

PSYCHOLOGY MISCELLANY

No.47 - May 2013

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ISSN: 1754-2200

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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at <http://kmbpsychology.jottit.com>.

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1. FAMILY AND LIFE IN THE UK IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

In the UK in the last half century major changes have occurred in the structure, experience, and meaning of family and relationships. The heterosexual two-parent married family has declined in relation to single-person households, less married couples, and more divorced individuals/families ¹. "Individuals now live in a diverse range of intimate living arrangements and relationship formations" (Gabb and Silva 2011).

The family can include parents, partners, children, siblings, aunts, uncles and cousins along with close friends, step-parents and step-children, ex-partners and ex-sons- and daughters-in-law (Lucey 2007). Edwards et al (2006) found that children also saw parents' friends, neighbours, teachers, and family members peers (eg: brother's friend) as individuals they were close to (even possibly "family") ².

This has led to academic debate over what is meant by family as well as the possibility of abandoning the

¹ Data from the Mass Observation survey in 1949 found that a quarter of husbands and a fifth of wives had had extra-marital sexual relationships. Yet the view remains that post-World War II was the "golden age of marriage" in the UK (Langhamer 2006).

² Williams (2004) used the term "networks of affection".

term/concept ³.

Gabb and Silva (2011) outlined a number of themes in the research to understand family in the 21st century in the UK:

i) A move from kin relationships rooted in obligation to those based on trust and understanding.

ii) The perception of family as beyond the household and kin-relatedness including the "matrix of intimacy" (Gabb 2008).

iii) The family is studied within the context of "networks of intimacy" (Jamieson 1998).

iv) The distinction between "family practices" (practices associated with parenthood, kinship, and marriage), "intimacy" ("close association"), and "personal life" (incorporating different family and relationship structures, friendships and acquaintances, and sexuality).

1.2. FIRST-TIME MOTHERS

Mothering takes place within a social context, particularly as represented by the popular media ⁴. "The expectation that women will become mothers forms part of the normative regulatory discourses governing motherhood which construct women's sexuality and identity through their reproductive function... Cultural representations of the idealised ⁵ and sometimes 'yummy' mummy (middle class, attractive, healthy, sexy and heterosexual) contrast with depictions of 'bad' mothers which proliferate the popular press. The women/mothers often given visibility illustrate the margins of motherhood:

³ O'Dell (2008) noted: "The dominant construction of universal childhood positions children as in a state of becoming in which their (assumed to be natural) immaturity develops through a series of (bio)logical stages towards the rationality assumed of adulthood ... The taken for granted assumptions about childhood bolsters the notion of a biological basis for vulnerability and hence a need for protection... A key aspect of our concern for children is in what we imagine will be their future, we protect children, largely, to prevent the development of damaged adults..." (p134). This has led to powerful imagery in the West of "lost children" or "stolen childhood" as motivators of right and wrong.

⁴ One element of that social context is ideas about maternal love and deprivation. John Bowlby coined the phrase "maternal deprivation" in 1951 to describe the cause of a number of childhood psychological problems. The idea can be seen as a product of vitamin deficiency diseases "discovered" in the early 20th century, which focused on the quality of food rather than the quantity. The parallel with maternal love was deprivation of it produced negative consequences, and that healthy development could be guaranteed by its essential "nutrient" (love): "Bowlby's theoretical ideas, as well as his interpretation of individual cases and the data he amassed, were framed by his reliance on the metaphor of deficiency" (Duniec and Raz 2007 p103).

⁵ The dominant construction of the "ideal mother" is as selfless, nurturing, and prioritising the child's needs above their own (Craig and O'Dell 2011).

minoritised women as mothers such as working class, lesbian, black, disabled women as well as the physically and emotionally absent working (often middle class) mother" (Craig and O'Dell 2011) ⁶.

The issue of social class is prominent as bad parenting and working-class mothers are located together, particularly in the growth of "instructional parenting TV" with its experts telling mothers what to do. "The experts offer transformed lives and subjectivities - becoming a better mother and 'being there' for their children for example - as a form of redemption gained through public display, through confession and the internalisation of psychological technologies" (Craig and O'Dell 2011).

"Becoming pregnant for the first time can be a well-kept secret or an immediate public announcement, but at whatever time it becomes public, it sends a ripple through all surrounding family and close relationships. The affects of pregnancy are not restricted to the female body or even the balance of the couple relationship. Partners, parents, siblings and other relatives and friends observe the expanding bump and may participate in advice and the gradual accumulation of baby clothes and baby things. With the arrival of a new generation, the whole configuration of interpersonal relationships is disrupted and forced to change to accommodate the need for new roles and additional resources. Birth is an intergenerational act, resulting in an intensive traffic of conscious and unconscious meaning within a relationship network" (Kehily and Thomson 2011 p3).

So all relationships change for new mothers. But Kehily and Thomson (2011) highlighted how the age of the mother is salient by quoting two cases - one of 16 year-old "Kim", and the other, 49 year-old "Marion".

⁶ Ethnicity is also a "variable" in the social context of mothering. Unwin et al (2012) produced a study of "Azra" (a first-time mother of Bangladeshi descent in London) and how she made sense of feeding choices (breast, bottle, or both) for her child (and "comes to experience herself as a mother") in the context of the extended family. "Feeding emerged as a measure of the baby's growth that created a need for sorting out how, what and when to feed, which made feeding a practice loaded with uncertainty, tension and confusion. When Azra tells the interviewer how many bottles a day she gives her son, when she asks if the observer thinks her son has grown and when she tells the observer that her father thinks her baby is small for his age - these are remarks we read as reflecting the way feeding is loaded with affects, and how affects fuel the processes of becoming a mother. Feeding was also linked to wider social and cultural practices and meanings through repetitions that over time become routines, shared among the many 'hands' of the surrounding family. Feeding the baby thus constitutes a thread for linking together relations in time and place according to their affective qualities. A multiplicity of cultural values evoked through her relationships created a moving situation where she is in relationship with an active baby who increasingly 'wants what he wants' and with relatives who offer stories, advice, opinions and examples of baby-feeding practice and support. Azra also negotiates what she thinks are the health professionals' opinions and, via them, policies and advice about what is best for her baby's survival, health and growth; all of which depend on feeding him successfully".

Kim was born in Zimbabwe, but her family moved to the UK when she was ten years old. She became pregnant at 16 years old via her stepfather's nephew, which was seen as an unspeakable event within the family. Despite this, Kim's mother, "Gillian" "positions herself at the centre of the family drama". She helps Kim with decisions like abortion or keep, and subsequently the practicalities of being pregnant. Gillian became pregnant at a young age and was rejected by her father, and this motivates her behaviour towards her daughter. Thus "Kim becomes contradictorily positioned within the family as a child with a child" (Kehily and Thomson 2011).

The researchers found other contradictions within the relationships among the adults and towards the baby ("Tempest"). For example, Kim is diagnosed with post-natal depression and struggles with caring for the baby. This leaves her mother and grandmother torn between supporting Kim to care for the baby and taking over care for the baby themselves. "Gillian remains the mother allowing Kim to continue to be a child" (Kehily and Thomson 2011). This is different to other young mothers who talk of birth as the "end of childhood" (Thomson et al 2011).

Marion became pregnant at 49 years old after many years of longing for a child. Marion and her husband are focused upon raising the child (partly because there are few older relatives still alive), but that it is the model they hold to - "couple-marriage-child": "the couple appears to have the capacity to absorb the project of the child in its entirety" (Kehily and Thomson 2011).

The "child-rearing family" means different things in these two examples - different ways of "doing" family. "As financially stable mature parents, Marion and Richard's relationship is consolidated by the birth of Bethan and they have the resources to support their choice to be sole carers of their daughter. Young motherhood, by contrast, throws Kim into an expanding network of relationships as Tempest becomes part of the extended family of parents, grandparents and siblings, with Gillian as the co-parent. Social services and health care professionals are also involved in the care of Kim's daughter" (Kehily and Thomson 2011 p6).

1.3. CHOICE OF FATHERS

Given the choice, women generally say that the ideal partner (and father of her children) is reliable and dependable ("nice guy" or "good dad"), but many women, in practice, date charismatic, adventurous, unreliable, and

commitment-phobic men ("sexy cad")⁷. "Why is it that, despite continuous warnings and recurring heartbreak, many women keep pursuing the wrong guy?" (Durante et al 2012).

Durante et al (2012) seek to answer this question using an evolutionary approach linked to the female ovulation cycle. Ovulating women show a preference for men with greater physical symmetry, masculinity, and social dominance. These are evolutionary markers of "good genes", but also of the "sexy cads". Durante et al went further: ovulating women experience a perceptual shift that sees the "sexy cad" as a potentially "good dad".

Durante et al (2012) designed three studies to show this shift.

Study 1

This study predicted that ovulating women would view "sexy cads" more than "nice guys" as good potential fathers than women not ovulating. The participants were 33 female undergraduates in the USA, who were questioned near ovulation (high-fertility day) and on a low-fertility day. The women viewed either the photograph of a sexy man with brief "unreliable" biographical details ("sexy cad") or an average-looking man with "dependable" biographical details ("reliable man") twice. The women rated the man on ability to care for a baby, shopping for food, and doing household chores. For each item, a score out of 100 was given.

The ovulating women gave a significantly higher combined score to the "sexy cad" (mean: 50) than when not ovulating (mean: 40). Ovulation did not influence the scores for the "reliable man" (means approximately 45).

Study 2

Twenty-one more female undergraduates participated in a similar study to the previous one, but they now

⁷ Durante et al (2012) stated: "Men who adopt different mating strategies also have different traits. Men adopting a short-term strategy tend to be more physically attractive and sexy..., be more socially dominant and rebellious..., engage in flashy and conspicuously show-off behaviour..., and possess an exploitative social nature... These 'sexy cads' not only adopt a 'love them-and-leave them' attitude toward mating, but they also possess traits associated with Machiavellianism, sub-clinical psychopathy, and sub-clinical narcissism... As a result, men who pursue a short-term mating strategy tend to display lower levels of stability, agreeableness, warmth, and faithfulness... In contrast, men who adopt a long-term mating strategy have the opposite set of features. Such men tend to be less physically attractive, less charismatic, and less dominant, but they are also more stable, agreeable, warm, and faithful... Because these traits are associated with being a good long-term partner and an investing father..., such men are referred to as 'good dads'..." (p293).

watched both videos of the same actor playing a "sexy cad" or a "reliable man" presenting themselves for a dating agency (table 1.1) on high- and low-fertility days. As well as rating the man on childcare etc as before, the participants rated him on the variables for their offspring and another woman's offspring.

The basic findings from Study 1 were replicated. But the ovulating women did not rate the "sexy cad" highly in caring for another woman's offspring. "Ovulating women over-perceived the amount of paternal investment the sexy cad would bestow to their children, but not to children he might have with another woman. This finding indicates that the ovulation-driven over-perception effect is not a general perceptual bias that occurs near ovulation when women are evaluating attractive and charismatic men. Rather, it appears to be a specific perceptual bias that occurs when ovulating women are evaluating these men as potential romantic partners for themselves" (Durante et al 2012 p297).

"Reliable man"

Basically I'm just a normal guy, or at least I think I'm a normal guy. Or I'm normal enough, I guess. I deliver pizzas for this really popular place in Dinkytown at night and am trying to finish up my English major. I've never been good at the dating thing; I'm really bad at being "cool", and I'm not very smooth or sophisticated. I don't drive an expensive car or go to fancy restaurants or travel around Europe or anything like that. Like I said, I'm just a pretty normal guy. I think I'm a nice guy, too, and I'm looking for a nice woman. I guess together we'll be two nice people, or something like that. I'm not looking for a fling or anything like that, I'd just like to meet someone I have some connection with, someone who's serious about making a life together. I'd like to get married and have a family and all that regular stuff, and I'm looking for someone who feels the same way. So I guess if that sounds good to you, then maybe we can meet and see how it goes, or something like that. And if not, well, I guess just thanks for your time. I'm not sure how to end this. I think I already messed this thing up pretty bad, so I guess I'll just wrap it up here.

"Sexy cad"

So basically I'm supposed to tell you why you should want to date me. But instead, I'm going to tell you why you should NOT date me. Then, when I'm done, we can talk and really get to know each other better. You should NOT date me if you want a guy who will always be on time, or someone who always remembers every single special event like 2 month anniversaries. You shouldn't date me if you want a guy who can't wait to spend an entire weekend with your high school friends or who understands why you keep so many pillows on your bed. You shouldn't date me if you want a guy who will read you poetry. I don't know many women who want that, but if you do, you probably shouldn't date me. You shouldn't date me if you want someone to watch chick flicks with, or if you hate sports but pretend to love sports because you think that I want to be with someone who loves sports. Really, it's totally okay if you hate sports. I'll just watch sports while you're watching "Sex in the City" and we'll hang afterwards. You shouldn't date me if you watch absolutely everything you eat and can't appreciate the beauty of a 3 am ice cream excursion

or pancakes drowning in butter and syrup, preferably at the end of a late night. And most importantly, you absolutely should NOT date me if you DON'T want to be swept off your feet and have a romance so intense that you'll question everything you ever knew and possibly begin writing with your left hand, or your right one if you're a lefty.

(Source: Durante et al 2012 appendix p305)

Table 1.1 - Extracts from scripts.

Study 3

This study expanded on the previous two by recruiting 318 non-student US women via the Internet. The women saw only the photograph and profile of the "sexy cad" at one point in time (ie: level of fertility was self-reported). The women were also asked about their first menstrual period (age-at-menarche).

Ovulating women were more likely to rate the "sexy cad" as a potentially good father if their age-at-menarche was younger. The late age-at-menarche respondents, in fact, rated the "sexy cad" as a better father when not ovulating compared to when ovulating.

Overall, "Ovulation produces a perceptual shift when evaluating sexy cads only for women who experienced earlier age of menarche, which is a physiological marker of faster reproductive strategies... From an evolutionary perspective, women who pursue faster strategies have more to gain and less to lose by being drawn to physically attractive, socially dominant, adventurous, and charismatic men who may also be more likely to cheat on, lie to, and leave them. In contrast, ovulation does not significantly alter perceptions of sexy cads among women who experienced menarche later, which is a marker of slower, long-term reproductive strategies. In fact, women who are following a slower strategy perceive sexy cads as slightly worse fathers and less committed relationship partners near ovulation..." (Durante et al 2012 pp300-301).

1.4. FATHERHOOD

1.4.1. First Time Fathers

"Gender practices" are also important for researchers in relation to the family, as in the example of men as fathers. Gender norms and expectations produce a domestic division of labour where, in the heterosexual couple, the man does certain things (like gardening, and acts as the breadwinner in the traditional stereotype) and the woman other things (like childcare and housework). In the case of fatherhood, in the UK,

"paternity leave, discourses of caring masculinities and more public displays of fathering involvement appear to offer new possibilities for men" (Miller 2011 p1094).

Miller (2011) explored this possibility through a qualitative longitudinal study with seventeen (predominately middle-class) first-time fathers in the UK between 2005 and 2009. Each man was interviewed on four occasions: 7-8 months into the pregnancy (ante-natal), 6-12 weeks, 9-12 months, and two years after the birth (post-natal).

The ante-natal interviews focused on the expectations of what fathering might be like, and the men gave "culturally recognisable accounts which resonate with ideals of good, involved father" (Miller 2011), including sharing the caring. For example, "Sean" said: "Initially the only thing that I think that I probably can't do is breastfeed [but] I don't see myself as not doing anything and in real terms Ella wanted to express (breast milk) anyway, so at some point I'll be able to feed... But I don't see that there's going to be anything particularly that I won't do. Obviously Ella hopefully will be having nine months (maternity leave), so there will be far more that she'll be doing anyway, just because of time. [But] changing nappies and bathing, I'll try and have a go and get involved and do these things" (Miller 2011 p1100).

But the sharing was presented as secondary and supportive. "The men can only imagine and articulate their caring involvement in this way because their wife or partner is already implicitly positioned (by them and in normative ideals of 'good' mothering and parenting) as having primary responsibility... It is almost unthinkable that a woman could articulate her anticipated mothering in this partial and episodic way..." (Miller 2011 p1101). As described by "Dylan": "But right from the start I would like to negotiate work so that I have, you know, sort of a day off work a week to be a father and to do child care and to be involved and I would really like to be able to maintain that throughout my working life if possible" (p1101).

In the first post-natal interview, the focus was the "immediate bond" with the child, particularly during the paternity leave, and "a real sense of sharing and learning together through the early days and weeks following the birth and glimpses of the men engaged in caring relationships, which imply that traditional gendered patterns are being undone" (Miller 2011 p1102). But the return to paid work quickly came, and the hands-on caring was reduced despite the ante-natal intentions. This gap between intentions and reality was more evident in the later post-natal interviews as lack of time was a consequence of full-time employment.

Miller (2011) felt that the interviews showed the

men both doing and undoing traditional gender behaviours in relation to fatherhood. The undoing of tradition with more hands-on caring than previous generations, but the confirmation of the traditional through the return to paid work and leaving caring to the mother.

1.4.2. Denial of Paternity

Turney (2011) explored the use of DNA paternity testing marketed directly at consumers in Australia. "The marketing strategy relies heavily on a moral outrage about high levels of non-paternity in families, which is attributed to elevated levels of infidelity among mothers who wrongly accuse men of paternity for financial gain" (Turney 2011 p1111) (known as "paternity fraud"). Usually the issue of paternity has arisen in casual relationships, but Turney (2011) was interested in testing by co-habiting or married couples.

Co-habiting is the normative form of "partnering" in the West in the 21st century, with some couples subsequently marrying and others not. Thus it is possible to talk of non-marital co-habitation (ie: never marry) as well as pre-marital co-habitation (before marrying). The former is viewed as less risky as it is less binding than marriage (Turney 2011) ⁸.

Research has found gender differences in how co-habitation is viewed with men being more likely to see it as temporary (eg: Whitehead and Popenoe 2002). Thus pregnancy, particularly if unplanned, can be problematic, and many men exit the relationship (sometimes denying paternity).

Turney (2011) interviewed seventy volunteers (men and women) who had undergone paternity testing, and 18 women had experienced denied paternity. For example, one woman said: "I was in a relationship for approximately eighteen months... We were engaged to be married; we tried for several months to get pregnant and when we finally did we were very excited. It was a planned pregnancy. Once we told his family, they started acting very strangely towards me. Within a month he had moved back to mum and denied that the child... was his" (p1115).

While another reported: "When we first found out I was pregnant... he was initially a bit shocked... [and

⁸ Langdridge (2013) described parenthood as a "default position" for heterosexuals, but "it is only relatively recently that it is becoming a realistic option for 'out' gay and bisexual men, albeit mostly restricted to the West". Also, there "is the common belief that men are not 'natural carers' and furthermore that gay and bisexual men pose a particular 'sexual risk' to children" (Langdridge 2013). Traditionally, gay and bisexual men who wanted children either had heterosexual relationships, "co-parented" relatives' or friends' children, used surrogacy, or attempted to foster/adopt.

then] progressively backed off from that point. He had been full on, not thrilled, but still standing by me and recognising he was responsible. And, gradually he backtracked, um, to the point where I hardly ever saw him from when I was about three months... He did chop and change his mind throughout the pregnancy - [about] whether or not he wanted to be involved - not with me, with the baby, and... his behaviour towards me just got worse and worse and he ended up... want[ing] a DNA test done" (Turney 2011 p1116).

The women felt undergoing the test was a "huge insult" to prove their fidelity. One woman said: "I found it a horrible experience. There were all these people thinking that maybe he's not the father and that maybe I had --, I just felt dirty really. People were accusing me of sleeping around and there was that doubt in people's minds that he is not the father" (p1117). Turney (2011) noted the continuation of "double standards" and traditional attitudes about women having multiple sexual partners, whereas the men's behaviour was not questioned in the same way. "Once the suspicion of being untruthful about paternity was cast on them, women found themselves having to defend their morality and veracity both to acquaintances and people who mattered to them" (Turney 2011 p1117).

1.4.3. Male Sterilisation

On a different tack, Terry and Braun (2013) explored how heterosexual males make sense of the decision of a vasectomy, particularly in the context of a "contraceptive economy", where women are viewed as responsible for managing reproduction in a couple (Terry and Braun 2011).

Terry and Braun (2013) interviewed 28 post-vasectomy New Zealand heterosexual men, of which sixteen had children before the operation. The researchers described the discourses used by the men:

a) "Doing 'ordinary'" - Many of the interviewees talked about their decision to have the operation in reference to other men, and to women who were presented as pressuring for it. Being an "ordinary guy" was almost a fall-back position of defence if there was a perceived challenge to their masculinity.

b) "Doing 'extraordinary'" - Many men undergoing the vasectomy made use of an "heroic discourse" as they constructed the "taking over" the contraceptive burden as a "big deal" (Terry and Braun 2013).

c) "Better than 'real men'" - For example, "Brian" asserted that "I haven't felt less of a man",

particularly as "fertility-based" masculinity was never important to him, while "Chad" emphasised that he was "caring", "aware", and "responsible" as he told stories of men who refused to have a vasectomy.

Terry and Braun (2013) observed: "Wetherell and Edley (1999) have claimed that 'we need to consider the multiple and inconsistent discursive resources available for constructing hegemonic gender identities, and... we need to allow for the possibility that complicity and resistance can be mixed together' (p352). The men in this study, when making sense of the decision making regarding their vasectomies, often shifted between various forms, and would sometimes blend them within a single turn. They would make reference to themselves, expectations of the self and the selves of other men. Even as the men were explaining the ease of actually having a vasectomy, and how this decision impacted upon them, they were also managing the 'hurdles' of different and sometimes competing masculine values that meant they had to hybridise, refer to and build from different imaginary positions such as 'responsible partner', 'hero', 'new-age guy'".

Furthermore, "In the majority of the extracts, men compared and contrasted their own decision making processes with those of other men ('imagined' or 'real'), and in doing so seemed to be drawing from a shared understanding of masculinities as multiple and social. However, when it came to their own identities, the masculinities they were invested in were almost always presented as superior to those of the men they were comparing themselves. This could be done so from the 'safety' of having had a vasectomy, which therefore situated them as above reproach, even despite delays, agonising deliberation, and outright avoidance of the operation. In this way, the gendered inequality of reproductive responsibility was perpetuated, as comparisons between partners were set aside in these discussions in favour of comparisons with other men" (Terry and Braun 2013).

1.5. TRANS-NATIONAL FAMILIES

Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) defined the trans-national family as "families that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely 'familyhood', even across national borders".

Migration by family members to find work in other places (home or abroad) has become more common in the recent past. This means that the different generations of a family are physically dispersed, and though through

modern technology can keep in touch, individuals rarely meet. Family reunion events, like marriages, are crucial to "get to know their family" (Sutton 2004).

Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) described two key concepts for understanding trans-national families:

a) "Frontiering" - How family members create their "family" and social networks in terrain where affinal connections are relatively sparse". The most obvious example is migrants creating connections with other migrants from the same country/ethnicity/religion rather than with the indigenous population (Heath et al 2011).

b) Relativising" - How the interactions with distant family members are "materialised" into an "imagined community". This is aided by the use of communication technologies like Skype or modern developments like cheap flights home (Heath et al 2011).

Zhou (2012) noted that trans-national families often continue to fulfil caregiving through:

- Adult immigrant children returning to the home country to care for parents.
- Grandparents travelling to the new country to care for grandchildren allowing the parents to work.

Sometimes, however, the elderly parents migrate to the adult children's new country, but this can present the parents with problems of adapting as well as isolation and loss of status (Zhou 2012).

Zhou (2012) interviewed 36 grandparents from China caring for grandchildren in Canada. These individuals faced challenges and changes through trans-nationalism that previous generations had not. These included practical issues like visa application and buying airline tickets as well as language problems. The contradictions of the experience are summarised by the respondent who said: "My life here is physically tiresome but spiritually fulfilled" (Zhou 2012 p238).

Altschuler (2008) explored the sibling relationships among White South Africans where one had migrated to the UK and the other stayed in apartheid South Africa. Using a psychoanalytic approach she explored the migration and the subsequent sibling relationship. For example, there was "the ambiguity of the losses incurred and struggle to negotiate how much to retain those who are physically absent as an ongoing psychological presence on one another's lives. It also shows how, because reunions take place in the knowledge of another separation, aspects of

self may be censored to make up for gaps in time and space" (p34).

Overall, the "Constructions of migration were far from uniform, with portrayals varying between presenting migration as having problematic consequences for identities, as allowing for a more comfortable positioning in relation to family and/or country, and as having posed relatively little disruption to anticipated identities. Although there were some suggestions that men tended to prioritise the political and women the personal in presenting their accounts, this was not the case for all" (Altschuler 2008 p40).

Mottram's (2008) interviewees, who were migrants to Manchester in England, reported "situations that involved translating languages, cultures and roles, sometimes from moment to moment, as they positioned and re-positioned themselves in the surrounding social environment" (p8).

1.5.1. Social Context of Migration

Trans-national families exist within the social context of sometimes negative comments about immigration, especially in Western Europe and North America. Zavos (2008) pointed out that "the construction of migration and migrants in particular contexts, which define to a large extent the repertoire of available discourses and positions for both natives and foreigners alike. As performances they simultaneously reproduce but also transform through different embodiments and contested relationships, the contexts in which they are generated" (p90).

Even the specific words used are important. For example, "migrant" - "the term refers to the movement of people from non-western to western countries, either by force or by choice (or a combination of the two), who enter national territories 'legally' or 'illegally' ('legal' and 'illegal' being, rather than an individual or group (moral) property, a legal status determined variously by supra/national legislations and policies) and are inserted into national labour markets as unskilled, low-waged, and largely undocumented workers" (Zavos 2008 p90).

Goodman (2008) looked specifically at asylum seekers⁹, who are a particularly group but are caught up in generalised anti-immigrant feelings, and political comments in the UK between 2002 and 2006. Goodman's

⁹ Palmary (2008) noted the assumption in UNHCR refugee policy, for example, that women and girls separated from male family members are especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse. However, it is "the kinds of heteronormative family models with women under the 'protection' of a male head of household that is the source of most of the violence against women" (p130).

analysis showed how the speakers "simultaneously present themselves as caring about social relations while also justifying the harsh treatment of asylum seekers... [and] that we must be tough on asylum seekers to protect social cohesion, and second, that we must be tough on asylum seekers to prevent the 'far right' from gaining support" (p110). The distinction between "bogus" and "genuine" asylum seekers by politicians has allowed "for the harsh treatment of all asylum seekers as the assumption becomes that all asylum seekers are potentially bogus" (Goodman 2008).

For example, Des Brown (immigration minister) proposing the Asylum and Immigration Act of 2005 said: "...there is a real danger that public concern about state support continuing to be offered to failed asylum seekers who have no right to remain in the UK could fuel misconceptions and prejudices about other asylum and immigration issues, which could have adverse effects on social cohesion in particular communities" (quoted in Goodman 2008 p115). Goodman noted the use of "fuel": "Social cohesion is presented as the unquestioned desired goal and the policies being proposed are presented as designed to ensure this. The term 'fuel' suggests that prejudice always exists in society, waiting to emerge given the opportunity; an opportunity which may be provided by the appearance that asylum seekers are not being treated harshly enough. It is on the grounds of this existing prejudice that Browne is able to justify the harsh treatment of failed asylum seekers" (p116).

Furthermore, the "argument relies on existing prejudice ('natives' and 'foreigners' cannot mix without trouble, and British race relations are so poor that racism is always bubbling under the surface) to justify further prejudice in the form of a tougher asylum system. It allows the speakers to present themselves as guardians of good community relations, which allows them immunity from accusations of undue harshness and prejudice" (Goodman 2008).

Seu (2008) explored the attitudes of eighty mature students at a British university to refugees using an Amnesty International asylum campaign poster as a discussion starter in a focus group.

The subject was immediately felt to be emotive by the speakers, and quickly, the "all too familiar" distinction between "authentic" ("those who escape from threat of torture for views and beliefs prohibited in their home country") and bogus ("'economic migrants' who come here 'just' to get a better way of life; to 'actually make more money'") asylum seekers/refugees came up, and "most of the following interventions made some reference to this" (Seu 2008).

For example, "participant 57": "I think uh asylum should be a Human Right, but because lately it has been

misused so much... that we have lost the meaning of it... and most of the people who are coming, as my friend said, that they are economic migrants. The governments are... doing their best, but I think it is too much a problem all over the world because majority of the world population is... below normal economically and they will try to improve their... life and come to the countries which can afford a better... living... And therefore..., people are losing their sympathy with asylums,... asylum seekers because we can not differentiate who is really a sufferer or who is a mi-, a economic migrant".

Seu (2008) observed how this speaker "constructs the refugee as exploiting the confused state of the world and people's capacity for sympathy for their own benefit. Thus, the refugee is manipulating our good will and actually damaging the real asylum seekers. The speaker starts quite ominously by saying that asylum 'should be a Human Right', implying that, for some reason, this decision is suspended. He then, through the use of an extreme case formulation, begins to set the scene. It is 'much a problem all over the world', thus pre-empting any potential accusation that Britain (and from the later reference to England and America as historically having done the 'right thing') might be behaving problematically. The problem, participant 57 states, is not with the governments - who are 'doing their best'- nor with people who are 'losing their sympathy with asylum seekers because we cannot differentiate between who is really a sufferer and who is an economic migrant'. The problem is firmly with the economic migrant who is agentic in this new post-modern world where stability is not a given and we cannot label good and bad countries so easily" (p79).

1.6. GRANDPARENTS AND CHILDCARE

Glaser et al (2010) summarised the trends in grandparents and childcare in Europe and the USA.

The growth of working mothers has produced a demand for childcare which now longer-living grandparents are providing. In Europe 58% of grandmothers (43% in the USA) and 50% of grandfathers reported providing regular or occasional childcare in the previous year for grandchildren aged fifteen years or younger. Family members generally are the main source of informal childcare of which grandparents thus play a key role (as part of the "reserve army").

Grandparents are more likely to care for their grandchildren if the grandchild's parents are divorced, particularly the maternal grandmother as most single parents are still women. Furthermore, children with a close relationship to their grandparents have less emotional and behavioural problems after their parents'

relationship breakdown/divorce.

Divorced grandparents have less contacts with their grandchildren.

In the USA, there is an increase in the number of grandparent-headed households (ie: three generations together or absent parent and grandparents in parental role), but these households are more likely to be living in poverty than grandparents generally.

Using data from the Americans' Changing Lives (ACL) survey, Burr et al (2005) found that older caregivers were also more likely to be involved in formal volunteering than non-caregivers. Volunteers reported feeling more pleasure from being helpful as well as meeting people in an Australian study (Warburton et al 2001).

Sherman and Shavit (2012) suggested that "the immaterial product of volunteer work substitutes for the immaterial product produced by the paid work" for individuals in forced paid work retirement ("substitution hypothesis"; Mutchler et al 2003).

1.7. MODERN PROBLEMS AND SITUATIONS

1.7.1. Weddings

Boden (2001) explored the consumption of "the wedding" as a commodity in an age when marriage is less important statistically. Commercial consumption has been involved in, for, and at the wedding, but Boden described a commodification of it (along with life generally and calendar events). This gives a consumer identity of "superbride", who has "two underpinning aspects of her personality: the rational 'project manager' existing alongside the emotional 'childish fantasiser'" (Boden 2001).

Key to the commodification of the wedding is the licensing of new approved premises for civil marriages, like stately homes and hotels, in England and Wales in the 1990s.

The "traditional" meaning of marriage was based on the "birth" of the couple with a once-in-a-lifetime event, with brides representing innocence and virginity (Boden 2001). This is not the case now as pre-marital co-habitation is common, and many marriages are individuals' second or third, for example. Boden (2001) observed:

In light of these changes to the role of the wedding and, by implication, its leading lady, one might argue that current emphasis upon the wedding as a cultural event or performance which generates its meaning primarily through consumption (rather than say religion) counterbalances any

wavering belief or confidence in the wedding as a necessary social rite of passage. The wedding may no longer always be a genuinely religious celebration (even if it takes place in a religious setting) but rather exists as a cultural performance which, ideally, should express and display the romantic commitment of two people. Similarly, one could further suggest here that the additional emphasis upon training women as successful wedding consumers (ie: as "superbrides") is a strategy of the wedding industry to deflect attention from the "institution" of marriage and its apparent crisis. In fact, as we shall go on to see, in negotiating her own complex and demanding identity, the "superbride" is required to focus exclusively upon the wedding and not the marriage she is entering into...

The media plays a role in a "popular wedding consumer culture" and "wedding industry". This includes the coverage of celebrity weddings and unconventional ones (eg: underwater). Boden (2001) also highlighted bridal magazines as important with an analysis of selected issues in 1999 of six of them¹⁰. She felt that they constructed a "shared 'feminine' consumer identity" that socialised women into the role of the bride.

A key theme was the "pleasure of ultimate femininity" as the bride strives for "still-life" perfection. "This pleasure can only be assured, however, if concerted time, effort, and expenditure are devoted to the construction of the bridal identity. Consumption, in terms of the entire wedding spectacle and the bride herself, is the primary method of ensuring success. This induced logic confers a duty to spend on the part of the bride as much as for her sake as for her extended wedding party. It also infers that the bride's creativity and effort will be used to good effect" (Boden 2001)¹¹.

If this is the fantasy part of the identity, the "rational" project manager has to deal with problems, frustrations, and dilemmas. For example, how to avoid upsetting the relatives, in particular the bride's mother. "Bliss for Brides" (June/July 1999) advised: "Rather than embarrass your mother by exposing her interior design fallibilities, why not steer her towards other equally important, and ever so worthy aspects of the wedding organisation, where well-intentioned but fundamentally flawed creative ideas can't do any serious damage? Ask her to make fudge, write the table place names or usher people into their seats at the ceremony. Whatever she does make sure your almost nauseating

¹⁰ "Wedding Day", "Bliss for Brides", "Bride and Groom", "You and Your Wedding", "Wedding and Home", and "Brides and Setting up Home".

¹¹ Boden (2001) quoted the figure of £13 000 as the average spent on the whole event at the turn of the century.

'thank-yous' pump plenty of air into her deflated ego" (quoted in Boden 2001).

Furthermore, Boden (2001) said: "Bridal magazines market themselves on sharing strategies with the bride for gaining and keeping control over her own wedding. Typically, this involves encouraging the bride to take control of all consumption decisions, evoking themes of agency, choice and self-responsibility to disguise the economic incentives driving the commodification of the event. Thus, the wedding becomes a carefully negotiated performance organised by the bride, aided by the industry, given meaning by the culture and kept at a secure distance from the unwanted influences of other involved parties".

1.7.2. HIV/AIDS

The "Living with Anti-retrovirals" (LIWA) project studied the experiences of over 500 HIV-infected adults receiving anti-retroviral treatment (ART) in four hospitals in an area of north Thailand. Compared to a matched group, the relationship between HIV-positive adults and their parents was different, primarily in ageing parents caring for their adult children rather than the other way around traditionally. But ART has allowed for a return to the traditional filial duties as expected in Thai society (Lelievre and Le Coeur 2012).

Prior to the medication, HIV-positive individuals and "AIDS caregiving was synonymous with expenses, debts, lost time, no filial support of their elderly parents, emotional distress and poverty" (Lelievre and Le Coeur p575). ART allows the individual to remain in work (87% of sample).

Single and childless or single parents with HIV/AIDS were the most dependent on their parents.

1.7.3. Time Poverty

Money leads to happiness to some degree, but levels of happiness in the USA, for example, have remained constant despite increases in wealth over the later 20th century (Easterlin 1995)^{12 13}. It may be that money is spent on short-time pleasures that do not produce long-term happiness. Or "free time" available may be linked to

¹² Among 6000 residents of Switzerland, though unemployed persons were less happy than employed ones, increases in household income only raised happiness "to a small extent" (Frey and Stutzer 2000).

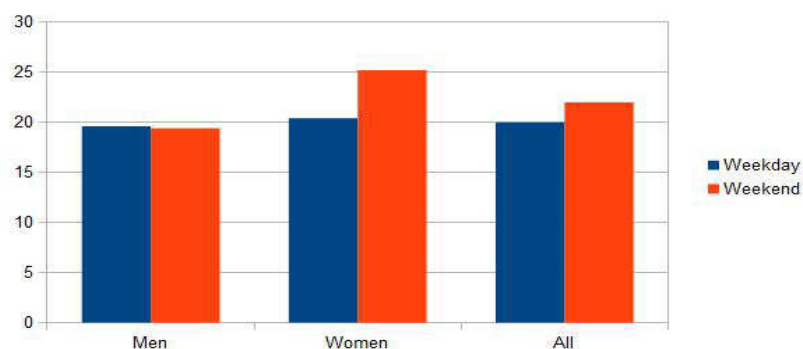
¹³ Milanovic (2012) described two aspects of income inequality - between countries (eg: using mean income for each country) ("between inequality") and between individuals ("within inequality"). For example, in 1870, around two-thirds of global inequality was "within inequality" (and one-third due to "between inequality"), but this is the opposite in 2000 (Milanovic 2012).

happiness.

"Free time" is defined as "the time that remains at one's own discretion after work and other necessary daily activities are conducted", and it is "an important non-monetary welfare resource, providing an opportunity for rest, social interaction, leisure participation, and self-realisation" (Chatzitheochari and Arber 2012 p451). In the past it was believed that the 21st century would see "post-industrial leisure societies" (where individuals worked only a few hours a week), but the reality is more of "time famine" (ie: overworked) in the West ¹⁴. But the amount of free time (quantity) also goes with quality (Chatzitheochari and Arber 2012).

Time-use surveys involve individuals keeping time diaries, usually divided into 10-minute blocks. The data are divided into amount of paid work, unpaid work (eg: housework, childcare), personal care activities (eg: sleeping, grooming), and free time. The 2000 UK Time Use Survey asked all adult members of selected households to record their activities on a "typical" weekday and weekend day (giving 144 ten-minute slots) ¹⁵. Chatzitheochari and Arber (2012) analysed a sub-sample of 3867 paid employees.

The median free time on weekdays was 190 minutes and 360 minutes on weekend days. "Time poverty" was defined as less than 60% of the median. The threshold for "time poverty" was 110 minutes on weekdays and 220 minutes on weekend days. Twenty percent of the sample were "time poor" for the former and 22% for the latter (figure 1.1).



(Data from Chatzitheochari and Arber 2012 table 1 p459)

Figure 1.1 - Rates (%) of "time poverty".

¹⁴ Many individuals are "money rich but time poor".

¹⁵ Other methods used include experience sampling and the day reconstruction method (DRM). The former technique involves contacting individuals at random times to ask what they are doing, but it is intrusive. The DRM (Kahneman et al 2004) involves a detailed questionnaire that guides the respondent to view the day "as a continuous series of scenes or episodes in a film", and to record the approximate length of each episode while using twelve positive and negative emotion words to describe them.

The following pattern of social variables emerged from analysis:

- Men aged 26-45 years were most "time poor" on weekdays, but 36-55 year-olds on weekends.
- Older women (56-60 years) were the least "time poor" on weekdays, but the youngest (20-25 years) on weekends.
- Non-White individuals were more "time poor" than White individuals on weekdays and weekend days.
- Weekday "time poverty" was greatest for higher income men (but compensated for at weekends), while the lowest paid women were most "time poor" on weekdays and the highest paid at weekends.
- Working shifts and unsocial hours led to weekday "time poverty".
- Weekday "time poverty" was highest for married women, and for both sexes with young children, but for married men most at weekends.

In terms of quality of free time (defined as "pure" - no other distractions - or "contaminated" - eg: childcare at same time), women had more contaminated time. Quality was also assessed by amount of fragmentation (interrupted by unpaid work), of which women had more. Overall, working women experienced more free-time constraints.

Aakes et al (2011) proposed five principles for "happiness-maximising ways to spend time":

i) Spend time with right people - friends, family and significant others (and not bosses and co-workers) are associated with happiness. Though having a "best friend" at work and/or liking the boss are exceptions.

ii) Spend time on right activities - "socially connecting activities" (eg: with friends) lead to happiness more than work, unless an individual's occupation is fulfilling.

iii) Imagine the time off - thinking about spending time doing enjoyable activities can feel as pleasurable as doing things (particularly with the stress of the practicalities).

iv) Expand time - increase the time available (metaphorically) by being present-focused (as opposed to future-oriented) and live in the "here and now". The

perceived passage of time is slower when being present-oriented.

- v) Be aware that happiness changes over the lifespan
- eg: reported well-being increases after 50 years old.

1.7.4. Child Behavioural Problems

The state of the family (and in particular, parenting) is blamed for many social ills. The problem is to establish clear causal links.

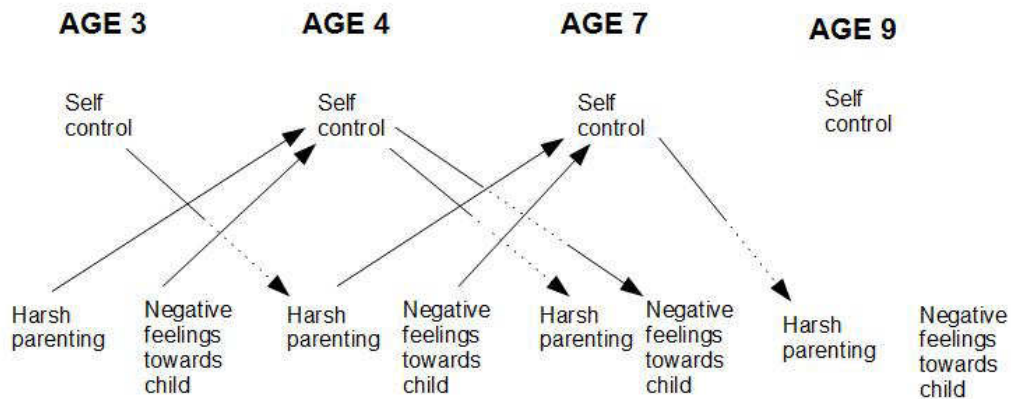
One way is to focus upon specific parenting and child behaviours over a period of time. For example, Cecil et al (2012) reported a longitudinal study of children's self-control and two parenting behaviours (harsh discipline and negative feelings towards the child). The children were 2592 identical twins enrolled on the Twins Early Development Study, which covers all twins born in England and Wales between 1994 and 1996. Self-control was measured by parents' ratings at 3, 4, 7 and 9 years old, and teachers' ratings of conduct and emotional problems at 12 years old. Harsh discipline was measured by self-reports of shouting and smacking the child (using a five-point scale from "I rarely or never do this" to "I always do this"), and negative feelings by responses to items like "Sometimes s/he makes me angry".

Analysis of the data found a bi-directional relationship between harsh parenting and self-control at 3 and 4 years old. Thus harsh parenting at 3 years old correlated with lower self-control at 4 years old, while higher self-control at 3 years old went with lower levels of harsh parenting at four. The latter was true for 7-9 years old, but harsh parenting at seven years old did not predict lower self-control at nine years old. Negative feelings towards the child at 3 years old led to lower self-control at four, and negative feelings at 4 years old correlated with lower self-control at seven years old. Lower self-control at four years old predicted more negative feelings at 7 (figure 1.2).

Harsher parenting, but not negative feelings, at age 9 predicted conduct problems at 12 years old ¹⁶. Overall,

¹⁶ Cecil et al (2012) stated: "It is not possible to tell from the data presented here why harsh parenting and negative parental feelings have their effect on conduct problems through 'direct' and 'indirect' routes respectively. The 'direct' route is likely to reflect a number of processes, such as modelling aggressive behaviour to the child or making the child feel threatened and thus increasing the likelihood of defensive aggressive reactions in the child. Any account of the 'indirect' route is even more speculative, but it is possible to postulate that the child who experiences more negative parental feelings is under more emotional stress, which might in turn have an impact on the cognitive and emotional resources that the child has available for developing effortful regulation strategies" (pp295-296).

parenting and child self-control affected each other.



(Based on Cecil et al 2012 figure 1 p293 and figure 2 p294)

Figure 1.2 - Significant relationships between parenting and self-control.

1.7.5. Young Carers

"Young carers" are individuals under eighteen who provide care, usually for a family member like a disabled parent. There may be 175 000 (or more) such individuals in the UK (O'Dell et al 2010).

Sidall (1994) talked of a "lost childhood" as young carers did not have the opportunities for "normal" childhood activities. Aldridge and Becker (1993) described "a picture of children committing themselves to caring for their loved ones in a lonely and isolated environment, exacerbated by the disinterest of others" (quoted in O'Dell et al 2010 p644).

However, O'Dell et al (2010) countered: "Whilst we do not intend to minimise or dismiss concern about young carers our view... is that when the experience of young carers is evaluated against an ideal of a supposed 'normal' childhood, there is a risk of over-simplifying complex family systems, ignoring young people's agency and depreciating disabled parents' actions and wishes... [Meanwhile] young carers transgress taken for granted assumptions about the competence and abilities of children, where the assumption is that children are to be cared for rather than care for others" (p644).

O'Dell et al (2010) reported discussions with 46 15-18 year-olds (of which nine were substantial carers) in England using a vignette about 14 year-old Mary who has to care for her physically disabled father. The responses to Mary were in the context of "normal" childhood (eg: "a time of limited responsibility and a time for play and

socialising"; O'Dell et al 2010), and this positioned young carers as "different".

The carers themselves presented a complex picture of their lives with negative and positive aspects, and with competing demands from family, peers, and school. For example, one thirteen year-old female carer said: "...You wanna be able to just go over to your friends and watch movies and go 'ha ha ha'. But then on the other side you've got your obligations to your family because no matter how much you may want to be a normal person you also, if you tried being a normal person you'd feel guilty..." (O'Dell et al 2010 p651).

1.7.6. Extreme Drinking

Views on the consumption of alcohol has clear connotations historically with "a distinction between the enthusiastic approval for (mainly male) alcohol consumption among elites as a social enabler and stimulus to civilised and intellectual discourse, and, on the other hand, acute moral disapproval towards the drinking of the lower classes which was seen as anarchic and morally reprehensible. Yet, among the lower classes themselves, there was a parallel distinction between the morally upright drinker who was generous in buying and consuming drink and was seen as an open and trustworthy fellow, and the feckless drinker who drank his family's economic security away and was seen as a threat to the patriarchal moral order" (Hackley et al 2012 p3). The "official" response in recent times relates to "binge drinking" and has the hallmarks of a "moral panic" over "a deficit of responsibility, maturity, or good sense" (Hackley et al 2011).

"However, young drinkers can be seen to be more calculated in their behaviour than sensational 'binge' drinking media reports suggest... They are aware of, and are often quite unashamed by, the way their behaviour looks to authorities. There is a need, therefore, for a deeper analysis of extreme drinking as a consumer cultural phenomenon" (Hackley et al 2012). Hackley et al (2012) explored the experiences and stories of "extreme drinking" of 89 18-25 year-olds in the UK in 2006-7. In focus groups, these stories "would be received with rapt attention, affirmative interjections, and excited laughter. Aspects of these accounts, seen as narratives, had a dialogic character in that the meaning of the stories seemed located in the interaction between speaker and audience. There were a number of common themes to the staging and content of these narratives. The stories often retold events which were dangerous, reckless, irresponsible, or potentially highly incriminating for the subject's reputation for controlled or responsible behaviour. Yet they were invariably greeted with warm,

affirmative, and collegiate laughter... which stands in opposition to the official conventions and mores of the day" (Hackley et al 2012 p2).

The experiences while drunk appeared to "parody" the everyday values of work, self-control, and "sensible conduct". "It seemed almost as if the extreme drinking and the subsequent subversion of bourgeois norms had a therapeutic element, cleansing the person of the absurdity of normal life for a time by means of a ritualistic and collective wallowing in the subversive absurdity of drunken life" (Hackley et al 2012).

Modern neo-liberalism (or global capitalism) requires individual workers to regulate themselves in terms of emotions, behaviours, and bodies during the "weekday", and intoxication offers a "weekend" antidote ("a cultural remission"; Fox 2000).

Hackley et al (2012) added other ingredients into the mix - social bonding through alcohol consumption; the gendered expectations (eg: masculinity and "stag" events); and the development of "drinking spaces" in town centres (eg: branded pubs and products).

Hackley et al (2012) view the behaviour associated with extreme drinking through the theory of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1984/1965)¹⁷. The carnival in medieval times was "a temporary subversion of norms of social propriety and structure through degradation, ribald laughter, and grotesque exaggeration and parody... - 'kings turn into commoners, the sacred is profane, [and] authority is subverted'..." (Hackley et al 2012 p7).

The researchers applied three concepts of carnival to the stories of their participants:

a) The grotesque body - Behaviour that overstepped the usual boundaries of bodily self-control. For example, "Sheila" was "sick everywhere" because "I was so drunk and I can't remember a thing... I just drink til I black out", while "Rob's" friend "had a piss up the cupboard" in Rob's parents' house, and "Molly" at Dan's house "pissed on his radio". "The transgression gives these acts their resonance" (Hackley et al 2012).

b) Parodic carnival laughter - All the stories were received by the "carnival laughter of the friendship group" and "there is a sense that the laughter affirmed the joy of subverting the conventional and oppressive norms of work, school, college, and the forces of self-control" (Hackley et al 2012).

¹⁷ Lacan (2007) distinguished between "enjoyment" ("deadly excess"; Zizek 2012) and pleasure.

c) The world turned "inside out" - "Dawn" told of after she "shagged this bloke three times" at a "mate's house", "I was really confused and I walked I walked naked into my mate's parents' bedroom (loud laughter) I thought it was the toilet (continued laughter) it wasn't as bad cos I was fifteen then so I would have been more embarrassed now and like... her dad just got up and took me to the toilet and then took me back again I was really really drunk (wow) (laughter)" (Hackley et al 2012 p10).

Hackley et al (2012) explained: "The father stoically assists the incapable girl, neatly parodying the normal order of parental relations in that toilet assistance is generally ended by the time the child is perhaps six years old. He is the servant of the girls' debasement, while her own behaviour, constituted in her story as actively and assertively sexual, reverses the gender norm of the male as the active sexual agent".

Key to all the stories was alcohol, bringing "a legitimacy that could probably not be achieved any other way. It may be useful to speculate what the group's reception may have been to this story if the behaviour described had been undertaken in a state of sobriety or under the influence of hard drugs. We suggest that the reaction of the group may have been very different - indeed, it is hard to imagine such a story being retold without embarrassment at all, without the legitimating presence of extreme quantities of alcohol" (Hackley et al 2012 p10).

In this context, Hackley et al (2012) saw government-sponsored campaigns of "responsible drinking" as "highly problematic" "because they fail to engage with the lived experience of young people who have to try to forge a sense of identity within a cultural environment with deeply conflicting values around alcohol". Alcohol is freely available and marketed widely, particularly at young people. Hackley et al (2012) finished with these observations:

It seems self-evident that the experiences our participants describe are not in themselves pleasurable: they are usually uncomfortable, unhealthy, expensive, and embarrassing, not to mention troublesome to parents, police, club owners, and other public services, and potentially carrying devastating risk which could damage the young person's future. The positive element to these experiences lies in their transgressive resonance as mass expressions of carnival, as countercultural expressions of putative freedom from social norms that are constituted as oppressive or lacking in fun and a sense of freedom. In the UK over the last 30 years, the liberalisation of alcohol licensing laws, the increase in the number of alcohol brands, the real terms reduction

of the cost of retail alcohol, and the increase in the quantity and variety of alcohol brand marketing have all acted to do two things. One is to identify alcohol closely with social fun to the extent that it is difficult for many young people to conceive of fun and social life without the levelling effect and disinhibition of being very drunk. The other has been to shift the bulk of alcohol consumption from pub on-sales to retail off-sales, thereby creating limitless opportunities for the carnivalisation of time and space. Street drinking, for example, is condemned in policy discourse, but has been made much easier to do by the huge expansion in the number and opening hours of retail alcohol outlets in the UK. The street is the historical location for carnival celebration, and the creation of highly concentrated urban drinking areas has turned many UK city centres, by night, into theatres of the carnivalesque (p12).

1.7.7. Changes in Social Class

In the UK today, there is debate among academics about the concept of "middle class" (or "service class") (Archer 2011). Savage et al (1992) preferred to talk about "middle classes", made up of three key groupings - "petit bourgeoisie" (with income/wealth from property ownership), managers (based in bureaucracies), and professionals - but unified by "family structures and neighbourhoods". Savage (2000) suggested that middle-class identity is based around "not workingclass".

The focus of the debate has been White middle-class(es), and little about minority ethnic (ME) middle-class(es) who "occupy an ambivalent structured location that combines both (class) privilege and (racial) exclusion" (Archer 2011). Black Caribbean, Black African, and Indian individuals have "joined" the middle-class(es) through education and "middle-class" occupations, though there are inequalities (eg: lower pay for ME professionals compared to White counterparts; Clark and Drinkwater 2007).

Archer (2011) interviewed thirteen ME middle-class parents and their teenage children, and ten young professionals about their identity and values. The interviewees were aware of "objectively" being middle-class (by occupation, education, financial status, and values), but they tended not to identify with it, mostly because middle-classness was seen as "organised around whiteness". For example, "Sameena" (Muslim Pakistani, professional) summed it up: "I see middle-class as predominantly white [...] If we are looking at what constitutes middle-class, I would probably fit in that slot in so many ways. But I don't place myself there culturally because I'm an outsider [...] I don't want to be part of that class, I choose not to be" (Archer 2011

p145) ¹⁸.

Carter and Dyson (2011) observed: "Sociologists are understandably wary of regarding ethnicity in a reified manner: it 'essentialises' ethnicity (making it an attribute possessed by minorities, sometimes majorities); it mistakes description for explanation (such that ethnicity is often seen as a central causal variable in social action, and social phenomena are held to be explained once they are cast in terms of ethnicity, as in, for example, 'ethnic conflict'); and it posits social entities whose uncertain ontological status and empirical boundaries present, if not insurmountable, then certainly significant, methodological obstacles to social research (such as how membership of an ethnic group is to be defined, or which ethnic groups are to count, or the relationship between ethnicity and other social attributes or cultural practices such as social class, language or religion)" (p965).

Furthermore, "Conventional definitions of ethnicity often emphasise descent and territorial affiliation as core elements of ethnic identity, with cultural features such as customs, language, dress, diet and religion seen as expressive of these more fundamental constituents" (Carter and Dyson 2011 p971). Carter and Dyson (2011), talking in relation to ethnicity and sickle cell disease, proposed a number of questions to show the problematic nature of the concept of "ethnicity":

a) How many generations back does one go to determine ethnicity? Related to this question, what family members count as "kin" in the definition of ethnic origin? For example, the 1971 Immigration Act in the UK legally defined belonging to the territory of the UK based on the birth of biological parents or grandparents in the UK.

b) Is territorial connection a key element in

¹⁸ Rollock et al (2011) observed that the "black middle classes strategically make use of a range of resources including accent, language and comportment to signal their class status to white others to ultimately minimise the effects of racial discrimination" (p1089).

They also say: "Yet, there is a broader point to be made. The very need for the performance of public identities demands questions about the notion of social justice. First, it raises fundamental questions about what we understand and really mean by the notion of race equality if (even) middle class blacks are obliged to carry out forms of extra work in order to gain some level of legitimacy and acceptance within white society. Second, does the notion of 'inclusion' for blacks really mean becoming 'racially palatable' and hence 'peripherally or unstereotypically non-white' (Carbado and Gulati, 2005 p1658)? If so, this represents not an advancement of equality but a maintenance of a racially imbalanced status quo the rules of which are determined by WhiteWorld. Finally, that mainstream white society is oblivious to or refuses to recognise and attempt to minimise the extra work and movement between identities required by the black middle classes speaks clearly both to the comfort and luxury of power and, moreover, to the countless privileges embedded in whiteness" (Rollock et al 2011 p1090).

ethnicity? If so, how long does attachment to a territory have to exist to define an ethnicity? For example, the Saxe-Coburgs royal family in the UK (with German origins and relatives) changed their name to Windsor during World War I.

In the 1990s, the phrase "emerging British underclass" (Murray 1990) appeared. This suggested that a group existed that were different (and a threat) to others in society. They are "deemed to exhibit pathological dispositions towards two key social responsibilities: the need and obligation to engage in paid employment, and the need and obligation to provide a stable, nuclear family environment in which children can be raised" (Hayward and Yar 2006). Males of the "underclass" were seen as rejecting traditional employment for "benefit-funded unemployment" and/or property crime, while promiscuously fathering children left to unmarried mothers. The British press in the 1990s were full of stories of "dole cheats" and "welfare mothers" (Hayward and Yar 2006).

Field (1989), for example, offered an alternative explanation for the development of "underclass" based in the decline of "working-class" jobs in the manufacturing sector in the UK and limited opportunities for education and escape from the "trap of welfare poverty". Though these authors disagree on the cause of the "underclass", they have in common the belief that it "is in the failure (whether by choice or compulsion) to engage in economically and socially productive labour, that the essence of the underclass' marginality is to be found, and it is from this exclusion that other associated pathologies (despair, violent conflict, crime, drug abuse) are seen to emerge. For all the above authors, to be 'of society' is to produce; lacking such a role, one falls out of society proper all together, becoming part of its non-assimilable desiderata" (Hayward and Yar 2006 pp12-13).

The view among sociologists is that the construction of identity has moved from production (the job an individual does) in the mid-20th century to consumption (the "display of symbolic cultural goods") in the 21st century (Hayward and Yar 2006).

Hayward (2004) felt that "the display and celebration of consumer goods have triumphed over and above other more traditional models of self-expression" (quoted in Hayward and Yar 2006). The pattern of consumption (eg: which products and brands purchased) create cleavages that allow distinctions between "us" and "them", which when linked to production were called "class" differences. The "underclass" is marginalised because they cannot consume (ie: limited money to buy the products) in some senses, but the modern version of "underclass", "chav" is used of individuals who consume

too much - in a "vulgar" way (Hayward and Yar 2006). "Chav" is "an increasingly ubiquitous term within popular discourse, a catchall epithet used to pour scorn on everyone from unwed teenage mothers to high-profile celebrities such as Posh and Becks (ex Spice Girl Victoria Adams and her husband, the England football captain, David Beckham...)" (Hayward and Yar 2006) ¹⁹.

"Ned" (non-educated delinquent) is a Scottish term equivalent to "Chav" in England. It is a label for the stereotype of lower class, uneducated, "raucous and anti-social youth", usually male, who drink fortified wine "Buckfast" (Young 2012). It is suggested by sociologists that these terms are used with "disgust and contempt" (eg: Lawler 2005).

However, the Ned label has high status in Scottish youth culture, and Young (2012) found that many individuals self-identified as Ned, though not having the stereotypical characteristics. Young (2012) surveyed around 3200 15 year-olds in the West of Scotland (Central Clydeside Conurbation which includes Glasgow). Around 15% of respondents self-identified as Ned.

Young (2012) asserted: "Contrary to the judgment of leading sociologists (Lawler 2005), the traditionally stigmatised Ned/Chav identity is now a readily accepted self-label adopted by a minority of young people... [and] is focused on middle-class Ned/Chavs - specifically the finding that middle-class youth both engage in crime or delinquency and readily adopt an identity so at odds with their social origins, family and community expectations" (p1157). The middle-class adopting a Ned label is associated with toughness, anti-authority, hedonism and with peer status. For such individuals, the Ned identity may be temporary (ie: chosen), whereas the working-class maintain the identity (ie: no choice) (Young 2012).

1.7.8. Reality Television

Sensitivity theory (Reiss 2000) proposes that individuals pay attention to stimuli that are relevant to basic motives or desires and ignore stimuli that are irrelevant. This theory sees sixteen basic desires, which were ascertained by asking thousands of people to rate

¹⁹ Hayward and Yar (2006) observed that "the 'chav' phenomenon recapitulates the discursive creation of the underclass, while simultaneously reconfiguring it within the space of commodity consumption". Furthermore: "The current discourse on the 'chavs' finds its ideological mode of articulation by attributing to individual cultural choices what can in fact be seen as the outcome of a cruel capitalist perversity: the production, on the one hand, of a social strata excluded from full productive participation in the neoliberal economy, and on the other the relentless dissemination of messages that link social worth and well-being to one's ability to consume at all costs" (Hayward and Yar 2006 pp24-25).

hundreds of possible life goals. By factor analysis the responses were reduced to sixteen factors to give the Reiss Profile of Fundamental Motives and Motivational Sensitivities ²⁰ (Reiss and Havercamp 1998) (table 1.2). "Each of the sixteen basic desires is though to be universally motivating, but individuals differ in how they prioritise the sixteen basic desires" (Reiss and Wiltz 2004). A "Desires Profile" shows which desires (or "joys") are most important for an individual.

MOTIVE NAME	MOTIVE	JOY
Power	Desire to influence (and lead)	Efficacy
Curiosity	Desire for knowledge	Wonderment
Independence	Desire for autonomy	Freedom
Status	Desire for prestige (and attention)	Self-importance
Social contact	Desire for peer companionship	Fun
Vengeance	Desire to get even (and win)	Vindication
Honour	Desire to obey traditional moral code	Loyalty
Idealism	Desire to improve society (and altruism)	Compassion
Physical exercise	Desire to exercise muscles	Vitality
Romance	Desire for sex	Lust
Family	Desire to raise own children	Love
Order	Desire to organise (and for ritual)	Stability
Eating	Desire for food	Satiation
Acceptance	Desire for approval	Self-confidence
Tranquility	Desire for inner peace (and safety)	Safe
Saving	Desire to collect	Ownership

(Source: Reiss and Wiltz 2004 table 1 pp356-366)

Table 1.2 - 16 basic desires.

Individuals will be motivated to experience "their" "joys" either directly or vicariously (ie: via watching another as in reality television shows ²¹).

²⁰ This has 328 items like "I love parties" or "I love to eat".

²¹ Reality television has been described as "tears, jeers, and cheers. They cry, we laugh at them, and then we become emotionally involved and feel for them.

Reiss and Wiltz (2004) sort to develop a "Desire Profile" for viewers of reality television shows using 117 US college students and 121 human services professionals (eg: youth workers). Those who watched such shows more score significantly higher scores on the status motive, followed to a lesser degree by vengeance. They were also lower scorers on honour, but high scorers on order, romance, and social contact.

Reiss and Wiltz (2004) explained the high scores on status thus:

Reality television may gratify this psychological need in two ways. One possibility is that viewers feel they are more important (have higher status) than the ordinary people portrayed on reality television shows. The idea that these are "real" people gives psychological significance to the viewers' perceptions of superiority – it may not matter much if the storyline is realistic, so long as the characters are ordinary people. Further, the message of reality television – that millions of people are interested in watching real life experiences of ordinary people – implies that ordinary people are important. Ordinary people can watch the shows, see people like themselves, and fantasise that they could gain celebrity status by being on television (pp373-374) ^{22 23}.

The other desires are relevant here thus:

- High vengeance - enjoy competition, conflict and anger (which are common on reality television shows);
- High social contact - desire to feel part of something (eg: everybody talking about programmes);
- Low honour - eg: reality television shows "champion expedience over ethics".
- High order - eg: many rules involved in the shows;
- High romance - eg: sexually attracted to participants (Reiss and Wiltz 2004).

²² I think that the contradiction between watching these programmes which allows the individual to look at and criticise others and feel good about themselves, and the aspirational images provided is a key in post-modern society (which is characterised by pressure to obtain/achieve both of mutually exclusive options) (Brewer 2001).

²³ The idea that anyone can become famous gives special meaning to the everyday ordinariness of life. This is reinforced on the Internet where log their lives in some way ("life-logging"; Harris 2012). It is an "importancing of the inane". For example, individuals on an extreme programme to lose weight (including being verbally abused by leaders of the programme) experience meaning in the process because it is filmed and broadcast. Bauman (speaking on BBC Radio 3 in 2012) noted: "I am seen, therefore I am".

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2. MENTAL HEALTH EXPECTANCIES

Individuals are living longer, but that increase in years is not necessarily all extra healthy years. "Health expectancies" is the term used to cover disability-free life expectancy, and "mental health expectancies" refers to life expectancy free of mental health problems. For example, it can be calculated for a fifty year-old from epidemiological data, how many years of life can be expected and how many of those will be disability-free.

Brugha et al (2013) calculated the mental health expectancies in Western Europe using data from the European Study of the Epidemiology of Mental Disorders (ESEMED) study, which sampled 21 425 adults in Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, and Spain in 2001-3 (Alonso et al 2004) ²⁴.

Mental health expectancies were calculated using the Sullivan method (Sullivan 1971) ²⁵ ²⁶, which uses the age-specific prevalence of common mental disorders ²⁷ and population life tables ²⁸. The former shows how many individuals at a certain age suffer from mental disorders, and the life tables show the age distribution of deaths in a population.

Using the example of a 25 year-old, Brugha et al (2013) calculated that a man had a life expectancy of 52 years (ie: death at 77 years old), of which 1.8 years would be with a common mental disorders (3.4% of the time). For a 25 year-old woman, the life expectancy was 58 years (death at 83 years old), but 5.1 years with a mental disorder (8.8% of time). At age 55, the man could expect 0.7 years of mental disorders and a woman 2.3 years (figure 2.1). The data showed that "the female population spends more absolute years with common mental disorders (and each disorder individually) and a greater proportion of total life expectancy with such disorders" (Brugha et al 2013 p296).

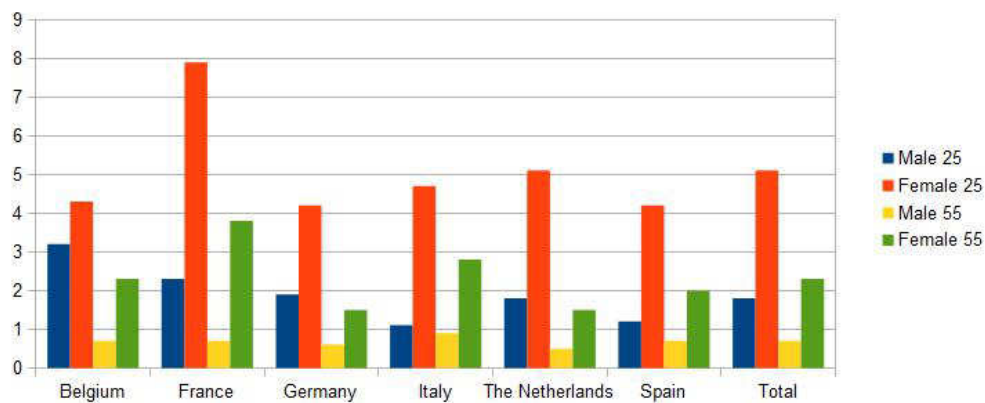
²⁴ It involved face-to-face interviews with a cross-section of adults 18 years and above residing in private households who understood the language of the country. It was part of the World Health Organisation (WHO) World Mental Health Surveys (Demyttenaere et al 2004).

²⁵ Eg: Life expectancy with a common mental disorder at age 25 = Total number of years with the disability accumulated from age 25 $\Sigma \Psi MBOA$ 184 $\therefore \phi \forall \Sigma \psi \mu \beta o \lambda \forall \therefore \sigma$ 10 Number of survivors in population at age 25 (Brugha et al 2013).

²⁶ Brugha et al (2013) admitted: "we are unable to draw conclusions about recovery from mental disorders since Sullivan's method is based on prevalence. However, prevalence itself is a function of duration and therefore as the duration of mental disorders increases then prevalence (and the years with mental disorders) would increase" (p297).

²⁷ Brugha et al (2013) concentrated on generalised anxiety disorder, major depression, and dysthymia.

²⁸ This data came from the European Health Expectancy Monitoring Unit (EHEMU) Information System (<http://www.eurohex.eu/>).



(Data from Brugha et al 2013 tables 1 and 2 p297)

Figure 2.1 - Number of years of common mental disorders for men and women at ages 25 and 55.

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