectional approaches which look at inequalities of gender, class, and sexuality together. Overall, family sociology in Chile is underpinned by concepts that imply heteronormativity, and therefore, same-sex desire and same-sex households are marginalised in social research (Hiner, 2019; Oyarzún, 2000, 2011). Most quantitative research in Chile has not taken into account how gender and class work together in family life, although in principle it could. From the outset, I wished to focus on understanding qualitatively the way in which class and gender shape families in Chile. On the one hand, whilst recently sociologies of work and class in Chile have been concerned with how 'the family' reproduces class inequalities, most of this work does not pay attention to gender relations (Mendez & Gayo, 2019; Torche & Wormald, 2004). On the other hand, most feminist work is concerned with gender issues within 'the family' – with the experience of heterosexual women – and therefore, class and

sexuality are marginalised in research. Therefore, my decision to look at how gender, class and sexuality intersected in the construction of family practices develops a direction for future research on family life, building the foundations for a broadening of sociological thought in Chile and offering a more reflexive perspective on family studies.

However, I recognise that race/ethnicity is also a key dimension of doing family and family identity; this was brought home to me during the course of my fieldwork. For instance, my analysis of family photographs demonstrated that some participants' family photographs connected family with nation, displaying a specific form of patriotism and Chilean identity (Chapter 7). They conveyed a sense of belonging to the family, and at the same time, indicated an understanding of 'the family' as a Chilean institution; a family which was heteronormative and included children. This meant that participants chose a picture which showed their family with Chilean symbols such as the Chilean flag and (national) *criollo* costumes. These pictures represented two elements for my participants: first, social practices and values which confirmed what they felt about being a proper family; second, the pictures implied a view of the family that belonged to a group of people that shared a common ethnicity and national identity (Collins, 1998; Heaphy, 2011). This meant that my findings were specific to a particular (and main) ethnic group in Chile, *mestizo* (Chapter 3, Section 7). However, *mestizo* family practices cannot be seen as representative of other racialised groups and ethnicities living in Chile, such as indigenous and Afro-descendant people.

In retrospect my research would have been more intersectional if I had included participants from indigenous backgrounds living in Santiago. However, in my research

design I did not think about this for several reasons. First, indigenous people are so marginalised that many sociologists do not think about their social situations in the context of family sociology, they usually are studied by anthropologists (Bengoa, 1996; Murray, Bowen, Verdugo, & Holtmannspötter, 2017; Murray & Cabaña, 2018). Second, many indigenous people live in the north (Aymara and Coya) and in the south (Mapuche and Yagan) of Chile, they do not inhabit specific indigenous communities in Santiago de Chile, and, therefore, they are difficult to identify. Third, my own position as part of the *mestizo* ethnic group (most of the Chilean population) shaped my research design. In line with the expectations characterising Chilean family sociology, my focus on gender, class and sexuality was already a challenge. However, if I could design my research again, I would definitely take ethnicity/race into account.

Overall, my theoretical choices were shaped by sociological inquiry in Chile and my wish to contribute to academic discussion in a specific context in which family sociology was fragmented. My thesis has expanded and developed the concepts of Morgan and Finch, through including work and family photography in the making of family, allowing me to explore everyday concepts that emerged from my data. My intersectional approach to gender, class and sexuality provides a foundation to look at how these identities shape families. My future research on family life will include all these dimensions as well as ethnicity and race.

3. Methodological decisions

In this section I reflect upon how my methodological choices shaped the generated data. I compare the different methods used in my thesis and what these enabled me to reveal. First, I look at my recruitment of participants and then at my use of interviews

and observations, especially as these observations relate to children, and family photography.

3.1 Recruitment

My methodological choices built upon my theoretical framework and were shaped to answer my research questions. I found that recruiting participants proved harder than I had expected, for different reasons (see Chapter 3), and therefore, my methodological decisions were affected by that. This meant that my decisions on what data to focus on, how I gathered it and the way in which I generated it was shaped by the purpose of my analysis, and at the same time by the difficulties of accessing potential participants.

My attempt to recruit participants showed that some forms of domestic arrangements are more visible than others, with some types of living arrangements either hidden or relatively rare, and this situation affected the possibilities of accessing a wider range of networks. For instance, recruiting working-class participants was harder than recruiting middle-class participants, gay and lesbian families were much more difficult to recruit than heterosexual couples, and men were harder to recruit than women. I was unable to recruit any working-class lone fathers or men living on their own; and the Parent and Teacher Association that I contacted refused to help me because I was researching same-sex partnerships and lone parents. However, I was able to find participants living in nuclear and extended family households, sharing accommodation with friends and a woman living with her dog. Therefore, I accessed more diverse domestic arrangements than imagined. In line with my recruitment, I believe that my choice to combine three qualitative techniques was successful in terms of gathering data and offered me different possibilities for analysis because I was able to capture

diverse dimensions of family life, despite recruitment being difficult. I examine each method below.

3.2 Interviews

I had always planned to encourage my participants to talk freely about different aspects of family life (see Appendix A). My interview questions were open-ended and designed to enable participants to talk. I anticipated that they would talk about the meaning of family, their everyday life, the division of labour and the story of their family of origin as well as their current situation. Many of my participants shared their stories on their own terms and articulated their ideas about all the themes I wanted to cover in the interview. For instance, some fathers made connections between their family story, including their childhood and relationships with their parents, and compared this with their current experiences as a parent. Some mothers made connections between their working life and their mothers' working experiences, talking about their family of origin, everyday life and division of labour. I made sure that they discussed all the themes by saying, for instance, 'you were telling me that your father did not do much cooking, so how was the household work divided up in your parents' house?' I used this as an opportunity to return to missed points and make sure that my participants could tell me more. Furthermore, this spontaneous form of talking enabled me to make a connection with my participants; they felt that I was paying attention to our free conversation, giving them a sense of confidence, and therefore usually women but also men talked about very personal things that raised important ethical dilemmas for me.

Interviews were an opportunity to reflect on the connections between the research questions and the researcher's positionality and experiences that affect how the data

is interpreted (Edwards & Ribbens, 1998; Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). Many sociologists have argued that how researchers analyse data is shaped by an emotional process and presents dilemmas that are not always easy to resolve (Bancroft, 2011; Holland, 2007; McLaughlin, 2003). Reflecting on my fieldwork and data analysis I realise that I found it difficult to deal emotionally with some of my participants' stories, and this shaped my analysis. Unexpectedly, working-class women used their interviews, which were often very long, as an opportunity to talk about very personal things like sexual harassment, rape, unplanned pregnancy, abortion and domestic violence. For instance, one participant told me that her eldest son was conceived by rape by a male relative when she was a teenager and no one in either her nuclear or extended family knew about this situation. Her parents kicked her out of the home upon finding out she was pregnant, leaving her very vulnerable. Her husband thought that her son was from a previous relationship and the man abandoned them. He has since adopted the child, and her son and his siblings do not know this history. My participant cried when telling me this and I held her hand. I felt deeply sad, questioning myself and my role as a feminist researcher because I had opened a window that I never expected.

I felt honoured by the confidence the women showed in me but also overwhelmed by their lives, which made me aware of the ethical implications of my work and how it may affect the lives of my female participants. Some of them mentioned to me that this was the first time that they had revealed to someone their inner secret. I struggled in my ability to process these revelations and my responsibility to keep their secrets. Some of my participants trusted me because I think they felt that I would not express judgement and they could unburden themselves to someone who would go away, without further contact (Bancroft, 2011). My choice was to protect my female

participants and I carefully chose the details of stories I shared within the thesis (see Chapters 3 and 4). Therefore, I did not try to make connections between family life and these personal stories; instead, I neglected these stories in the analysis due to concerns of confidentiality and the implications of revealing sensitive information. Like other family sociologists I faced ethical dilemmas on how to analyse sensitive data and tried to approach these as instances of 'ethics-in-context' (Jamieson et al., 2011, p. 11); my decisions were made in the context of the dignity of and respect for my participants and my responsibility to them.

My interviews with men were sometimes difficult because of my feminist identity and role as a researcher. The stories of my female participants shaped my rapport with some heterosexual men and sometimes I needed to conduct 'emotional management' (Hochschild, 2012a, p. 203) to interview them. For instance, I had to suppress feelings of anger when listening to their misogynistic and *machistas* [chauvinist] comments; I had to control my indignation at their patriarchal way of referring to women and children; I had to hide my ire concerning their sexual and abusive behaviour at work; and sometimes I had to suppress my disgust at the belittling way that they related to me in order to let them talk as they wanted and feel at ease. But, on reflection, I was not interested in making more effort in developing better relations with some of my male participants because I wanted to minimise feelings that I found distressing (Holland, 2007; Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, & Kemmer, 2001; Lee, 1997; Smart, 1984). In the analysis I was transported back to those moments of interviewing male participants and the anger was still there but I understood that normative expectations also affected my male participants. Therefore, I faced contradictions between my unpleasant experiences and the feelings associated with this and analysing the issues men faced within families.

3.3 Observations

Observations were more difficult to analyse for reasons that, reflecting back, shaped the way in which I used and presented this data. First of all, interviews were the entry point for accessing participants' homes and while I explained that I would like to conduct observations, usually after the interviews some middle-class participants agreed, but other participants were a bit more reluctant to agree straightway, usually working-class. As I wanted to recruit as many participants as possible, I feared that talking about observations might put people off participating at all. I realised that some of them mentioned they were willing to help me, but also wanted to double-check first with their family members or wanted to agree on an alternative date. Also I did not have the resources to carry out observations fully (money and time were limited). I did not want to carry out observations only in middle-class households, they gave me more access than working-class participants to their households, and I was reluctant to carry out observations in heterosexual men's homes for reasons discussed above, although I interviewed two of them in their homes (Chapter 3, Section 5).

Some scholars have pointed out the difficulties associated with observational methods (Bryman, 2012; Edwards & Ribbens, 1998; Mason, 2002). I found it difficult to analyse observations because they were unique and individual to a specific household, plus unstructured and messy with a lot of notes of things happening at once. Furthermore, women were more likely to give me access to their homes than men. I realised that my interactions and observations in the home were quite gendered. Usually men were at work but a few of them were at home when I did my visits, so I could not usually gather much data from men or observe heterosexual partners' interactions. Female participants mediated my relationships with others in the

household, including *empleadas* and children. Despite all this, I was able to gather data and my observations amplified what people said in the interviews, enabling me to explore more fully family practices in the home.

3.4 Children and ethics

During my observations sometimes I interacted with children who, looking back, were mentioned relatively rarely in my analysis for ethical and personal reasons. I was presented to them by their mothers or sisters, and they knew that my focus was the adults in the household. Usually, I brought a little gift, and they were happy to chat with me about their lives, their parents, school, holidays, my work and the notes I was making. Reflecting back I felt like an auntie, and once like an au pair, and this role was quite unexpected to me (Bancroft, 2011; Jamieson et al., 2011). I avoided talking about the children in the analysis because I was afraid that I could mistakenly betray their confidence. Indeed, I had not obtained children's consent to participate in the study. I told them, and the adults responsible for them, that I was not studying them.

The familiarity of the relationships that I built with children felt very welcome, and my position of power as an adult made me choose to keep their lives in their homes outside of the analysis. They could not choose if they would like to be there while I was visiting their homes, whereas other adults in their families could make that decision, and therefore it felt unethical to talk about them (Chapter 3, Section 8). Furthermore, although I never saw domestic violence, I sometimes felt that some adults did not always treat children with care, respect or give them the attention that they were asking for. In fieldwork, and subsequently in the analysis, I did not know 'where to put myself' (Bancroft, 2011, p. 86). When I saw this, I was left with feelings of injustice and sadness; feeling that I could or should say something but I did not,

which challenged my analysis; family relations were not always harmonious and positive despite what some participants said about child-parent relations in the interviews. This presented unexpected dilemmas that on reflection is another reason why I did not include children in my analysis. All of this reminded me that my privileged position as a researcher was not straightforward, choices were difficult and shaped by an emotional process.

3.5 Family photography

Using family photography in interviews enhanced the possibility of listening and deepening my understanding of the emotional dimensions of family practices. In terms of using photography in the interview as a method, it made the relationship between researcher and participant more symmetrical (Wright, 2016). This was because the photograph as an object was displayed by the participant to me, and they explained in detail about it, indicating who was present (and absent) as well as recalling the family occasion depicted; they were more in control of this part of the interview than earlier. Participants almost took the role of researcher by leading the conversation and displaying their pictures to me. I also felt a reciprocity when some of them showed me intimate pictures as it indicated that they trusted me as a researcher (see Figures 7.7 and 7.16). The photographs seemed like objects that made a relational connection between me and the participant in the way that they were physically close to me [*se acercaron*] (Edwards, 2005). We interacted with each other in a more relaxed way than when we listened to each other during the interviews. For instance, the participants who kept the interview more formal (Chapter 3, Section 7) seemed to find that the picture method at the end of the interview made it easier for them to talk, especially about emotions. In this way photography helped to reveal the way in which

emotions are connected to the making of family, and enabled participants to connect words and images in terms of their emotions. Furthermore, the role of family photography in displaying family life, and the way family photography is interwoven with visual culture and digital photographic practices, enabled me to show that family photography is a family practice and that people make an effort to practise family photography in different ways.

When considering the possibilities of doing the research differently methodologically, my observations of how families used photographs in the home was so illuminating that I wish now I had paid more systematic attention to other aspects of domestic material culture, for instance which kinds of objects were (or were not) displayed as 'family objects' and their significance. Furthermore, doing informal interviews during visits might have enabled me to understand the role of material culture in family life. These findings would be expected to be in line with the ideas of belonging and identity that participants mentioned and why certain things mattered (or not) to them (Miller, 1998; Woodward, 2007).

Finally, were I to do the study again I would like to include children's roles, relationships, and views of the family. Specifically, I would consider the children that I met in my observations, and I would like to make them visible in families, although I would have to get their permission for this. Perhaps this could have been achieved through an informal chat, to understand what family meant to them and to compare their visions and roles in family practices with what their parents mentioned to me in the interviews.

Overall, I can say that the relationship between interviews and my other qualitative methods expanded my data. Their relation to each other was unequal. Interviewing led

the data gathering and analysis and observations followed. Interviews were my main source of data, observations and family photography supplemented and filled some gaps such as the emotionality of family life. Methodological decisions were inevitably affected by limited resources and ethical dilemmas.

4. What makes a family?

I now turn to some gaps in the data analysis which I have become aware of in retrospect. These are a reflection on children and childlessness and beyond heteronormativity. I discuss each in turn.

4.1 Children and childlessness

Overall, the focus of my analysis was gender relations between adults in families because I was interested in (in)equality between partners and how adults (with and without children) living in diverse domestic arrangements constitute family. Hence, I neglected considering children's roles in my analysis and my interactions with children (discussed above). However, children are important in so far as my findings show that the definitions of family adopted by my participants are heteronormative, revolving around strongly gendered family practices and the presence of children.

Many of my participants connected their gender roles with child-focused family practices that were bound up with their gender identities. For instance, female participants almost always defined family in terms of caring responsibilities, and this definition was connected with the caring practices of being emotionally present for their children and stepchildren, dedicating time and energy to childcare and being concerned about having food in the home. Male participants almost always defined family as those for whom they were financially responsible, so their definition was

bound up with their role of providing for the family through having a job and controlling household money. Working-class men who lived in extended family households always drew a boundary between their family, comprising of their partners and children, whom they provided for, and other relatives in the household (Chapter 4, Section 3).

Within the normative ideal of definitions of family, other family practices were also strongly gendered. Almost all middle-class women and half of the working-class women did paid work and contributed economically to the support of children. However, usually they did not articulate their financial support as a definition of family (with the exception of Ursula, a working-class woman and main provider). Lone mothers usually resented taking both responsibilities (caring and financial), wishing they could share responsibilities with a partner who took on financial duties. Middle-class men took for granted their financial responsibility and their definition of family was straightforward because all of them fulfil their role as providers within families. However, this normative ideal was resented by some working-class men because they did not have well-paid jobs, and, therefore, they could not fulfil the role of provider. This had an emotional impact on them and affected their ability to maintain child-father relationships if they were separated from the mother of their child (Chapter 5, Section 3 and 4). Therefore, my findings have shown that the responsibility of looking after children is a key factor for understanding traditional (hetero)normativity.

Sometimes, the way that employment was seen amongst participants with children affected their way of doing family. Usually, paid work was understood as equally important to partners unless they had children. Almost always mothers took on more

childrearing tasks than their male counterparts. Usually, middle-class mothers had the help of an *empleada* to go to work, working-class mothers needed the help of their mothers to care for the children and lone mothers were more disadvantaged than partnered mothers because they had more paid and unpaid work to do. Only two exceptions to this pattern were identified in my sample. Rocio earned more money than her male partner, who took on more childcare than other men, and Alba also earned more money than her husband and in addition owned the place where they lived (Chapter 5, Sections 3 and 4). This showed that the balance of power changed within heterosexual families when a woman had access to more resources than a man. Usually, heterosexual and gay fathers did not mention whether work affected their way of doing family, but the gay father mentioned changing his neighbourhood because of having children and almost all fathers raising children alone or with a male partner had an *empleada* and a *niñera* [nanny] to care for their children. Therefore, the presence of children influenced the way of doing family, and the way in which paid work was understood. In addition, employment was shaped by class and gender; middle-class mothers relied on *empleadas*, working-class mothers relied on their extended family (mothers and sisters), whilst middle- and working-class fathers did not mention work affecting their way of doing family.

The (hetero)normative ideal was strongly linked with the centrality of children in the way family was defined. This pervasive ideal affected participants who did not have children, not just those who did. For instance, one middle-class female participant who mentioned having infertility issues questioned whether she could talk about her family as a family because she could not have children. Isidora thought that if she spoke about herself and her partner as a family, somebody might say they were not a family because

they cannot have a child, and therefore she was implicitly stating that 'a proper family' was thought to be one with children.

4.2 Beyond (hetero)normativity

Some participants' definition of family did not revolve around the presence of children, such as single people and gay and lesbian families. Usually, single participants did family in relation to their family of origin and wider kin networks, and they were much freer from responsibility for children (Chapter 4, Section 4). For instance, Mariana, a middle-class woman, did not want to take any responsibility for children or pets, although she saw herself as emotionally supporting her parents when they were in need, and sometimes her siblings. She implicitly saw family as a burden rather than something that she strongly valued. Some gay families connected definitions of family with choice and practices of support with friends. Furthermore, middle- and working-class lesbian couples gave centrality to their animals and the care responsibility of looking after their pets, and loving each other, without thinking about children as a way of doing family and they showed a greater commitment to challenging gender relations through their family practices (Chapter 4, Section 3). Gay men usually mentioned offering support to each other as how they defined their family. People without children were less normative in their definitions of family, they were freer with respect to childcare, usually feeling responsible for their wider kin, friends, and animals and offering support to their partners; they therefore did family in slightly different ways.

Overall, definitions of family based on heteronormative understandings were those in which children were explicitly mentioned and implicitly present. However, not all my participants included children in their definitions. In that case they moved away from

heteronormativity, giving centrality to their partner, their wider kin relations and their pets. Therefore, ways of doing family took different forms in my sample.

5. Emotional labour and emotion work

In this section I reflect on the distinctions that I made between emotional labour and work in data analysis. I mentioned both concepts (Hochschild, 2012a, 2012b) explicitly in my literature review (Chapter 2) because I anticipated that I would be using these concepts in my analysis, but this turned out not to be the case as I used these concepts very marginally.

I used 'emotion work' (Hochschild, 2012a) to identify family practices that involved care which the participants saw as going beyond the nuclear family or as exceptionally taxing, for instance, taking on care responsibilities for those included in wider definitions of family. Care responsibility involved caring for *others* in the family and sometimes it required emotional management to fulfil normative expectations. I also used the term in relation to some women (caring for children and partners) and a few gay men (caring for partners) who spoke explicitly of needing to manage feeling exhausted and overwhelmed by care responsibility (Chapter 4, Section 3). However, I did not use the term, or explore its utility with respect to care responsibilities which were normatively expected, perhaps because the participants did not themselves see these as 'work'.

It might also have been interesting to explore *empleadas'* work within middle-class families as a form of emotional labour. Hochschild has argued that emotional labour, like emotional work, requires 'the management of feeling to induce or supress feeling in order to sustain the proper state in others' performed as part of waged work, or of

human interactions more generally (Hochschild, 2012a, p. 7). Unfortunately, although I chatted informally with *empleadas* I did not consistently include them in my observations in middle-class homes. For a future analysis of emotional labour in families I will try to interview domestic workers of middle-class participants and female relatives of my working-class participants who worked as *empleadas*. It would be noteworthy to explore, for instance, whether paid domestic work may involve deep acting of feelings to convey satisfaction to others in the family, whether *empleadas* need to perform certain activities in line with normative expectations in the home which requires management of feeling, and whether *empleadas* engage in certain practices that involve emotional labour to get a reward in the form of a wage.

My use of the concepts of emotional labour and emotional work to analyse my data was very limited. I focussed on other analytical concepts that were more relevant to my thesis.

6. The relevance of my findings to changes in family law

As explained in Chapter 1, we can regard Chilean society after the 1990s as a post-dictatorship democracy in which the legacy of authoritarian and patriarchal norms coexisted with a real possibility of progressive change and increased opportunities for personal choice. The maintenance of the 1980 Constitution rested on a constant tension between authoritarian rule and the expression of freedom; it has been an obstacle to the consolidation and deepening of democracy and has shaped forms of exclusion in society (Heiss, 2017; Garretón, 2005; Vera, 2005). Furthermore, the role of the

Catholic Church in Chile's democratic regime obstructed the whole progressive agenda on sexuality, reproductive rights and sex education. Supporting and taking a stand on human rights during the dictatorship gave the Catholic Church an important role in the centre-left democratic regime post-dictatorship, and strengthened the power of right-wing forces to prevent a liberal gender and sexual agenda (Haas, 2010; Morán, 2013; Matamala, 2011).

However, during that period there was room to introduce more liberal laws, such as those permitting divorce, giving the same legal status to children born within and outside marriage; and addressing domestic violence to protect women and men in opposite-sex partnerships, children and elderly people, gay men and lesbians in same-sex relationships; and to recognise that intimate violence can occur in teenage relationships, and between non-cohabiting adult relationships. Furthermore, Bachelet's regimes (2006–2011; 2014–2018) introduced change and reform towards gender friendly politics (Waylen, 2016). These changes included social policies such as gender mainstreaming, supporting women's employment, five-day compulsory paternity leave and the expansion of women's sexual and reproductive rights (Ramm & Gideon, 2019; Sepúlveda-Zelaya, 2016).

This meant that certain laws and policies supported a more liberal and progressive social context providing a space for the development of a wider variety of family forms in Chile. The legal and policy changes accepted by the state which have been promoted by feminists and progressive forces – women's and LGBTQI social movements – have widened the meaning of 'intimate citizenship' (Plummer, 2001, 2003; Richardson, 1998, 2015) to allow people more personal choice in how they live. Therefore, Chilean culture is contradictory in relation to family life: there is a dominant normative idea

of 'the family' along with policies which support it, but alongside this is evidence that alternative living arrangements also exist together with social policies which support them.

At the same time, there are indicators of shifts towards modern demographic trends, patterns of family formation and changes in household composition which resemble countries in the Global North. There are, for instance, declining marriage rates and a relatively late age of marriage (Arriagada, 2004; Valdes, 2007), a constant decline in the fertility rate – which has fallen below replacement level (Palma & Scott, 2018; Ramm & Salinas, 2019) – increasing divorce and cohabitation (Ramm, 2016; Salinas, 2011), and the emergence of legal civil partnership for same-sex and opposite-sex couples (RCI, 2017). These intimate modernisations exist in Chile's post-dictatorship democratic society where 'the family' is still defined by patriarchal social arrangements (Oyarzún, 2000; 2011). An example of this is that divorced women have only been able to remarry without waiting a year since 2020, despite the introduction of the divorce law in 2004, whereas divorced men were able to remarry immediately on its introduction (Lara, 2020). The meaning of 'the family' as an institution is contested between conservative sectors and progressive forces. For instance, the passing of civil partnership legislation for opposite and same-sex couples took place in 2015, but same-sex marriage has not been permitted by the courts because, until now, the 1980 Constitution defined 'the family' as heterosexual marriage (Oyarzún, 2011).

Given this background and the new political context created by the setting up of the Constitutive Convention, in what follows I reflect on how my findings offer a

contribution to social policy in Chile. First, I revisit my discussions of the Constitution and intimate citizenship.

6.1 Families and the new constitution

At the time of writing, citizens of Chile and foreigners with the right to vote[54] have elected 155 citizens to draft a new constitution, ending the Pinochet Era and its authoritarian legacy of the 1980 Constitution that has shaped society since the 1990s (see Chapter 1). This followed six months of demonstrations and social unrest in 2019. Clearly, this new political scenario has opened up hope for building a democratic regime based on wider political participation, gender equality, greater recognition of indigenous peoples and the institutional representation of marginalised groups.

This outcome is a milestone achievement for diverse representation of ordinary people[55] from grassroots forces and citizens. The Constitutive Convention is composed of a gender-equal assembly (gender parity[56]); 77 female and 78 male representatives. Furthermore, it has indigenous[57] and LGBTQI[58] representation, making progressive forces a majority, and the conservative[59] ruling class constitutes less than a third of the Convention. Therefore, this political body reflects a more

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[54] Foreign people who have lived in Chile for over five years have the right to vote in all elections.

[55] Regarding occupational structure most representatives are from middle-class occupations within two occupational groups – scientific, professionals and intellectuals as well as technician and professional middle levels; half of the occupations are solicitors and teachers; the remaining occupations are activists, social leaders, journalists, nurses, technicians, environmental scientists and academics, among others.

[56] This institutional mechanism prevents the historical overrepresentation of men in political decision-making.

[57] There are 10 different indigenous groups with political representation: Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui, Quechua, Atacameño, Diaguita, Kawashkar, Yagan, Chango and Meztizo, although Afro-descendent people did not get a representative. The president of the convention is a Mapuche woman.

[58] Gay and lesbian representatives advocated for transformative sexual politics in the new constitution, although trans candidates were not elected as representatives.

[59] There is no representative of the Catholic or Evangelical churches.

diverse representation of what the country and its people are now (Barlett, 2021; Cociña, Ossul, & Vivaldi, 2021; Heiss, 2021; Schneider, 2020).

Overall, there is room for change and the possibilities for progressive transformation within families are likely to increase with the new constitution. My findings showed that many of my participants did not have strongly conservative views of family life. However, they did family in line with normative expectations of what 'the proper family' is as a social institution, and therefore, family life was strongly gendered and classed, being associated with status and value in society. Furthermore, some participants showed sign of change towards doing family more equally and imagining their lives differently; this was confined mainly to gay men and lesbian women and a few heterosexual participants. My findings reveal that there are possibilities for social transformation in gender relations and therefore, the new constitution needs to include a wider definition of family. This means that 'the family' as a social institution defined by default through heterosexual marriage, as in the 1980 Constitution, needs to change because it marginalises other ways of doing family and constrains possibilities for wider change in contemporary society (Chapter 1, Section 4). People do family through practices that convey the meaning of family, including partners, children, wider kin relations, friends and animals.

From my findings, the making of family was strongly gendered and most of the time gender inequalities shaped all family practices. The new constitution needs to clearly address the division of labour, understanding that unpaid work sustains families and their communities and that without a clear recognition of how unpaid work is gendered (women's labour maintains family life and society) families will not be more

egalitarian in their practices, and women's work will remain invisible. Furthermore, a constitution that has at its core care work is essential.

6.2 Intimate citizenship

My findings have shown that women want more gender equality, although many of them were not always willing to challenge gendered family practices. Overall, my findings showed that middle-class heterosexual men have more advantages than women or gay men in either working-class or middle-class families, with working-class women the most disadvantaged in my sample. However, different forms of disadvantage shaped how women and men do family. Therefore, policy needs to address issues of employment, child support, equal and same-sex marriage, parental rights, and women's reproductive rights in order to make family relations more egalitarian.

The gap between women's and men's earnings is vital in terms of gender equality within families. My findings have shown that women were able to rebalance gendered power and divisions of labour in the family if they had access to employment and earned more money than their male partners. This has implications for employment policy, and shows that it is important to address the issue of equal pay and the gender pay gap. Furthermore, my findings show the massive difference that women's employment makes to working-class households because it enables mothers to feed their families when men are in insecure jobs. Thus, it is crucial that policy addresses enhancing women's employment through the provision of childcare facilities to support women's employment and not depend on their mothers to help with childcare. This policy would mean that women would no longer have to rely on other women to work, and working-class lone mothers would no longer require help from wider kin

for housing and practical support. Therefore, women would have more choices to organise their lives.

Male unemployment affects whether fathers after separation or divorce pay child support to their children. My findings have shown that when men cannot pay child support to the mother of their child, they are not able to maintain a relationship with their children; this affects mostly working-class men who have more insecure employment. Policy needs to address the way in which fathers, whether employed or unemployed, after a family split, can maintain close contact with their children for the benefit of the child and father. Furthermore, my findings show that there were other ways in which male unemployment affected family, such as not being able to provide food for the family, and, therefore, it is important that policies address issues like the right to food.

Middle-class lone mothers were affected by the limited child support that their ex-partners provided for their children, while working-class lone mothers did not receive any financial support for their children from ex-partners at all. The lack of childcare support available for mothers in these situations affects their ability to work, and therefore, as mentioned above, the provision of childcare facilities needs to be improved. This is because middle-class lone mothers usually accept an unequal bargain in relation to financial support if fathers are happy to help with childcare to facilitate their working, whilst working-class lone mothers are not able to work unless they live in their parents' home and are able to receive help with childcare.

Working hours affect working-class fathers' ability to do family on a daily basis, and they were worried about taking their 5 days of parental leave when their children were born unless their employers mentioned that they had the right to do so. Besides the

obvious need for more publicity about fathers' parental leave, family law needs to consider a shorter working week of 45 hours and the right to care for fathers. Although middle-class participants were also affected by long working hours, they were more able to be together and take paternity leave than working-class men.

Some of my gay and lesbian families were worried about the fragility of their legal responsibilities to each other. Despite their not mentioning problems regarding doing family in everyday life, they were concerned about not being legally recognised as next of kin because their responsibilities for each other were not recognised in law, especially if one of them became seriously ill or died. None of the participants in heterosexual partnerships mentioned this, even if they were not legally married. Policy needs to further the non-discrimination of lesbian and gay couples whether they are in a civil partnership, cohabiting, living apart together or any other domestic arrangements. Furthermore, family law needs to address same-sex marriage such that gay and lesbian people have the right to marriage. This is because only my middle-class gay participant was married but his marriage had taken place abroad, implying that working-class gay and lesbian couples were more disadvantaged than others as they did not have this choice, and this right cannot be a heterosexual privilege.

Unplanned pregnancy was a particular issue that affected working-class women. Usually, working-class mothers needed to rely on their extended families to support them with housing and looking after their children. Whether or not they would make a different choice about continuing with a pregnancy is unknown, yet policy needs to give women the right to choose to interrupt pregnancy should they wish to. Women need to have multiple options available to live the lives that they imagine, having enough income to support their families (mentioned above), the right to access sexual

health education, contraception and the right to have an abortion. On reflection some of my working-class participants were worried about their health and not having access to the proper healthcare facilities if they needed a medical procedure. Furthermore, women with infertility issues were concerned about the financial resources that fertility treatment may involve for their families. It is, therefore, important that policy takes into account the role of both public and private providers in the healthcare system.

In this section I have revisited my discussion of the policy context, family law and the possibilities of political change. Drawing on my findings on doing family in Chile I have explored the implications that they have for policy development and in what way this is a contribution that policymakers and representatives of the new constitution may take into consideration when discussing family law.

7. Future research on food, families and communities

My research has shown the key role that food plays in making families, as doing family depends on the relationality that is fostered by producing and sharing meals, and therefore how all food practices within families are family practices, a role explored and documented by other sociologists (Charles & Kerr, 1988; O'Connell & Brannen, 2016). I will take this research further, taking inspiration from the idea of *connected sociologies* and the possibility of making global connections through a comparative study between Chile (Region Bio-Bio and Metropolitana with presence of indigenous and Afro-descent people) and the UK (West Midlands). Both countries are high income nations but located in different geographical positions in the food system. My future project will cover two areas: first how climate change has affected the food system and whether this has affected food production and consumption for families

and communities in Chile and the UK. This would draw together the global and local elements of the food system. Second, I will explore the ways in which food practices are interwoven in family and personal relations, how dietary practices are connected to family practices and the role of photography in food practices. I will design a qualitative methodology in which intersectionality is the core of the analysis; intersections of class, gender, sexuality, and race/ethnicity shape food practices and are intertwined in wider family relations. In doing this, I will use a combination of qualitative techniques to gain a deep insight through my research. To consider how climate change is shaping the food system, I will do archival work and review international policy on Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations for the UK and Chile between 2010 until now, using thematic analysis to cover the main topics on decision-making for state food policies in both countries. This will provide a context for the second part, looking at how global politics are interwoven in family life. Exploring families, communities and food practices, I will conduct interviews with men and women, and children, participant observation in households primarily at their mealtimes, and I will accompany them when they are doing food shopping or food provisioning in other ways. As I am interested in communities. I will investigate two food organisations where I will conduct interviews and participant observation. One will be Chilean soup kitchens [*ollas communes*], which have re-emerged for the first time since the Pinochet dictatorship because of malnutrition in children and lack of food in working-class families in Covid times. This will encompass grassroots women's political activism because women are the leaders of the soup kitchen movement. I will conduct the same project in the UK, where I will investigate two food banks in the West Midlands and their response to the Covid crisis. I will ask participants to take a picture of their main meals after our interview and, in this way,

I will be able to gather visual material for making connections between interviews, observations and visual evidence.

8. Conclusion

This chapter drew together my research findings as I reflected on my theoretical and methodological choices. I explored how the data that I produced depended on the decisions made in terms of research strategy, and how these decisions shaped my analysis. Furthermore, I have explored how my thesis contributes to sociological thought in Chile and Latin America and how my theoretical approach, which mobilises the concept of 'family practices' (Morgan, 1996; 2011), has contributed to the study of making family. I have shown that my feminist approach in combination with the concept of family practices has enabled me to explore family life by focusing on the activity of making families, rather than seeing the family as a social institution. In this way, my thesis makes an original contribution to family sociology in Chile, where family research has been primarily focused on the institution of 'the family'. The best way of answering my research questions was through qualitative research which not only gave me an insightful understanding of family life and the meanings of family practices, but also enabled me to make a real contribution to the mainly quantitative body of research on 'the family' that has been conducted in Chile. In this way, I have presented a different, more nuanced analysis of how people in Santiago de Chile make (un)equal families which has implications in terms of policy development.

My focus on family practices has enabled me to show that, through engaging in gendered family practices, heterosexual families reproduce the standard institutionalised notion of family, with its gendered expectations. I have shown how family practices are classed with middle-class families having *empleadas* to do the

housework while working-class families see domestic work as a woman's duty and as maintaining respectability. Most research on low-income families has shown their vulnerabilities and their economic struggles due to neoliberal policies in Chile (Ruiz & Boccardo, 2015; Sehnbruch, 2007). But my focus was on how they organised their everyday lives which showed, at least in my working-class sample, their expectations, ambitions and wishes, and how these shaped their family practices. However, there was room for some resistance and challenge to gendered power, primarily when women had more resources than men. Gay and lesbian participants, and a few heterosexual participants were creating families through more egalitarian ways of doing family.

I hope my thesis will create a bridge between academia and policymakers by taking into account why people make certain decisions and how their decisions allow them to have wider possibilities and choices, through which they can improve their lives substantially. I hope my research can also build a bridge between academia and a wider audience, by forming networks with social science teachers in Chilean schools, for instance, to support their curriculum in areas of citizenship, human rights and democracy, and to increase knowledge about the diversity of family life. In coronavirus (Covid-19) times, when families, friends, and loved ones may live at a distance because of political decisions, illness or job difficulties, I desire that this research may bring with it the hope of being together again.

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Appendix A: Interview schedule

Starting interview

The interview will be a conversation where I will introduce myself and my research. Then, I will give participants time to ask questions about my research if they want and wait for them to read carefully the informant consent form.

Part I Meaning of family

What does 'family' mean to you? Who do you count as family? Why?

What is the most important thing to maintain a happy family?

How do you keep your family happy? What things make your family unhappy?

Which activities do you do as part of your family routine? Why?

Does anyone else participate in these activities?

Could you tell me the last occasion that you spent with your family?

Who was/were in this family occasion? How was it? Where was it? What did you do?

Do you celebrate special occasions with your family such as birthdays, Christmases, weddings, graduations, or others?

What was the last special occasion you celebrated with them? Who was/were at this occasion? How was it? Where was it? What did you do?

Why are these occasions special for you as a family? How did you celebrate your last Christmas?

Part II Everyday life

Would you describe to me a normal weekday for you?

Would you tell me which part of your day is the best and enjoyable? Why?

Would you tell me which part of your day is the most difficult? Why?

Do you have leisure time on weekdays? Yes/No Why not?

Would you tell me which activities you do in your leisure time on weekdays? Do you have leisure time at weekends? Yes/No Why Not?

Would you tell me what you usually do at the weekend? These activities that you told me, which are the most enjoyable? And which activities are boring for you? Why?

All these activities that you told me; Do you do on your own? Why? Do more people participate in some activities? Whom and Why?

Part III The division of labour

Paid work

Do you have employment? Yes/No Why?

What type of job do you do? How many hours do you work per week? How long have you been in your present job? How long does it take you to commute to your work? What types of responsibilities do you have? Do you enjoy your job? Why/Why not? Does your partner have a job? What do you think about his/her employment? Why? How do you balance your work and family life?

Do you think that you have some difficulties in balancing your work and family? Why?

Do you have help from your employer when you have issues at home? For instance, when your child/ren is/are ill and need care, or some of your family members need assistance to go a doctor's appointment or need more care, if you are ill and you need to recover. Why/Why not?

Do you have support from any organisation? For instance, the state, City Council, public nursery, care home? Why/Why not?

If the participant has child/ren

Who looks after your child/ren when you are at work?

Does your child/ren do some type of job? Does your child/ren earn some money? Why? Are there more people in your household who work? Why?

Voluntary work

Do you do any voluntary work? Why? For instance, working in a charity, voluntary teaching in a grassroots organisation, doing some unpaid work at your church, helping teachers in your child/ren's school.

How long have you been doing this? How much time do you spend on this?

Do you enjoy it? Why/Why not? When did you start this activity? Why?

What types of responsibilities do you have there? Does your partner do voluntary work? How do you balance voluntary work with family life?

Domestic work

I would like to talk with you about the domestic work in your home ...

What do you understand by domestic work?

Would you tell me which person does this task most of the time in your home?

DIY and household repairs		
Childcare	Making breakfast	
	Putting child to bed	
	Doing homework	
	Playing with child	
	Taking child to school	
	Taking children to sport(s)	
Meals	Shopping for groceries	
	Cooking	
	Washing dishes	
Laundry	Washing clothes	
	Ironing	
	Folding clothes	
Cleaning	Vacuuming	
	Tidying up	
	Taking out the bins	
Maintenance	Car	
	Bikes	
Other care tasks	Elderly	
	Pets	
Other	Watering the plants	
	Gardening	

Do you do some household tasks that I have not mentioned? How do you decide how the domestic work is organised at home? How do you decide who does which task in your home? Why? Are you happy/unhappy with the organisation of the household tasks in your home? Why? Are you happy with the tasks that you do at home? Why? Do you like the division of household tasks in your home? Why?

Is there anything that you do not like from the division of household tasks at home? Why?

Part IV Family story

Now, I would like to talk about your family of origin and extended family when you were a child ...

Family history

Did your family of origin organise family life different from the way in which you do now? How? Why?

Did your family of origin make family life similar to you now? How?

Are there any family activities that your parents did in the past that you do not do now? Why? When you were a child, how was the household work divided up in your parents' house?

Did your parents (mother and father) do any paid work? How was it? Did your parents do any voluntary work? How was it?

When you were a child, do you remember how your parents balance family and work? Would you tell me how it was?

Family photography

We are almost reaching the end of the interview and this is the part about family photography that I mentioned at the beginning, so I would like to know if you have some significant family photographs with you that we could talk about them.

Would you like to show me some significant family photographs? Would you explain these photographs to me? Who are the people in the picture? Where and when were the photographs taken? Who took the photographs? What activities are people doing in the picture? Why do you keep your photographs in this place? (wallet, mobile phone, other)

Do you think that these pictures are good family photos? Why?

What do you feel when you see these pictures? Tell me more about why you chose these pictures

Ending the interview

Would you like to tell me something about your family life that you think is important to you and I have not asked you about?

Part V Sociodemographic profile

Participant's information (Completed by myself and later checked with the participant at the end of their interview) Age, gender, religion/belief, ethnic identity, marital status.

Housing information

Neighbourhood, type of household and living arrangement.

Class information

Educational attainment, current occupation, years of employment, labour experience in years, working hours per week.

Thank you very much for your time. I really appreciate your interview; this is very valuable and important for my research.

Appendix B: Participant information sheet

Title of the study: An exploration of diverse family forms in Chile

Doctoral researcher: Isabel Margarita Nuñez Salazar

Introduction

Thank you for your time and interest in participating in my research. This is really important and valuable to me as a researcher. We will have a conversation that will help me to obtain crucial information for my doctoral research about diverse family forms in Santiago de Chile.

Currently, I am a doctoral student in the Sociology Department at the University of Warwick, in the United Kingdom. Part of my responsibilities as a PhD student is gathering information for my research which will help me to understand the lives of people in our country.

- **What is the study about?**

I will tell you more details about my research project. I am conducting a study about diverse family forms in Santiago de Chile. I am interested in understanding family life and the everyday life of people living in different living arrangements. I want to know about their daily routines, their everyday life and their family story to understand much better how people live nowadays in Santiago.

At the same time, you will have an opportunity to reflect about yourself and talk about your personal life.

- **What happens if I participate in this study?**

The participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from this research at any point, without giving an explanation or reason. Therefore, you are always free to participate or withdraw from my study.

The information that you share with me will only be used for academic purposes, and as a consequence, your name will never be disclosed. Instead, I will use a pseudonym to protect your identity and integrity, and all the information will be anonymous in my study to protect your dignity.

- **Which are the benefits to participate in this study?**

If you decide to take part of my study, you will provide valuable information to help me to understand Chilean families nowadays, their stories, their everyday family lives, the good things about being a family and the difficulties of family life. Furthermore, you will have the opportunity to think and talk about yourself and your life. Your opinions and ideas are unique and crucial to my study which will contribute towards understanding our society.

- **What happens when the study finishes?**

My thesis will be saved in the library at the University of Warwick as a PhD thesis. This means that my thesis is a document with academic purposes. Eventually, I will publish papers in journals, attend academic conferences or write a book. If this is the case, I will omit your name and the names of the people that you share with me in the interview such as your family members and friends. I will use pseudonymous for everyone and protect the identity of each person. Furthermore, family photographs will be used only for the purposes of my doctoral research. Therefore, I will never publish the pictures in papers, conferences or share them with other people. Once the thesis is stored in the library, the faces in the family photographs will be disguised to protect the identity of the people there.

- **Who supervises the study?**

This research is supervised by two academics from the Sociology Department at the University of Warwick: Dr Carol Wolkowitz and Professor Nickie Charles. If you have more inquiries and want more information about my research, please do not hesitate to contact me by mobile phone [Chilean number removed for confidentiality] or write to my email address (i.m.nunez-salazar@warwick.ac.uk).

Appendix C: Consent form

Title of the study: An exploration of diverse family forms in Chile

Doctoral researcher: Isabel Margarita Nuñez Salazar

Department of Sociology, University of Warwick

I confirm that I have read and received the participants' information sheet and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without needing to give a reason.

I understand that my personal information shared during the interview will be treated as anonymous and your name will not be used.

I agree to the interview being recorded and transcribed.

I understand that family photographs will be kept in an electronic file and will be disguised in the doctoral research.

I agree that my data will be held and processed only for the purposes of a PhD thesis, papers for publication in academic journals and presentations at conferences. Names will be changed, and photographs will be only used in the thesis.

I agree to take part in the research project.

Informant Name:

Informant's signature:

Date:

Isabel's signature

Appendix D: Spanish consent form and participant information sheet

Consentimiento informado

Titulo del estudio: Explorando diversas formas familiares en Chile

Investigadora doctoral: Isabel Núñez Salazar

Departamento de Sociologia, Universidad de Warwick

Yo, confirmo que he leído y recibido información acerca de la investigción sobre diversas formas familiares en Chile. Del mismo modo confirm que he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas a la investigadora respecto al estudio.

Yo, comprendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria y que soy libre de dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar alguna razón.

Yo, entiendo que mi información personal compartida durante la entrevista será tratada de forma anónima y que mi nombre no será utilizado.

Yo, estoy acuerdo que mi entrevista sea grabada y transcrita.

Yo, entiendo que las fotografías familiares serán guardades en un archivo electrónico y serán diseminadas en la investigación doctoral.

Yo, estoy de acuerdo que mi información será usada con propósitos académicos tanto en la tesis doctoral como en revistas académicas y conferencias que los nombres serán cambiados y las fotografías seran diseminadas y solo usadas en la tesis.

Yo, estoy de acuerdo en ser parte de esta investigación.

Nombre del/a participante:

Nombre del/a participante:

Firma:

Fecha:

Firma investigadora:

Hoja de Información para el/la participante

Titulo del estudio: Explorando diversas formas familiares en Chile

Investigadora doctoral: Isabel Núñez Salazar

Departamento de Sociologia, Universidad de Warwick

Introducción

Gracias por tu tiempo e interés en ser entrevistado/a. Esto es realmente importante y valioso para mí, la conversación que tendremos me ayudará a obtener información esencial para mi investigación en diversidad familiar en Santiago de Chile.

Actualmente, me encuentro realizando mis estudios de doctorado en el Departamento de Sociología de la Universidad de Warwick en Inglaterra. Sin embargo, ahora me encuentro en Santiago recolectando la información para mi investigación la cual me ayudará a comprender la vida de las personas en nuestro país.

- **De qué se trata el estudio?**

Voy a contarte con más detalles acerca de mi proyecto doctoral. Estoy llevando a cabo un proyecto de investigación acerca de diversas formas familiares en Santiago de Chile. Estoy interesada en comprender las vidas familiares y la vida cotidiana de distintas personas y hogares. Quiero conocer sus rutinas, el día a día y su historia familiar para entender de mejor manera la forma de vivir hoy por hoy en Santiago. Del mismo modo, tu tendrás la oportunidad de pensar acerca de tí y hablar de tu vida personal.

- **Qué sucede si participo en la investigación?**

Tu participación es completamente voluntaria. Si tu decides ser parte de mi estudio, tu eres libre de detener tu participación en cualquier momento, sin necesidad de dar ninguna explicación. Por lo tanto, tu eres libre siempre de participar o dejar de participar en mi estudio. La información que tu entregues será usaba solamente con fines académicos, en consecuencia, tu nombre no aparecerá y tu identidad será mantenida completamente anónima en mi investigación.

- **Cuáles son los posibles beneficios de participar en este estudio?**

Tu participación en el estudio me ayudará a entender mejor a las familias chilenas hoy en día, sus historias, su vida cotidiana, las cosas buenas y las dificultades de las vidas familiares. Además, tendrás la oportunidad de pensar y hablar acerca de tu vida personal. En este sentido, tus opiniones e ideas que compartas conmigo son muy valiosas y únicas para mi estudio el cuál pretender contribuir a entender nuestra sociedad.

- **Qué sucede cuando el estudio termina?**

Mi tesis sera guardada en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Warwick como una tesis doctoral, lo que significa que es un documento con fines académicos. Eventualmente, yo podría publicar artículos en revistas, hacer una presentación en alguna conferencia o un libro. En ese caso, yo omitiré tu identidad y las identidades de las personas que tu nombres durante la entrevista, tales como miembros de tu familia y/o amigos/as.

- **Quién supervisa mi estudio?**

Mi investigación tiene a cargo 2 supervisoras del Departamento de Sociología de la Universidad de Warwick, Dr. Carol Wolkowitz y Professor Nickie Charles. Si tú tienes alguna duda o necesitas mayor información sobre mi investigación, por favor no dudes en contactarme a mi teléfono móvil (+56) o a mi correo electrónico (i.m.nunez-salazar@warwick.ac.uk).

Appendix E: Distribution of household tasks

Middle-class participants

Table 1: Distribution of household tasks reported by middle-class male participants

Category	Task	Men (12)			Female Partner (7)			Male Partner (2)			Empleada (6)			Other paid help	
		Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task
DIY		8	0	4	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	6	2[b]	0
Childcare	Making breakfast	1	2	9	4	1	3	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	0
	Putting child to bed	0	4	8	4	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	5	0	0
	Doing homework	2	4	6	3	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	6	0	0
	Playing with child	0	4	8	5	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	6	0	0
	Taking child to	3	0	9	2	1	4	0	0	2	1	0	5	0	0
	Taking children to	3	1	8	3	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0
Meals	Shopping[a]	5	3	4	3	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	5	0	0
	Cooking	5	4	3	3	4	0	0	2	0	3	2	1	0	0

	Washing dishes	2	1	9	3	2	2	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0
Laundry	Washing clothes	2	1	9	3	1	3	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0
	Ironing	2	0	10	1	0	6	0	2	0	4	2	0	0	0
	Folding clothes	0	1	11	3	1	3	0	1	1	6	0	0	0	0
Cleaning	Vacuuming	2	3	7	3	1	3	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0
	Tidying up	2	4	6	3	3	1	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0
	Taking out bins	3	3	6	3	1	3	1	0	1	4	1	1	0	0
Maintenance	Car	7	1	4	1	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0
	Bikes	0	0	12	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0
Other care tasks	Elderly	0	0	12	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0
	Pets	2	1	9	0	1	6	0	2	0	0	4	2	0	0
Other	Plants	2	2	8	1	0	6	1	1	0	2	0	4	3[c]	0
	Garden	1	0	11	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	2	4	3[c]	0

[a] Three participants mentioned that they did the shopping as a family.
[b] Plumber and electrician
[c] Gardener

Table 2: Distribution of household tasks reported by middle-class female participants

Category	Task	Women (11)			Male Partner (9)			Lesbian Couple			Empleada (9)			Other paid help	
		Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task
DIY		0	2	9	6	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	9	5[b]	3[b]
Childcare	Making breakfast	3	3	5	1	2	6	0	0	2	1	0	8	0	0
	Putting child to bed	7	1	3	2	1	6	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	0
	Doing homework	3	2	6	2	2	5	0	0	2	0	1	8	0	0
	Playing with child	7	0	4	3	0	6	0	0	2	0	1	8	0	0
	Taking child to school	4	1	6	1	1	7	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	0
	Taking children to sport	1	2	8	1	1	7	0	0	2	0	2	7	0	0
Meals	Shopping[a]	9	0	4	3	2	4	2	0	0	0	1	8	0	0
	Cooking	6	5	0	1	0	8	1	1	0	6	1	2	0	0
	Washing dishes	2	8	1	0	4	5	1	1	0	9	0	0	0	0
	Washing clothes	2	2	7	0	1	8	2	0	0	9	0	0	0	0

Laundry	Ironing	2	0	9	1	0	8	0	0	2	6	0	3	0	0
	Folding clothes	2	2	7	0	1	8	2	0	0	9	0	0	0	0
Cleaning	Vacuuming	2	2	7	0	1	8	2	0	0	9	0	0	0	0
	Tidying up	2	6	3	0	1	8	2	0	0	9	0	0	0	0
	Taking out bins	3	2	6	3	2	4	1	1	0	3	1	5	0	0
Maintenance	Car	5	0	6	6	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	9	0	0
	Bikes	0	0	11	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	0
Other care tasks	Elderly	0	0	11	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	0	9	0	0
	Pets	1	3	4	2	1	6	2	0	0	2	1	6	0	0
Other	Plants	2	0	9	2	0	7	0	0	2	0	1	8	0	0
	Garden	0	2	9	0	2	7	1	1	0	0	0	9	4[c]	1[c]

[a] Two participants mentioned that they did the shopping as a family.
[b] Plumber and electrician
[c] Gardener

Working-class participants

Table 3: Distribution of household tasks reported by working-class male participants

Category	Task	Men (10)			Female Partner (7)			Male Partner (2)			Other family help	
		Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task
DIY		9	0	1	0	1	6	0	2	0	1[b]	0
Childcare	Making breakfast	1	2	7	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
	Putting child to bed	0	2	8	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
	Doing homework	0	4	6	5	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
	Playing with child	0	3	7	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	1
	Taking child to school	0	1	9	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
	Taking children to sport	0	0	10	1	0	6	0	0	2	0	0

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Meals	Shopping[a]		1	0	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Cooking	2	3	5	7	0	0	0	2	0	1[c]	0
	Washing dishes	0	3	7	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Laundry	Washing clothes	1	2	7	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
	Ironing	2	0	8	3	0	4	1	1	0	0	0
	Folding clothes	1	1	8	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Cleaning	Vacuuming	0	3	7	5	1	1	0	1	1	1[d]	0
	Tidying up	0	3	7	5	0	2	0	1	1	2[d]	0
	Taking out bins	3	4	3	3	0	4	1	1	0	1	0
Maintenance	Car	3	0	7	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	0
	Bikes	2	0	8	0	0	7	1	0	1	0	0
	Elderly	0	0	10	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	0

Other care tasks	Pets	3	1	6	0	0	7	1	0	1	3[d]	1
Other	Plants	2	2	6	2	0	5	0	1	1	3[d]	0
	Garden	1	0	9	0	0	7	0	0	2	0	2

[a] Six participants mentioned that they did the shopping as a family.
[b] Male relative in the extended family with ability in electricity.
[c] Female non-relative in shared accommodation.
[d] Female relative in the extended family.

Table 4: Distribution of household tasks reported by working-class female participants

Category	Task	Women (10)			Male Partner (5)			Lesbian Couple (2)			Other family help	
		Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task	Never	Main Task	Occasional Task
DIY		1	3	6	4	1	0	1	1	0	4[b]	0
Childcare	Making breakfast	2	0	8	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	1[c]
	Putting child to bed	3	0	7	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	1[c]
	Doing homework	4	0	6	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	0
	Playing with child	2	0	8	0	2	3	0	0	2	1	0
	Taking child to school	2	1	7	2	1	2	0	0	2	0	0
	Taking children to	0	0	10	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0
Meals	Shopping[a]	9	1	0	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
	Cooking	6	2	2	0	5	0	2	0	0	2[c]	3[c]
	Washing dishes	6	0	4	1	1	3	2	0	0	1	1
	Washing clothes	6	0	4	0	2	3	2	0	0	1	1

Laundry	Ironing	1	2	7	1	1	3	0	0	2	2[c]	3[c]
	Folding clothes	4	0	6	1	1	3	2	0	0	1	1
Cleaning	Vacuuming	6	1	3	0	2	3	0	2	0	2[c]	1[c]
	Tidying up	7	1	2	0	1	4	2	0	0	2[c]	1[c]
	Taking out bins	3	2	5	2	1	2	1	1	0	3[c]	0
Maintenance	Car	0	1	9	1	0	4	1	0	1	0	0
	Bikes	0	0	10	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0
Other care tasks	Elderly	2	0	8	0	1	4	0	0	2	0	1[c]
	Pets	3	0	7	1	0	4	2	0	0	2[c]	0
Other	Plants	4	1	5	1	1	3	2	0	0	2[c]	1[c]
	Garden	0	0	10	0	0	5	0	0	2	2[c]	0

[a] Four participants mentioned that they did shopping as a family.
[b] Male relative in the extended family with ability in electricity and plumbing.
[c] Female relative in the extended family