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Article in *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* · January 2011

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Childlessness and Norms of Familial Responsibility in the Netherlands*

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Journal of Comparative Family Studies,
42(4), 421-438.

INTRODUCTION

From the moment childlessness became a topic of scientific research, the childless have been depicted in negative terms: less well adjusted, less nurturing, more materialistic, more selfish, more individualistic and more career-oriented than parents (see for overviews Ganong, Coleman, & Mapes, 1990; Houseknecht, 1987; Veevers, 1983). Although the growing prevalence and acceptance of childlessness among young cohorts has led to a less powerful stigma in recent decades (Koropecjy-Cox & Pendell, 2007; Morgan, 1996; Thornton, 1989; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001), the childless, especially those who voluntarily choose not to have children, remain stereotyped as somewhat "individualistic" people who avoid social responsibility and are less prepared to commit themselves to helping others in society (Kopper & Smith, 2001; LaMastro, 2001; Letherby, 2002; Mueller & Yoder, 1999). This stereotype image of the childless appears in the debate about "the decline of the family," where scholars have suggested that increased levels of childlessness contribute to declining levels of family solidarity (Bloom & Bennett, 1986; Hunt & Hunt, 1982). For example, it is likely that childlessness lowers affection and cohesion between adult children and their parents, especially when the former choose to remain childless, when the latter feel that the childlessness of their children hampers their own transition into grandparenthood.

Despite prevailing stereotypes of the childless, little research has actually addressed whether the childless feel less responsible for others compared to people who have children. This may be even more surprising in the light of contemporary childlessness rates. As in other countries (Abma & Martinez, 2006; Rowland, 2007), childlessness rates have shown a steady increase among Dutch women born after the Second World War. Among those born between 1945 and 1949, 12 percent remained childless compared to 15 percent of women born in the

* Acknowledgements: This research was funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO); grant number 457-03-012, under the program "The ties that bind" (BKF). The data for this paper from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS), which is funded by the "Major Investments Fund" of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), under grant 480-10-009. Financial and institutional support for the NKPS also comes from The Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), the Faculty of Social Sciences (Utrecht University), the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences (University of Amsterdam) and the Faculty of Social Sciences (Tilburg University).

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1950s. Among women born in the 1960s and 1970s this percentage is likely to raise to 20 per cent (Merens & Hermans, 2009). As one out of every five individuals in the Netherlands will never have children, answering the question whether the childless feel less responsible for others compared to people who have children has both scientific and societal relevance.

We take up this issue by examining differences in norms of familial responsibility between childless individuals and parents. Familial responsibility is an aspect of the broader concept of familism (Heller, 1970; 1976) and refers to felt obligations to help each other among members of a kinship group.

In the literature on intergenerational obligations (Daatland & Herlofson, 2003; Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Lee, Peck, & Coward, 1998; Silverstein, Gans, & Yang, 2006; Stein et al., 1998) childlessness has remained an understudied topic. The few studies that take the impact of parental status into account (Daatland & Herlofson, 2003; Komter & Vollebergh, 2002) assess childlessness in a rather crude way, merely distinguishing whether or not people have children at a particular moment.

Studies on familial responsibility norms are absent in the literature on childlessness. Focusing on attitudes about marriage, cohabitation, divorce and gender roles, the literature shows that it is important to make a distinction between different types of childlessness; childless individuals who have voluntarily opted for a life without children have less traditional values and attitudes compared to parents and involuntarily childless individuals (Bram, 1984; Bulcroft & Teachman, 2003; Houseknecht, 1987; Jacobson & Heaton, 1991; Veevers, 1983). It is therefore likely that people without children do not all hold similar norms of familial responsibility. For a nuanced and proper assessment of associations between childlessness and familial responsibility, we make a distinction between the childless based on volition.

We pose that taking the diversity among the childless into account not only does justice to social reality, but also advances our understanding of why childless individuals differ from parents with respect to their norms of familial responsibility. In general, the literature addresses two main underlying processes: adaptation and selection (Lesthaeghe & Moors, 2002). Differences between parents and childless individuals may be attributable to adaptation; i.e. life course events contribute to changes in previously held values (adaptation effect), either by reinforcing or by reconsidering them (Lesthaeghe & Moors, 2002). In the context of our research question, adaptation implies that the transition to parenthood changes people's norms of familial responsibility.

Differences between parents and childless individuals may also be attributable to selection; i.e. familial responsibility norms affect the way individuals opt for specific life course pathways (Lesthaeghe & Moors, 2002). For example, people with weak norms of familial responsibility might be less likely to become parents than those with a strong sense of responsibility. If selection is at play, it would be wrong to compare parents with "the" childless, given that the intentionally childless are a different group of individuals from the start (Rovi, 1994). Scholars should therefore make a distinction between childless individuals based on volition and compare these groups with parents. As prior studies on intergenerational obligations have not made such comparisons, it has not been possible to gain insight into selection and

adaptation. This paper makes a distinction between the childless based on the voluntary or involuntary nature of their childless state and compares them with parents, allowing us to detect the footprints of selection and adaptation.

CHILDLESSNESS AND NORMS OF FAMILIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Predictions in two diverging directions can be made regarding the association between childlessness and norms of familial responsibility. In line with common beliefs, childless people are expected to have a weaker sense of familial responsibility compared to parents. One line of reasoning suggests that adaptation takes place: family-related issues are more highly valued when people have children than when they do not have children. Parenthood, according to Gutmann (1975), fosters greater responsibility towards one's family, as becoming a parent reaffirms moral, civic and ethical norms. This line of thinking has received empirical support. Studies show that parenthood promulgates goals in life which transcend the individual self (Barnett, Marshall, & Pleck, 1992; Dykstra, 2006; Furstenberg, 2005) and that people become more directed towards wider circles of family, neighborhood and community after having made the transition to parenthood (e.g., Belsky & Rovine, 1984; Knoester & Eggebeen, 2006).

Alternatively, selection may be at play. Research has shown that childless individuals who intend to remain childless are more individualistic and have a greater preference for self-selected contact compared to parents and childless individuals who intend to have children (Rovi, 1994). People with weaker norms of familial responsibility may therefore be more likely to remain childless. Note that adaptation and selection do not lead to different hypotheses. They reflect different processes that underlie the expected negative association between childlessness and a sense of obligation towards family.

The opposing view is that childless individuals have stronger norms of familial responsibility in comparison with parents. Parenthood, like marriage (Coser, 1974; Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006) can be seen as a "greedy institution," directing attention away from the wider circle of family. People may adapt their feelings of familial responsibility to personal circumstances that restrict their ability to provide family care (e.g., competing demands). Therefore, the childless may feel more responsible when it comes to supporting their wider circle of family compared to people with children, as the childless do not have childrearing obligations. Supporting this view, a Dutch study studying family solidarity shows that childless individuals give somewhat more help and care to family members outside the nuclear family (Komter & Vollebergh, 2002).

The alternative explanation—selection—is that strong norms of familial responsibility increase the likelihood that people will remain childless as the involvement with family members may be so strong and time-consuming that these individuals decide not to have children of their own. Selection is evident among women who remained childless before the 1940s; these women were often highly dedicated towards their families. The reason they had remained unmarried and therefore also childless was that they continued to live at home to care for aging parents (Dykstra & Hagestad, 2007). Again, adaptation and selection do not lead to different hypotheses.

Biases

When analyzing people's answers to questions concerning the voluntariness of their childless state, it is important to distinguish between childless people who are in their fertile years and those who are beyond the fertile age as their answers may be biased in different ways. First, as we live in pronatalistic societies, it takes determination to state that one does not want to have children (Rovi, 1994). Social pressure may therefore lead people to answer that they would like to have children, although their true feelings may be the opposite. As a result, some people in their fertile years may answer that they intend to have children although they actually want to remain childless, clouding the category of individuals who intend to have children.

Second, to avoid dissonance, people are likely to retrospectively adjust their feelings to their actual parental status. Therefore, some people beyond their fertile years will answer that they are voluntarily childless although they may actually have wanted to have children, which clouds the category of individuals who perceive themselves as voluntarily childless. In sum, solely focusing on people in their fertile years may lead to distorted results among the childless who did not choose to remain childless, while solely focusing on those beyond the fertile age may lead to distorted results among those who did opt for a childless life. This implies that a reliable assessment of associations between childlessness and norms of familial responsibility requires a *separate analysis* of the childless both in and beyond their fertile years. Unfortunately, in the literature on childlessness, studies on associations between childlessness and general values have either focused only on childless individuals in their fertile years (see for example Bram, 1985), or only on those beyond their fertile years (Callan, 1987) or on both without making a distinction between them (Kemkes-Grottenthaler, 2003). As a result, the bias issue has not been addressed and results may therefore have been misclassified.

In this paper, we separate childless individuals in their fertile years from those beyond their fertile years and we make a distinction between the childless based on whether or not they chose to remain childless. Among those of fertile age, we distinguish between those who intend to remain childless and those who intend to have children. Among the childless beyond their fertile years, we distinguish between those who perceive themselves as voluntarily childless and those who see themselves as involuntarily childless.

Distinguishing between Adaptation and Selection

In the context of childlessness and familial responsibility, adaptation implies that becoming a parent serves to reinforce people's norms of familial responsibility. From an adaptation perspective, those who have made the transition to parenthood are expected to have different values from those who have not made this transition. This means that, when adaptation is at play, all childless individuals, whether by volition or not, will differ from parents in terms of their norms of familial responsibility. It also means that childless individuals who opt for a childless life do not differ from those who want, or wanted to have children.

Selection implies that people's norms of familial responsibility affect the likelihood that they will enter parenthood. From a selection perspective, only those who opt for a childless life are expected to have distinctive norms of familial responsibility.

Among the childless of fertile age, this means that only the childless who intend to remain childless will have different norms of familial responsibility compared to individuals who already have or intend to have children. Childless individuals who intend to have children are not expected to differ from parents, as the former are likely to become parents in the future. Among the childless beyond their fertile years, only those who see their childless state as voluntary will have different norms of familial responsibility compared to involuntarily childless individuals and parents. People who are involuntarily childless are not expected to differ from parents as the former embrace the parenting role in principle and are assumed to differ from parents only in terms of the fact that they have not succeeded in becoming a parent.

Other Characteristics

The literature identifies several social characteristics that differentiate individuals by the strength of their norms of familial responsibility and that are associated with childlessness. The first is educational attainment. The literature is most clear on associations for women. Childless women, especially the voluntarily childless, are shown to have higher levels of education compared to mothers. This positive association is well documented both in the Netherlands (De Meester et al, 2005; Liefbroer & Dykstra, 2000; Keizer, Dykstra & Jansen, 2008) and in other Western countries (e.g., González & Jurado-Guerrero, 2006). The relationship between education and family norms is less clear-cut. In their review of the literature Liefbroer and Mulder (2006) conclude that the evidence is mixed; some studies show that people with higher levels of education hold stronger familial norms, while others find the opposite association. Regarding actual support, Dutch studies reveal that higher educated individuals are more prone to give emotional support to their family compared to people with lower levels of education. However, no differences in education were found with respect to instrumental help (Komter & Vollebergh, 2002). Second, partnership status is shown to be both related to childlessness and familial norms. Individuals who have never had a partner or who are single after being partnered are shown to have higher odds of being childless compared to cohabiting and especially compared to married individuals (e.g., Barber, 2001; Keizer, Dykstra & Jansen; Kiernan, 2004). Furthermore, studies show that married individuals have stronger familial norms than unmarried individuals (Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006), although the former do not differ from respondents who cohabit (Daatland 2007). It appears that having a partner is important here (Ward & Spitze, 1998). Finally, it is important to consider religiosity. Not only are religious persons less likely to be childless (see f.e., Bloom & Trussell, 1984; Veevers, 1979), but they are also more likely to express strong norms of familial responsibility (Reitsma, 2007).

DATA AND METHOD

Data Source

We have used data from the second wave of the public release file of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS). The NKPS is a large-scale panel survey on family ties, which started in 2002 among a representative sample of adults aged 18 to 79 residing in private households in the Netherlands (Dykstra et al., 2005). The data were collected by means of computer-assisted interview schedules. *Data from the first wave were collected between*

2002 and 2003. The overall response rate of the first wave was 45 %, which is lower than in comparable surveys in other Western countries, but similar to comparable large-scale family surveys in the Netherlands (De Leeuw & De Heer, 2001; Dykstra et al., 2005). The second wave was conducted between 2006 and 2007. The overall response rate of this wave was 74%. The cooperation rate for the second wave (excluding respondents who were too ill to participate, respondents who had moved abroad or died in between the waves) was 84%. We decided to make use of information from wave 2 rather than wave 1 as the first wave does not provide information on people's perceptions of their childless state. For our purposes, respondents were selected between the ages of 21 and 65. Our final sample included 5,165 respondents.

Dependent Variables

The literature on intergenerational obligations distinguishes two types of norms relating to familial responsibility. Different scholars give different names to them, but we shall refer to universal and personal norms (following Lee, Netzer, & Coward, 1994). Whereas the former refer to general norms pertaining to family support giving, the latter refer to individual feelings of personal responsibility towards one's own family. In the literature, both types are conceptually distinguished (Daatland & Herlofson, 2003; Ganong & Coleman, 2005; Lee et al., 1994; Piercy, 1998; Silverstein et al., 2006), but previous research has studied only universal norms regarding responsibility, with the exception of Ganong & Coleman's (2005) vignette study. Scholars have suggested that people's norms of familial responsibility may differ depending on whether they relate to universal or personal norms (Daatland & Herlofson, 2003; Gans & Silverstein, 2006; Lee et al., 1994; Silverstein et al., 2006). For example, even when individuals embrace the value of universal familial responsibility, they may not feel responsible to provide support themselves. To find out whether differences between childless individuals and parents depend on the type of norm, we included measures of both universal and personal familial responsibility norms in our analyses. Respondents were told explicitly that "family" in the survey context consisted of "a partner, parents, children, brothers and sisters, grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces."

Universal familial responsibility was measured using a four-item scale. Scale items are: "One should always be able to count on family," "Family members should be ready to support one another, even if they don't like each other," "If one is troubled, family should be there to provide support" and "Family members must help each other, in good times and bad." Respondents rated each item on a 5-point Likert scale. The reliability of the four items was $\alpha = .86$. Answers to these four questions were added up, potentially ranging from 4 (*weak familial responsibility*) up to 20 (*strong familial responsibility*).

Personal familial responsibility was derived from the question: "If there were a problem in your family, how responsible would you feel to solve the problem?" The responses ranged from 1 (*not at all responsible*) to 3 (*very responsible*).

Independent Variables

In this paper, we analyze familial responsibility norms among childless people in and beyond their fertile years. Therefore, we make use of two *separate* samples of individuals. In the

young sample, distinctions among childless individuals are based on childbearing intentions. In the survey, women under 45 and men under 50 received questions about their childbearing intentions. People without children were asked the question: "Do you think you'll have children in the future?" Answers were 1 (*yes*), 2 (*no*), and 3 (*don't know*). Those without biological or adopted children who said they did not intend to have children were categorized as: intention to remain childless (175 men and 155 women). Those without biological or adopted children who said they intended to have children were placed in the category: intention to become a parent (243 men and 253 women). Women under 45 and men under 50 with biological or adopted children were categorized as parents (763 men and 1097 women). Only 48 men (4%) and 54 women (4%) said they did not know whether they would have children in the future. We consider these numbers to be too small to obtain reliable results and have therefore excluded these respondents from our analyses.

In the older sample, distinctions among childless individuals are based on how they perceive their childless state: 1 (*voluntarily childless*) and 2 (*involuntarily childless*). Among childless women aged 45 and over, 176 identified themselves as voluntarily childless and 142 as involuntarily childless. Among childless men aged 50 and over, 106 said they were voluntarily childless and 104 men said they were involuntarily childless. Women over 45 and men over 50 with biological or adopted children were placed in the parent category (1246 women and 705 men).

Control Variables

Information about the respondents' education was derived from the question: "What is the highest level of education you achieved?" Answers ranged from 1 (*did not complete elementary school*) to 11 (*post-graduate*).

With respect to partnership status, people were considered to have a partner if they lived with a partner. We differentiated between: 1 (*never partnered*), 2 (*cohabiting*), 3 (*married*), and 4 (*single and formerly partnered*).

Religiosity was based on the two questions: "Do you count yourself as belonging to a particular faith, religious denomination or church?" and "How often do you currently attend services of a church or community of faith?" Respondents were coded 0 when they were *not religious*. They were coded 1 when they were *religious, but hardly ever went to church*, 2 when they were *religious and went once or a few times a year*, 3 when they were *religious and went once or a few times a month* and finally they were coded 4 when they were *religious and went once or a few times a week*.

Age was measured in years. Descriptive statistics of our dependent, independent and control variables are shown in Table 1.

Analytic Strategy

To facilitate interpretation of our results, we report differences in unadjusted and adjusted means between childless individuals and parents. These means are derived from multiple classification analysis (MCA). MCA is a procedure in ANOVA (ANalysis Of Variance). MCA

examines the relationships between several categorical independent variables and a single dependent variable, and determines the effects of each predictor before and after adjustment for its inter-correlations with other predictors in the analysis (Andrews, Morgan, Sonquist & Klem, 1973).

The means are adjusted for age, level of education, partnership status and religiosity. Results for significance tests between the groups of childless individuals and parents are discussed in the text below.

The measure for personal familial responsibility had only three answer categories and was not measured at interval level. For that reason, we ran additional analyses (not shown) with an ordered logit model. Results (available upon request) were very similar to those based on the MCA.

As mentioned, our analyses are based on two separate samples. We will first discuss the results for the respondents who are of fertile age before describing the results for those who are beyond their fertile years.

The literature shows gender differences in supportive exchanges among relatives, with women being more oriented towards their family than men (Hagestad, 1992; Komter & Vollebergh, 2002; Marks & McLanahan, 1993; Rosenthal, 1985; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). This notion was confirmed by our preliminary analyses, which showed significant interaction effects for gender. We found in the group of respondents in their fertile years, that women had significantly stronger personal familial norms and significantly weaker universal familial responsibility norms in comparison to men. The latter finding was also found in the group of respondents beyond their fertile years. Furthermore, the relationship between parental status and familial responsibility was moderated by gender. Involuntarily childless women reported to have stronger personal familial responsibility norms compared to involuntarily childless men. Based on the literature and the previously described results, our analyses were performed separately for women and men. First, we will discuss women's and men's universal familial responsibility norms, after which we turn to women's and men's personal familial responsibility norms. Differences between the unadjusted and the adjusted means will be explained using Table 1 and Table 2. The latter shows the standardized coefficients for our independent and control variables.

RESULTS

Linkages between Parental Status and Control Variables

Table 1 shows there are large differences between women and men with different parental status with respect to age, educational attainment, partner status and religion. Regarding age, individuals with childbearing intentions are younger than individuals without childbearing intentions and parents. In the older sample we find that mothers and fathers are older than individuals who have not made the transition to parenthood. Mothers are lower educated than childless women. Among men, there is less variation in educational attainment, although we see that men with childbearing intentions have the highest level of education of all men. Among both women and men we find that amongst parents there are far more

individuals who have a partner than amongst childless individuals. Regarding religion, we find that women without childbearing intentions are less religious than women with childbearing intentions, who are again less religious compared to mothers. The same holds for women in the older sample. For men we find that fathers are more religious than childless men.

Table 1.
Descriptive Statistics of the Dependent, Independent and Control Variables,
by Parental Status and Gender

		Universal norms	Personal norms	Age	Level of education ^a	Partnership status ^b	Religious ^c
Women	No childbearing intentions	13.61	2.26	37.70	7.82	0.41	0.46
Below 45	Intentions	14.76	2.35	28.40	8.26	0.54	0.88
(n=1505)	Mothers	14.49	2.33	37.12	6.86	0.86	1.03
Men	No childbearing intentions	14.30	2.16	40.87	7.11	0.49	0.73
Below 50	Intentions	14.98	2.23	30.76	7.56	0.41	0.62
(n=1181)	Fathers	14.79	2.29	40.99	7.17	0.93	1.09
Women	Voluntarily childless	13.08	2.25	50.34	7.70	0.44	0.61
Aged 45 +	Involuntarily childless	13.83	2.31	51.91	7.44	0.43	1.02
(n=1564)	Mothers	14.50	2.20	54.04	5.94	0.75	1.21
Men	Voluntarily childless	14.39	2.14	53.23	7.39	0.42	0.78
Aged 50+	Involuntarily childless	14.69	2.08	53.65	6.69	0.46	0.88
(n=915)	Fathers	14.74	2.24	57.21	6.77	0.85	1.22

Note: ^a1 (did not complete elementary school); 11 (post-graduate) ^bProportion having a partner. ^c0 not religious; 1 religious, hardly ever go; 2 religious, once or a few times a year; 3 religious, once or a few times a month; 4 religious, once or a few times a week.

Linkages between Control Variables and Familial Responsibility

Table 2 reveals that age, and especially religion and educational attainment, are the most important control variables with respect to familial responsibility. Partnership status is of little importance for feelings of familial responsibility. When significant, the coefficient for age shows that older individuals report weaker norms of familial responsibility. Persons with a higher level of education report lower levels of universal familial responsibility, but higher levels of personal familial responsibility. Finally, the table shows that religious individuals have significantly higher norms of universal and personal familial responsibility.

Table 2:

**Standardized Coefficients of Independent and Control Variables on
Universal and Personal Familial Responsibility**

Variables	Women		Men	
	Universal	Personal	Universal	Personal
Respondents in fertile years				
No childbearing intentions	-0.76**	-.023	-.060	-.069
Childbearing intentions	-.34	.005	.012	-.010
Parents	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Age	-.149***	-.014	-.065	.003
Educational attainment	-.138***	.089***	-.116***	.085***
Never partnered	.040	-.036	.016	-.033
Cohabiting	.038	-.013	.011	-.032
Married	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Single, formerly partnered	.035	-.029	.006	-.036
Religious	.127***	.056*	.153***	.077*
Respondents beyond fertile years				
Voluntarily childless	-.123***	-.006	.014	-.066
Involuntarily childless	-.051	.031	.022	-.076*
Parents	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Age	-.009	-.082**	.063	-.033
Educational attainment	-.135***	.127***	-.132***	.159***
Never partnered	.036	-.024	-.006	-.034
Cohabiting	-.030	.026	-.062	-.009
Married	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Single, formerly partnered	.054*	-.035	.013	-.075*
Religious	.108***	.072**	.130***	.147***

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Parental Status and Familial Responsibility

Table 3, the first set of rows, shows that childless women who intend to remain childless have significantly weaker norms of universal familial responsibility than childless women with childbearing intentions and mothers. Childless women with childbearing intentions and mothers do not differ significantly from each other. These findings hold for both the unadjusted and the adjusted means. The finding that only women who intend to remain childless differ from mothers suggests that selection is at play here.

Among women in the older sample, the second set of rows, the unadjusted means show that mothers have significantly stronger norms of universal familial responsibility compared to involuntarily and voluntarily childless women. Furthermore, the unadjusted means also show that involuntarily childless women have significantly stronger norms of universal familial responsibility compared to voluntarily childless women. This latter difference is no longer significant when we turn to our adjusted means. The explanation for the disappearance of this effect is that we controlled for educational attainment and religion. Both factors have

a strong impact on universal familial responsibility and also differ strongly between the voluntarily and involuntarily childless. As a result, differences between the groups of women become smaller. When our means are adjusted for our control variables, only voluntarily childless women have significantly weaker norms of universal familial responsibility compared to mothers. Involuntarily childless women do not differ significantly from voluntarily childless women, nor do they differ significantly from mothers. These findings suggest footprints of both selection and adaptation and show that it depends on the degree of volition whether or not childless women differ from mothers in terms of their universal familial responsibility norms. Childless women have weaker norms of familial responsibility compared to mothers when their childless state is of their own volition.

The third and fourth set of rows in Table 3 details men's universal familial responsibility norms. The third set of rows, our younger sample, shows that men who intend to remain childless have a significantly weaker sense of universal familial responsibility compared to fathers and men who intend to become fathers. These two latter groups do not differ significantly from each other. These findings hold for both the unadjusted and the adjusted means. The finding that only men who intend to remain childless differ from fathers suggests that selection is at play here. Among men in our older sample, we find that voluntarily childless men, involuntarily childless men and fathers do not differ significantly from each other in terms of their norms of universal familial responsibility. These findings hold for both the unadjusted and the adjusted means.

Table 3:
Unadjusted and Adjusted Means and Tests of Significance for Universal Responsibility
(Adjusted Deviations between Brackets)

Variables	Unadjusted Means		Adjusted Means	
Women				
<i>Aged below 45</i>				
No childbearing intentions	13.61 ^a	(-0.83)	13.96 ^a	(-0.48)
Childbearing intentions	14.76 ^b	(0.32)	14.38 ^b	(-0.06)
Mothers	14.48 ^b	(0.04)	14.52 ^b	(0.08)
<i>Aged 45 and above</i>				
Voluntary childless	13.05 ^a	(-1.22)	13.42 ^a	(-0.85)
Involuntary childless	13.82 ^b	(-0.46)	14.07	(-0.20)
Mothers	14.50 ^c	(0.22)	14.41 ^b	(0.14)
Men				
<i>Aged below 50</i>				
No childbearing intentions	14.30 ^a	(-0.46)	14.38 ^a	(-0.36)
Childbearing intentions	14.98 ^b	(0.22)	14.89 ^b	(-0.14)
Fathers	14.79 ^b	(0.03)	14.78 ^b	(0.04)
<i>Aged 50 and above</i>				
Voluntary childless	14.40	(-0.30)	14.77	(0.08)
Involuntary childless	14.70	(-0.00)	14.91	(0.22)
Fathers	14.73	(0.05)	14.64	(-0.04)

Note: Means with different superscripts differ significantly at the $p < .01$ level

In Table 4 we turn to personal familial responsibility. The first set of rows shows no significant differences between women in our younger sample. These findings hold for both the unadjusted and the adjusted means. When we focus on women in the older sample, the unadjusted means show that voluntarily childless women do not significantly differ from mothers. Furthermore, the unadjusted means show that involuntarily childless women have significantly stronger norms of personal familial responsibility compared to mothers and voluntarily childless women. This latter difference is no longer significant when we turn to our adjusted means. The explanation for the disappearance of this effect is that we controlled for educational attainment and religion. Both factors have a strong impact on personal familial responsibility and also differ strongly between the voluntarily and involuntarily childless. As a result, differences between the groups of women become smaller. When our means are adjusted for our control variables, differences between the groups of women are no longer significant. When it comes to their sense of responsibility towards their own families, childless women and mothers appear to be quite similar.

The last two sets of rows in Table 4 show men's personal familial responsibility norms. Looking at the third set of columns, the younger sample of men, we see that childless men who intend to remain childless have a significantly weaker sense of personal familial responsibility than fathers. Childless men who intend to have children in the future do not differ from childless men who intend to remain childless, nor do they differ from fathers in terms of their norms of personal familial responsibility. These findings hold for both the unadjusted and the adjusted means. These findings suggest footprints of both selection and adaptation.

Turning to the older sample in the final set of rows, the unadjusted means show that voluntarily childless men do not significantly differ from fathers. Furthermore, the unadjusted means show that involuntarily childless men have significantly weaker norms of personal familial responsibility compared to fathers and voluntarily childless men. These findings change when we look at our adjusted means. There we find that both voluntarily and involuntarily childless men have significantly weaker norms of personal familial responsibility. The explanation for this change is that we controlled for educational attainment. Voluntarily childless men are highly educated and the higher a man is educated the stronger his personal familial norms. Controlling for educational attainment lowers the mean for voluntarily childless men. When our means are adjusted for our control variables, both voluntarily and involuntarily childless men have significantly weaker norms of personal familial responsibility than fathers. Voluntarily and involuntarily childless men do not differ significantly from each other. The finding that they differ from fathers suggests that adaptation is at play here. Permanently childless men, regardless of the degree of volition, have a weaker sense of personal familial responsibility than fathers.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The first aim of this paper was to find out whether childless people have weaker norms of familial responsibility than parents. In order to properly analyze differences between childless individuals and parents, we distinguished two types of childless people based on volition. We found that not all individuals without children have weaker norms of familial responsibility. Where differences were found, they indicated, with one exception, that only childless people

Table 4:
Adjusted Means and Tests of Significance for Personal Responsibility
(Adjusted Deviations between Brackets)

Variables	Unadjusted Means		Adjusted Means	
<i>Women</i>				
<i>Aged below 45</i>				
No childbearing intentions	2.26	(-0.06)	2.26	(-0.06)
Childbearing intentions	2.35	(0.02)	2.32	(-0.04)
Mothers	2.33	(0.00)	2.33	(0.01)
<i>Aged 45 and above</i>				
Voluntary childless	2.24 ^a	(0.03)	2.19	(-0.03)
Involuntary childless	2.32 ^b	(0.10)	2.26	(0.04)
Mothers	2.20 ^a	(-0.01)	2.22	(-0.00)
<i>Men</i>				
<i>Aged below 50</i>				
No childbearing intentions	2.16 ^a	(-0.10)	2.17 ^a	(-0.09)
Childbearing intentions	2.23	(-0.03)	2.24	(-0.02)
Fathers	2.29 ^b	(0.03)	2.28 ^b	(0.03)
<i>Aged 50 and above</i>				
Voluntary childless	2.14 ^a	(-0.07)	2.11 ^a	(-0.09)
Involuntary childless	2.07 ^b	(-0.13)	2.07 ^a	(-0.13)
Fathers	2.23 ^a	(0.03)	2.24 ^b	(0.03)

who choose, or have chosen to remain childless have a weaker sense of responsibility. These findings underline the importance of knowing the degree of volition in order to fully understand differences between parents and people who are childless. As others have suggested, a subjective definition of not having children is crucial to accurate assessment of childlessness in people's lives (Connidis & Campbell, 1995).

Making a distinction between voluntarily and involuntarily childless people has enabled us to find out whether selection or adaptation underlies differences in norms of familial responsibility. We found most evidence for selection. Only those who voluntarily opt for a childless life, not those who want or wanted to have children, were shown to have weaker norms of familial responsibility than parents. We found strong adaptation among older men: norms of personal familial responsibility were much stronger among fathers than among both voluntarily and involuntarily childless men. An explanation might be that the transition to fatherhood has led men to think solely of "family" as their nuclear family, rather than seeing family as the wider circle of family members. As feelings of family obligation have been shown to be stronger for close family and to decrease with a lower level of relatedness (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), fathers—with their children in mind—may have expressed stronger feelings of familial responsibility than childless men.

Becoming a parent serves to reinforce men's norms of personal familial responsibility. Among women, by contrast, parental status appears to be of little importance when it comes to their personal feelings of responsibility. Previous research has consistently shown that women

have a special role as kin keepers who sustain family contacts and tend to be more family-oriented than men (Hagestad, 1992; Komter & Vollebergh, 2002; Marks & McLanahan, 1993; Rosenthal, 1985; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). So whereas women were found to always feel responsible for their own families, men appear to need the presence of children to activate the significance of family in their own personal lives.

In contrasting universal with personal norms of familial responsibility, we found differences between childless individuals and parents. Interesting results were found for women. Although voluntarily childless women do not have weaker expressions of personal familial responsibility than mothers, they do have a weaker sense of universal familial responsibility compared to mothers. It appears that voluntarily childless women do not want to impose responsibility on others. This fits with the notion that voluntarily childless individuals have individualistic attitudes and believe that everybody should decide for themselves how responsible they want to be (Kopper & Smith, 2001; LaMastro, 2001; Letherby, 2002; Mueller & Yoder, 1999). Our attempt to contrast universal with personal familial responsibility norms is a first step towards studying differences between universal and personal familial responsibility in a large-scale survey study. Our measure for personal familial responsibility was based on only one item, with a range of no more than three answer categories. A measure that consists of more items might be more reliable. Future research that takes into account more elaborate measures of personal familial responsibility would be a welcome addition to the literature on intergenerational obligations.

Furthermore, family is a broad concept. Specifying the conceptualization of family to the respondents has the advantage of comparability across respondents. Despite the fact that respondents were told explicitly that "family" in the survey context consisted of "a partner, parents, children, brothers and sisters, grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews and nieces," we cannot rule out the possibility that respondents differed in their conceptions of family. It is conceivable that some thought only of their family of origin, others thought of their family of procreation and yet others of the extended family.

In this paper we started off by observing that in the literature the childless tend to be depicted as lacking social responsibility. Our results showed that on the whole childless individuals and parents do not differ strongly in terms of familial responsibility. But when they do, only those who are childless by choice tend to have weaker norms of familial responsibility. Despite these "individualistic" characteristics, childless women were not found to express less responsibility towards their own families. In other words, what people feel family members in general should do for their families does not necessarily tally with what they feel they themselves should do for their own families. Our research shows that women, irrespective of their parental status, feel personally responsible for their own families. This finding does not substantiate the socially constructed image of the childless as being selfish and individualistic. Only men were found to need children of their own to activate the significance of family in their personal lives. As women are the kin keepers of the family, and as childless women were found to feel as responsible for their own family members as mothers, our study did not yield evidence for the claim that increasing rates of childlessness contribute to declining levels of family solidarity.

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ABSTRACTS (English)

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Childlessness and Norms of Familial Responsibility in the Netherlands

Using data from the second wave of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS) for 3069 female and 2096 male respondents, we studied differences in norms of universal and of personal familial responsibility between childless individuals and parents. Differences depend on the type of norm studied. Childless individuals, and in most cases only those who opt voluntarily for a childless life, express weaker norms of universal familial responsibility in comparison with parents. Women's norms of personal familial responsibility do not vary by parental status. Men appear to need the presence of children to activate feelings of personal responsibility for family members. Differences between childless individuals and parents are attributable to selection rather than to adaptation. The theoretical and social implications of our findings are discussed.

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"Living Together Without Being Married": Perceptions of Female Adolescents in the Mexico-United States Border Region

This is a study of the Mexico-United States Border female youth's perceptions about "living

together without being married" as an alternative in the process of family formation and as a new modality of intimate relationships of youth in their transition to adulthood. We analyze the case of working class females between 15-18 years old residing in Tijuana, Mexico, and in San Diego County, California. This comparative analysis focuses on individual, cultural, gender, institutional, and community factors shaping youth perceptions between two groups of Mexican-origin youth residing on different sides of the border but sharing the same family culture roots. The study uses information from fifteen focus groups conducted with female students from two of the largest public high schools in Tijuana and three public high schools in San Diego. Among the findings, we observe interesting differences between these two groups of young women. Latino adolescents in San Diego prefer to use the concept of cohabitation when referring to the idea of "living together without being married." This type of relationship forms part of the process of growing up. Tijuana girls, however, prefer to use the concept of consensual union. This term mixes the traditional Mexican consensual union with some traces of the modern concept for cohabitation. The traditional meaning tends to dominate the "idea of living together without being married" among Tijuana girls.

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Living Life in Two Worlds: Acculturative Stress among Asian International Graduate Student Parents and Spouses

This qualitative study examined the experiences of Asian international graduate students and spouses with children at a university in the U.S. Participants ($n=31$) from China, Korea, the Philippines, and Taiwan were interviewed regarding their stressors. Some stressors were identified in the answers of the group as a whole: (a) adjustment to a new culture; (b) feeling overwhelmed; (c) language difficulty; (d) feelings of isolation; (e) financial stress; and (f) marital stress. Stressors found only in the answers of the students were: (a) balancing multiple roles; (b) adjusting to the academic culture; (c) finding child care; and, among male students, d) worrying about the non-student spouse. Stressors unique to non-student spouses included: (a) loss of roles and status; (b) power imbalance in the couple relationships; and (c) feeling inadequate. Implications for research and practice with international graduate student parents/spouses are provided.

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Ethnic Differences in the Living Arrangements of Children in South Africa

This study examines ethnic variations in children's living arrangements among black South Africans. Using data from the 1996 South African population and housing census and descriptive and multivariate analyses, I explore if there are differences in children's residence patterns by ethnicity, identify the most common forms of household structure in which children live, and examine the role of various background factors in determining these living arrangements. Descriptive results show marked ethnic variations in the living arrangements of children, with more than 50 per cent of children living in extended households as opposed to living in a two-parent nuclear

household or a single-parent nuclear household. Multinomial logistic regression results also show large differences in children's living arrangements across groups, underscoring the salience of ethnicity. Other individual and household-level factors that have significant effects on children's living arrangements include child's gender and schooling status, the head of household's level of schooling and gender, household size, standard of living and place of residence. For instance, children living in urban areas are more likely to live in extended households than those living in rural areas.

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Family Processes as Predictors of Antisocial Behaviors among Adolescents from Urban, Single-Mother Malay Families in Malaysia

This study set out to determine the relationship between family processes (i.e. parenting behavior, family values and family competency) and antisocial behavior among adolescents ($n = 14,42$ years) from urban, single-mother families in Malaysia. The sample comprised 240 Malay single mother-adolescent dyads from four states in Peninsula Malaysia. Findings revealed that parenting behavior ($r = -0.29, p < .001$) and family competency ($r = -0.20, p < .01$) were significantly and negatively related to adolescent antisocial behavior. None of the family background variables were significantly related to adolescent antisocial behavior. After controlling for family background variables, multiple regression results indicated that both parenting behavior and family competency uniquely predicted antisocial behavior ($F = 12.24;$

$p < .001$). The results suggest that Malaysian adolescents from urban single-mother families with low functioning and low parenting quality were at higher risk for engaging in antisocial behaviors. Implications on research and practice as well as Malaysian social policies are considered.

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Gender Role Disruption and Marital Satisfaction among Wives of Chinese International Students in the United States

Chinese wives coming to the U.S. while their husbands study at American universities are cast in a untenable situation rooted in a conflict between Chinese socialization for gender roles and their status in the U.S. While China sanctions gender role equality in education and the workplace and paid work is expected of women and men alike, sojourning wives are thrust into a dependent position, at least for some unpredictable period of time during their stay in the U.S. This study examines what we refer to as gender role disruption, and how conflict between gender ideology and gender roles affects marital satisfaction, through the mediating effect of self-esteem, among wives of Chinese international students in the U.S. The study was framed by two theories—feminism and symbolic

interactionism. A self-completion questionnaire and follow-up interviews were conducted with a sample of Chinese sojourning wives, generating both quantitative and qualitative data. Although the results of the quantitative data analysis did not find an association between gender role disruption and marital satisfaction, qualitative results suggested that gender role disruption was related to marital satisfaction, although indirectly, through variables illuminated in the in-depth interviews. In particular, individual characteristics, spousal support, and adjustment to the new culture seemed to be important to marital satisfaction in the sojourning context. Further research, using a larger sample and additional variables brought out through the qualitative data, would shed more light on this process. Implications for counselors, advisors, and others working with international students and their families are discussed.

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The Sense of Collectivism and Individualism among Husbands and Wives in Traditional and Bi-cultural Navajo Indian Families on the Navajo Reservation

We examined the extent to which husbands and wives reported a sense of collectivism and individualism in traditional and bi-cultural Navajo families on the Navajo Reservation. Husbands and wives from thirty-five traditional and thirty-five bi-cultural intact families participated in the study. Participants were interviewed to collect data. MANOVA analyses reveal that whereas husbands and wives from traditional families

showed higher levels of collectivism than the husbands and wives in bi-cultural families, husbands and wives in both traditional and bi-cultural families showed a similar level of individualism. Qualitative accounts further suggest that although these Navajos largely adhere to their traditional collectivist world view, many of them are in transition to adapt to an individualistic self-other perspective. Results are discussed in terms of the nature of contemporary Navajo collectivism as a function of American mainstream values.

the condition of being financially supportive and the ability to be fair. Responses of children revealed that their fathers treated them normally, and as siblings, children love each other and did not have any differences. As for polygamy, children support such a practice as a solution to spinsterhood. The researchers believe that it would be valuable to conduct additional research to detect the perspectives of not only those who are involved in polygamous marriages but also other Jordanians from monogamous marriages in order to clearly detect their views of polygamy.

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The Intersection of Motherhood and Disability: Being a "Good" Korean Mother to an "Imperfect" Child

Polygamy and Its Impact on the Upbringing of Children: A Jordanian Perspective

The purpose of this study was to identify the impact of polygamy on the upbringing of children by examining whether polygamous marital structures are beneficial or harmful to children. To obtain data, the researchers conducted two focus group interviews using the multiple case study design, including, talking with twenty one family members from polygamous marriages in Jordan. The results indicated that the husbands felt that polygamy does not adversely affect the family. Husbands also felt that they are the ones responsible for the family's welfare, in addition to providing their children with all the care and support possible. The wives felt that the care, upbringing, and education of their children was customary, and their spouses did not hold back on any of their responsibilities. They declared that their husbands provided education, proper housing for their children, helped them with their wedding expenses, and there were no effects of multiplicity. They showed their comfort with polygamy as they support such a practice with

This study springs from a larger cross-cultural project about mothering a child with a disability in South Korea and in the United States. The present analysis focuses on data collected in South Korea. Integrating critical feminist and disability theories within a social constructionist framework (McGraw & Walker, 2007), we asked (a) how dominant sociocultural systems related to mothering and disability shape South Korean mothers' understanding of themselves and their children with autism and (b) how mothers conform to and resist these systems. To answer these questions, we conducted in-depth interviews with 14 middle-class, South Korean mothers with children who have autism. We found that mothers resist stigmatizing beliefs about their children by reconstructing the meaning of "normal" childhood and by relying on a network of similarly situated mothers for support. We also found that these mothers conform to traditional beliefs about "good" mothering by adhering to Confucian family values that encourage women to sacrifice themselves to focus on their children's success. From these findings, we offer implications for practice.

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Roma people. This paper contextualizes study findings by briefly summarizing Roma historical and current experience in Europe; this experience is critical to an understanding of the difficulties that Roma encounter with institutional systems.

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Needs of Refugee Children in Canada: What Can Roma Refugee Families Tell Us?

Urbanization and Social Identities in Jordan: The Case of Irbid

Little attention has been paid to the needs of refugee children in Canada. The last decade has seen increasing numbers of Roma refugees settling in southern Ontario, and this qualitative study explored the needs of Roma refugee children in the education, health and social services sectors. We interviewed or conducted focus groups with 24 Roma and 62 service providers from those sectors. Participants indicated that Roma children had high needs for service in all these sectors, but that families were often unable or unwilling to access services effectively. Specifically, children needed schooling for language acquisition and for the development of social relationships; absenteeism was a concern. Income assistance was needed by Roma and other newly-arriving families. Continuity and quality of health care was an issue. In all sectors, barriers were related to language, culture and the unique history of the

This study examines the relationship between urbanization and the development of social identities in Jordan using the anthropological methodology of conducting field research in Irbid city. The following are the main results: - Primordial tribal attachments have constantly been reproduced as basis for the urban or national identities. The major difference between identity in Irbid in both pre and post-urbanization periods was that relations between individuals became impersonal in addition to the personal ones. Individuals had ethnic, national and class affiliations beside the tribal ones. - Moreover, considering that the collective national sense prevailed before independence and before the Palestinian exodus, process of producing and reproducing a collective Jordanian national identity cannot be considered as counter practice or strategy against other groups of communities.

ABSTRACTS (French)

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Childlessness and Norms of Familial Responsibility in the Netherlands

L'infécondité et les normes de responsabilités familiales. Sur la base des données du deuxième cycle de l'enquête "Netherlands Kinship Panel Study" (NKPS) pour 2069 femmes et 2096 hommes, nous étudions les différences entre les individus inféconds et féconds en termes de normes universelles et/ou personnelles de responsabilités familiales. Nous trouvons que les différences semblent dépendre du type de norme. Les individus inféconds, et dans la plupart des cas uniquement ceux qui ont opté volontairement pour une vie sans enfant, expriment des normes plus faibles quant aux responsabilités familiales universelles en comparaison avec les parents. Pour les femmes, les normes personnelles de responsabilités familiales ne varient pas avec la présence ou l'absence d'enfants. Les hommes semblent nécessiter la présence d'enfants pour engendrer les sentiments de responsabilité personnelle face aux membres de la famille. Les différences entre les individus féconds et inféconds sont attribuables à des effets de sélection plutôt qu'à l'adaptation. Les implications théoriques et sociales de nos résultats sont examinées.

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"Living Together Without Being Married": Perceptions of Female Adolescents in the Mexico-United States Border Region

La présente étude a pour but l'analyse des perceptions des jeunes filles habitant à la frontière entre le Mexique et les États-Unis par rapport au fait de "vivre ensemble sans être mariés" en tant qu'alternative dans le processus de former une famille et en tant que modalité nouvelle dans les relations intimes des jeunes au cours de leur passage à l'âge adulte. Nous y analysons le cas de jeunes filles de 15 à 18 ans appartenant à la classe sociale des travailleurs des deux côtés de la frontière: à Tijuana, du côté mexicain et à San Diego, en Californie, du côté américain. L'analyse comparative se concentre sur plusieurs des facteurs individuels, culturels, de genres, institutionnels et communautaires qui forgent les perceptions des deux groupes de jeunes filles d'origine mexicaine habitant de côtés différents de la frontière mais partageant les mêmes racines culturelles quant à la famille. Cette étude utilise les informations obtenues au sein de quinze groupes focaux formés par des étudiantes venant des deux lycées publics les plus importants de Tijuana et de trois lycées publics de San Diego. Il ressort des résultats des différences intéressantes entre les deux groupes de jeunes filles. Les adolescentes de San Diego d'origine latine préfèrent utiliser le concept de cohabitation pour parler de "vivre ensemble sans être mariés," ce genre de relations étant considéré comme faisant partie du processus normal pour devenir adulte. Tandis que les jeunes filles de Tijuana préfèrent utiliser le terme d'union consensuelle qui combine l'union libre mexicaine traditionnelle avec certains vestiges du concept moderne de cohabitation. Le sens traditionnel a tendance à dominer l'idée de "vivre ensemble sans être mariés" chez les jeunes filles de Tijuana.

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Living Life in Two Worlds: Acculturative Stress among Asian International Graduate Student Parents and Spouses

Cette étude qualitative a examiné les expériences d'étudiants internationaux asiatiques diplômés, de leurs conjoints et de leurs enfants allant dans une université aux États-Unis. Les participants (n=31) de Chine, Corée, des Philippines et Taiwan ont été interrogés sur leurs facteurs de stress. Certains facteurs ont été identifiés dans les réponses du groupe dans son ensemble: (a) l'ajustement à une nouvelle culture; (b) le sentiment d'être dépassé; (c) les difficultés linguistiques; (d) le sentiment d'isolement; (e) les difficultés financières; (f) le stress conjugal. Les facteurs de stress présents uniquement dans les réponses des étudiants étaient: (a) l'équilibre des rôles multiples; (b) l'adaptation à la culture universitaire; (c) la recherche de crèche pour les enfants; et, parmi les étudiants de sexe masculin, (d) l'inquiétude pour le conjoint non-étudiant. Les facteurs de stress relatifs aux seuls conjoints non-étudiants étaient: (a) la perte des rôles et statut; (b) le déséquilibre de pouvoir dans la relation du couple, (c) le sentiment d'impuissance. Les implications pour la recherche et la pratique avec des étudiants diplômés internationaux parents/conjoints sont fournis.

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Ethnic Differences in the Living Arrangements of Children in South Africa

Cette étude examine les différences ethniques des conditions de vie au sein des noirs Sud-Africains. En me servant des bases de données du recensement de la population et du logement des Sud-africains en 1996, ainsi que des analyses descriptives et multivariées, je me demande s'il y a des différences dans les modèles de résidence des enfants selon leurs origines ethniques, j'identifie les formes les plus communes des structures des familles dans lesquelles les enfants vivent, et étudie le rôle de différents facteurs dont l'origine détermine ces conditions de vie. Les résultats descriptifs démontrent des différences ethniques très marquées entre les modèles de vie des enfants, avec plus de 50 pour cent d'enfants vivant dans des familles élargies, par opposition à ceux qui vivent dans des familles nucléaires à deux voire à un seul parent. Des résultats des régressions logistiques multinomiales montrent aussi de larges différences dans les conditions de vie des enfants au sein des groupes, soulignant l'importance des origines ethniques. D'autres facteurs individuels et de niveau familial qui ont aussi des effets considérables sur les conditions de vie des enfants incluent la question de l'égalité des sexes entre les enfants, et la situation scolaire, le niveau d'études et la sexospécificité du chef de famille, la taille de la famille, le niveau de vie et le lieu de résidence. Par exemple, les enfants vivant dans les zones urbaines ont plus de chance de vivre dans des foyers élargis que ceux vivant dans les zones rurales.

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Family Processes as Predictors of Antisocial Behaviors among Adolescents from Urban, Single-Mother Malay Families in Malaysia

Cette étude visait à déterminer la relation entre les processus familiaux (le comportement parental à savoir, les valeurs familiales et la compétence de la famille) et les comportements antisociaux chez les adolescents (m = 14,42 années) à partir de familles urbaines est une mère célibataire, en Malaisie. L'échantillon comprenait 240 malais unique dyades mère-adolescent à partir de quatre Etats dans la péninsule de Malaisie. Les résultats ont révélé que le comportement parental ($r = -0,29, p < .001$) et la compétence de la famille ($r = -0,20, p < .01$) ont été significativement et négativement liés au comportement antisociaux chez les adolescents. Aucune des variables des antécédents familiaux étaient significativement liés à des comportements antisociaux chez les adolescents. Pour les variables de contrôle après le contexte familial, résultats de la régression multiple a indiqué que les deux comportements parentaux et la compétence de la famille unique prédit les comportements antisociaux ($F = 12,24, p < .001$). Les résultats suggèrent que les adolescents malais de familles monoparentales en milieu urbain avec un fonctionnement à faible et la qualité de parents à faible étaient plus à risque de s'engager dans des comportements antisociaux. Conséquences sur la recherche et la pratique ainsi que la Malaisie politiques sociales sont considérées.

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Gender Role Disruption and Marital Satisfaction among Wives of Chinese International Students in the United States

Les femmes chinoises séjournantes en venant aux Etats-Unis pendant que leurs maris font leurs études aux universités américaines sont lancées dans une situation intenable quelle sort du conflit entre la socialisation des rôles des genres en Chine et leur situation d'être aux Etats-Unis. Tandis que la Chine sanctionne l'égalité de rôle de genre dans l'éducation et au milieu de l'emploi, avec l'expectation que les femmes être payées au même que les homes, les femmes séjournantes sont poussées dans une position dépendante, pour une période de temps imprévisible au moins, pendant leur séjour aux Etats-Unis. Cette étude a examiné ce conflit entre l'idéologie et les rôles des genres, ce que nous référons à la perturbation des rôles des genres, a affecté la satisfaction conjugale parmi les femmes chinoises séjournantes des étudiants internationaux chinois aux Etats-Unis, par l'effet agir en médiateur d'amour-propre. L'étude a été encadrée par deux théories, l'interactionisme symbolique et le féminisme. Un questionnaire d'auto-complément et un entrevue de suivi ont été dirigés avec un échantillon des femmes chinoises séjournantes, produisant des données quantitatives et qualitatives. Bien que les résultats de l'analyse de données quantitative n'ont pas trouvé une association entre la perturbation de rôle de genre et la satisfaction maritale, les résultats qualitatifs ont suggéré, quoique indirectement, que la perturbation de rôle de genre ait relaté à la satisfaction conjugale grâce à des variables illuminées dans les entretiens en profondeur. En particulier, les caractéristiques individuelles, soutien entre conjoints, et l'ajustement à la nouvelle culture semblait important de la satisfaction conjugale dans le contexte séjournant. D'autres recherches, en utilisant un échantillon plus large et des variables supplémentaires mis en évidence par des données qualitatives, pourrait apporter plus de lumière sur ce processus. Les implications pour les conseillers, et d'autres travaillant avec les étudiants internationaux et leurs familles sont discutés.

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The Sense of Collectivism and Individualism among Husbands and Wives in Traditional and Bi-cultural Navajo Indian Families on the Navajo Reservation

Nous analysons jusqu'à quel niveau les maris et les femmes ont fait montre de collectivisme et d'individualisme dans les familles traditionnelles et biculturelles Navajo de la Réserve Navajo. Les maris et les femmes de trente-cinq familles traditionnelles et trente-cinq familles biculturelles ont participé à l'étude. Les données ont été collectées après des entretiens avec les participants. Les analyses MANOVA révèlent que, tandis que les maris et les femmes des familles traditionnelles ont fait preuve d'un niveau plus élevé de collectivisme par rapport aux maris et femmes des familles biculturelles, les maris et les femmes des deux types de familles ont présenté le même niveau d'individualisme. Des interprétations qualitatives suggèrent ensuite que, même si ces Navajo adhèrent largement à leur perception traditionnelle collectiviste, nombre d'entre eux sont dans une situation de transition pour s'adapter à une perspective individualiste. Les résultats sont analysés en termes de la nature du collectivisme contemporain Navajo comme étant une fonction des valeurs cardinales américaines.

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Polygamy and Its Impact on the Upbringing of Children: A Jordanian Perspective

Cette étude visait à détecter les effets éducatifs les plus importants de la polygamie sur l'éducation des enfants en particulier et la famille en général du point de vue des maris et des épouses et des enfants. Pour atteindre les objectifs de l'étude, les chercheurs ont mené des entretiens directement avec les membres de l'échantillon de l'étude, qui se composait de vingt et un membres de deux familles jordaniennes vivent à Ajloun gouvernorat, à travers une série de questions qui leur sont posées. Les données ont été collectées dans les tableaux en particulier pour extraire les résultats, où les résultats indiqués dans l'avis de l'échantillon de l'étude de la pluralité des femmes n'a pas eu un impact négatif sur la polygamie et la famille et que les maris et malgré la présence de plus d'une femme ne sont pas abandonnés ou négligés les soins et l'éducation de leurs enfants. Les femmes n'ont pas d'objection à la présence de plus d'une femme aussi longtemps que ces couples sont en mesure d'assurer la justice entre les femmes et entre les enfants et la fourniture des conditions nécessaires pour la famille. En plus, les membres de l'échantillon de l'étude ont estimé que la polygamie peut être une des solutions appropriées au phénomène du célibat dans la communauté. Afin de comprendre ce phénomène sous de multiples perspectives, l'étude a recommandé un certain nombre de recommandations, y compris la réalisation d'études similaires pour la détection des points de vue différents de ceux qui ne vivent pas dans des maisons où il y a la plusieurs femmes.

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The Intersection of Motherhood and Disability: Being a "Good" Korean Mother to an "Imperfect" Child

Cette étude provient d'un projet extensif interculturel sur le maternage des enfants avec des invalidités en Corée du sud et aux Etats Unis. La présente analyse se fixe sur des données rassemblées en Corée du Sud. Intégrant les théories critiques féministes et celles de l'invalidité dans un cadre social constructiviste (McGraw & Walker, 2007), nous avons demandé, (a) comment les systèmes dominants socioculturels liés aux maternages et à l'invalidité peuvent modeler les compréhensions des mères sud-coréennes elles-mêmes et de leurs enfants avec autismes et (b) comment les mères puissent se conformer à et résister à ces systèmes. Pour répondre à ces questions, nous avons mené des entretiens en profondeur avec 14 mères sud-coréennes de la classe moyenne et des enfants qui ont l'autisme. Nous avons trouvé que les mères se conforment aux croyances traditionnelles de "bon" maternage en adhérant aux valeurs des familles confucianistes qui encouragent les femmes à se sacrifier pour se focaliser sur les succès de leurs enfants. A partir de ces conclusions, nous offrons des implications pour la pratique.

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Needs of Refugee Children in Canada: What Can Roma Refugee Families Tell Us?

Peu d'attention est prêtée aux besoins des enfants réfugiés au Canada. Au cours de la dernière décennie, de plus en plus de réfugiés Roma se sont établis au sud de l'Ontario. Cette étude qualitative a examinée les besoins des enfants réfugiés Roma vis-à-vis les secteurs de l'éducation, la santé, et les services sociaux. Nous avons menés des entretiens individuels et en groupe avec 24 Roma and 62 fournisseurs de services dans les secteurs d'éducation, santé, et services sociaux. Les participants ont indiqués que les enfants Roma ont des besoins considérables vis-à-vis les services dans chacun de ces secteurs, mais que les familles Roma sont souvent incapables ou indisposées d'employer ces services d'une manière efficace. En particulier, les enfants ont besoin de l'éducation pour améliorer l'acquisition du langage et l'établissement des relations sociales. L'aide financière est aussi requise par les familles Roma, y compris les familles nouvellement arrivées. Finalement, la continuité et la qualité des soins médicaux ont été comme problèmes importants. Dans chaque secteur, des obstacles ont été liés avec la culture, la langue, et l'histoire propre du peuple Roma. Ce papier fournira un contexte aux conclusions de cette étude, résumant brièvement les expériences historiques et courantes des Roma en Europe. Ces expériences sont essentielles pour faciliter une compréhension des problèmes rencontrés par les Roma vis-à-vis les systèmes institutionnels.

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Urbanization and Social Identities in Jordan: The Case of Irbid

Cette étude vise à examiner le rapport entre l'urbanisation et l'évolution des identités sociales en Jordanie tout en s'appuyant sur une approche anthropologique. Cela a consisté à un travail intensif sur le terrain dans la ville d'Irbid au nord de Jordanie. On peut résumer les résultats de cette étude comme le suivant: - Les attachements à la

tribu ont été constamment reproduits au sein des identités urbaines et nationales. La différence majeure entre l'identité dans la ville Irbid d'avant et d'après l'ère de l'urbanisation se résume au fait que des relations impersonnelles entre individus se sont émergées et qui coexistent avec des relations personnels déjà omniprésentes. La population a gardé des attachements à caractère

ethnique, national ainsi que des attachements aux classes sociales et aux leurs propres tribus. - Alors que le sentiment national collectif existait avant l'Indépendance et l'exode palestinien, le processus de produire et reproduire une identité nationale et collective jordanienne ne peut pas être considéré comme un contre intuitif contre les autres groupes de la société.

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE FAMILY STUDIES

ABSTRACTS (Spanish)

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Childlessness and Norms of Familial Responsibility in the Netherlands

La carencia de hijos y las normas de la responsabilidad familiar. Usando los datos de la segunda ola del "Netherlands Kinship Panel Study" (NKPS) con 3069 encuestadas femeninas y 2096 encuestados masculinos, estudiamos las diferencias en las normas de la responsabilidad universal y de la responsabilidad personal y familiar entre los individuos sin hijos, por un lado, y los padres, por otro. Las diferencias dependen del tipo de norma estudiado. Los individuos sin hijos y, en la mayoría de los casos, sólo los que opten voluntariamente por una vida sin hijos, expresan unas normas de responsabilidad familiar más débiles en comparación con los padres. Para las mujeres, las normas de la responsabilidad familiar no varían según su estado paternal. Para los hombres, la presencia de hijos parece activar sentimientos de responsabilidad familiar hacia los miembros de la familia. Las diferencias entre los individuos sin hijos y los padres se pueden atribuir más bien a la selección que a la adaptación. Se discuten las implicaciones teóricas y sociales de nuestros resultados.

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"Living Together Without Being Married": Perceptions of Female Adolescents in the Mexico-United States Border Region

Este es un estudio sobre las percepciones que tienen las adolescentes en la frontera México-Estados Unidos acerca de "vivir sin estar casados" como alternativa en el proceso de formar familiar y como una nueva modalidad en las relaciones íntimas de las jóvenes en su transición a la adultez. Se analiza el caso de jóvenes de 15 a 18 años de edad pertenecientes a la clase social trabajadora de Tijuana, México y del condado de San Diego, California. El análisis comparativo se enfoca en los factores individuales, culturales, de género, institucionales y comunitarios que moldean las percepciones de los dos grupos de jóvenes de origen mexicano que viven en lados diferentes de la frontera pero que, comparten una misma raíz cultural acerca de la familia. El estudio usa información de quince grupos focales realizados con estudiantes femeninas de dos de las escuelas preparatorias públicas más grandes de Tijuana y tres preparatorias públicas en San Diego. Entre los resultados observamos interesantes diferencias entre los dos grupos de jóvenes. Las adolescentes latinas de San Diego prefieren usar el concepto de cohabitación para referirse a la idea de "vivir juntos sin estar casados." Se considera que este tipo de relación forma parte del proceso de crecimiento. Sin embargo, las jóvenes de Tijuana prefieren usar el término de unión consensual que combina la tradicional unión libre mexicana con algunos vestigios del concepto moderno de cohabitación. El significado tradicional tiende a dominar la idea de "vivir juntos sin estar casados" entre las jóvenes tijuanaenses.

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Living Life in Two Worlds: Acculturative Stress among Asian International Graduate Student Parents and Spouses

Este estudio cualitativo revisó las experiencias de estudiantes internacionales asiáticos de posgrado y esposos con niños en una universidad en EEUU. Participantes (n=31) de China, Corea, las Filipinas, y Taiwán fueron entrevistados con respecto a sus estresores. Algunos estresores fueron identificado en las respuestas del grupo en total: (a) ajuste a una nueva cultura; (b) sintiéndose agobiado; (c) dificultad de idioma; (d) sentimientos de aislamiento; (e) stress financiero; y (f) stress marital. Estresores encontrados sólo en las respuestas de los estudiantes fueron: (a) equilibrando múltiples papeles; (b) ajustando a la cultura académica; (c) encontrando guardería; y, entre estudiantes masculinos, (d) preocupándose por el esposo que no es estudiante. Estresores extraordinario a esposos que no son estudiantes incluyó: (a) pérdida de papeles y estatus; (b) desequilibrio de poder en las relaciones de la pareja; y (c) sintiéndose inadecuado. Las implicaciones para la investigación y la práctica con padres/esposos estudiante internacionales de posgrado son explicadas.

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Ethnic Differences in the Living Arrangements of Children in South Africa

Este artículo analiza las diferencias étnicas en los arreglos residenciales de los niños entre Sudafricanos de raza negra. A partir de datos del censo de población y vivienda de 1996 y utilizando análisis descriptivos y multivariados, investigo si existen diferencias étnicas en los patrones

residenciales de los niños, identifiqué las estructuras de hogar más comunes entre ellos, y analizo la influencia de varios factores en tales arreglos residenciales. Los análisis descriptivos muestran diferencias étnicas importantes en los arreglos residenciales de los niños. Más del 50 por ciento vive en hogares extensos en lugar de residir en hogares nucleares bi-parentales o mono-parentales. Los resultados de regresiones logísticas multinomiales muestran diferencias significativas en los arreglos residenciales de los niños de distintos grupos, resaltando la importancia de la etnicidad. Otras características individuales o del hogar con un impacto significativo en los arreglos residenciales de los niños son el género y la situación escolar del niño, el nivel educativo y el género del jefe del hogar, el tamaño del hogar, el nivel de vida y el lugar de residencia. Por ejemplo, los niños residentes en zonas urbanas tienen una mayor probabilidad de vivir en hogares extensos que los que viven en zonas rurales.

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Family Processes as Predictors of Antisocial Behaviors among Adolescents from Urban, Single-Mother Malay Families in Malaysia

Este estudio se propuso determinar la relación entre los procesos de familia (comportamiento de los padres es decir, los valores familiares y la competencia de la familia) y el comportamiento antisocial entre los adolescentes (m = 14,42 años) de las familias urbanas, de madres solteras en Malasia. La muestra está compuesta por 240 parejas único adolescente de madre de cuatro

estados de la península de Malasia. Los resultados revelaron que el comportamiento de los padres ($r = -0,29, p < 0,001$) y la competencia de la familia ($r = -0,20, p < 0,01$) fueron significativamente y negativamente relacionado con el comportamiento antisocial de los adolescentes. Ninguna de las variables del entorno familiar se relacionaron significativamente con el comportamiento antisocial de los adolescentes. Después de controlar por las variables de antecedentes familiares, los resultados de regresión múltiple indicó que tanto el comportamiento de los padres y la competencia exclusiva de la familia predijeron los comportamientos antisociales ($F = 12,24, p < .001$). Los resultados sugieren que los adolescentes de Malasia de las familias urbanas de madres solteras con bajo funcionamiento y la calidad de padres de bajos tenfan un mayor riesgo de involucrarse en conductas antisociales. Implicaciones en la investigación y la práctica, así como Malasia políticas sociales se consideran.

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Gender Role Disruption and Marital Satisfaction among Wives of Chinese International Students in the United States

Las esposas de estudiantes Chinos matriculados en universidades en los Estados Unidos se

encuentran en una situación disruptiva. Esta situación resulta de un conflicto entre la socialización china en cuanto a su papel como mujer y su posición social en los Estados Unidos. En China, se enfatiza la igualdad de género en la educación y en el trabajo. Se espera que tanto la mujer como el hombre tengan trabajo pagado. Al llegar a los Estados Unidos, la mujer se encuentra en una situación de dependencia de su esposo, por lo menos a lo largo de su estadía en el país. Este estudio investigó este conflicto entre la ideología china en cuanto al género y el papel dependiente de la mujer, lo que se llama perturbación del papel de género, y como esta disrupción afectó la satisfacción matrimonial que la esposa experimentó en cuanto al efecto intermediario de auto-estimación. La investigación se basó en dos teorías sociales, la interacción simbólica y el feminismo. Se seleccionó una muestra de esposas de estudiantes Chinos en los Estados Unidos. Se implementó un cuestionario seguido por una entrevista personal para recoger datos cuantitativos y cualitativos. No se encontró una asociación estadísticamente significativa entre la perturbación del papel de género y la satisfacción matrimonial. Sin embargo, los resultados cualitativos sugieren que haya una asociación indirecta entre la perturbación del papel de género y la satisfacción matrimonial, evidenciada por variables resultantes de las entrevistas. Características personales, soporte por el esposo y acomodo a la nueva cultura parecen ser factores importantes en cuanto a la satisfacción matrimonial durante la estadía en los Estados Unidos. Investigación adicional, con una muestra mayor y que incorpore las variables que emergieron de las entrevistas, podría aumentar nuestro entendimiento de este proceso. Se discuten las implicaciones para consejeros, mentores y otras personas quienes proporcionan apoyo a los estudiantes internacionales y sus familias.

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The Sense of Collectivism and Individualism among Husbands and Wives in Traditional and Bi-cultural Navajo Indian Families on the Navajo Reservation

Examinamos qué tanto los esposos y las esposas reportan un sentido de colectivismo e individualismo en las familias navajo tradicionales y biculturales en la Reservación Navajo. Los esposos y las esposas de treinta y cinco familias tradicionales y treinta y cinco familias biculturales participaron en el estudio. Se entrevistaron a los participantes para recoger los datos. De acuerdo a los análisis MANOVA, mientras los esposos y las esposas de las familias tradicionales muestran niveles más altos de colectivismo que los esposos y las esposas de las familias biculturales, los esposos y las esposas de los dos grupos muestran niveles similares de individualismo. Además, los datos cualitativos sugieren que aunque estos navajos mayormente comparten la cosmovisión colectivista tradicional, muchos de ellos están en transición, adaptándose a una perspectiva individualista del yo-otro. Se discuten los resultados en términos de la naturaleza del colectivismo navajo contemporáneo como función de los valores americanos populares.

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Polygamy and Its Impact on the Upbringing of Children: A Jordanian Perspective

El propósito de este artículo ha sido identificar los impactos de la poligamia sobre la crianza de niños y ver si estos impactos de las estructuras de matrimonios polígamos son beneficiosos o dañinos. Para obtener data, los investigadores llevaron cabo entrevistas con veintidós miembros de familias jordanas con matrimonios polígamos, utilizando el diseño del caso múltiple. Los resultados indicaron que los matrimonios polígamos no tenían ningún efecto inverso sobre la crianza de niños ni sobre los compromisos de los maridos hacia sus familias a pesar de tener más de una mujer. Desde el punto de vistas de las mujeres, éstas no tenían nada en contra de que sus maridos tengan más de una mujer siempre que éstos pudieran mantener a sus familias y ser justos con sus hijos y no discriminen entre sus mujeres. Las mujeres indicaron también que sus maridos proporcionan educación, casa propia para la familia, la ayuda en los gastos del casamiento, y que no había ningún efecto inverso de la multiplicidad. Las respuestas de los niños revelaron que sus padres les tratan de forma normal, y que querían a todos sus hermanos sin ninguna discriminación. Una de las sugerencias de este trabajo es la futura investigación de las creencias de los matrimonios monógamos hacia la poligamia y compararlas con las creencias de los matrimonios polígamos.

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The Intersection of Motherhood and Disability: Being a "Good" Korean Mother to an "Imperfect" Child

Esta investigación se origina de un proyecto transcultural más amplio acerca del servicio de ser madre para un niño incapacitado en Corea del Sur y en Estados Unidos. El presente análisis se basa en datos recogidos en Corea del Sur. Al integrar las teorías críticas feministas y las de la incapacidad dentro del marco del construccionismo social (McGraw & Walker,

2007), preguntamos (a) cómo los sistemas socioculturales dominantes relacionados con el servicio de ser madre y a la incapacidad determinan el entendimiento de las madres surcoreanas de sí mismas y de sus niños con autismo y (b) cómo las madres se conforman a y resisten estos sistemas. Para contestar estas preguntas, realizamos entrevistas exhaustivas con 14 madres surcoreanas de clase media de niños con autismo. Encontramos que las madres resisten las creencias que estigmatizan sus niños al reconstruir el significado de la niñez "normal" y al contar con una red de apoyo de madres en situaciones parecidas. También encontramos que estas madres se conforman con las creencias tradicionales acerca del ser una "buena" madre al adherirse a valores familiares confucianos que alientan a las mujeres a sacrificarse para concentrarse en el éxito de sus niños. De estas conclusiones, ofrecemos implicaciones para la práctica.

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Needs of Refugee Children in Canada: What Can Roma Refugee Families Tell Us?

En Canadá se le ha dado muy poca atención a las necesidades de los niños refugiados. En la última década se ha incrementado el número de refugiados romaníes que se han establecido en el sur de la provincia de Ontario. Este estudio cualitativo tiene como propósito explorar las necesidades que tienen los niños refugiados romaníes en los sectores de educación, salud y servicios sociales. 24 romaníes y 62 proveedores de servicios de los tres sectores fueron entrevistados o participaron en grupos focales. Los participantes indicaron que los niños tienen muchas necesidades de servicios

en todos los tres sectores, pero frecuentemente sus familias no tienen la capacidad o interés de acceder efectivamente a esos servicios. Específicamente, los resultados del estudio mostraron las necesidades educativas que tienen los niños para poder aprender el lenguaje y para el desarrollo de relaciones sociales; el ausentismo fue una preocupación. Otra necesidad fue la asistencia financiera para romaníes y otras los nuevos refugiados familias. Otro problema fue la necesidad de continuidad y calidad del cuidado de la salud de los romaníes. Todos los sectores reportaron barreras de lenguaje, culturales, y otras barreras relacionadas con la historia de los romaníes. Este artículo contextualiza los principales resultados de este estudio presentando un resumen breve de la historia y experiencia actual de los romaníes en Europa; esta experiencia es crucial para entender las dificultades que los romaníes encuentran en los servicios institucionales.

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Urbanization and Social Identities in Jordan: The Case of Irbid

Este estudio examina la relación entre la urbanización y el desarrollo de las identidades sociales en Jordania mediante la metodología antropológica en este trabajo en la ciudad de Irbid. Los siguientes son los principales resultados: - los ajuntos tribales primordiales se han reproducirse dentro de las identidades urbanas o nacional. La diferencia principal entre la identidad en Irbid, tanto en períodos pre y post urbanización fue las relaciones entre los individuos se convirtió en impersonal, además de las personales. Los ciudadanos tenían afiliación étnica, nacional y de clase al lado de las tribus. - Por otra parte, teniendo en cuenta que el sentido colectivo nacional prevaleció antes de la independencia y antes del éxodo palestino, el proceso de producción y reproducción de una identidad colectiva jordano no se puede considerar como en contra del sentido contra otros grupos de las omunidades.