

Lecture 6.
Families
Familles

Olivier Godechot
Sciences Po – L1. Campus Poitiers
2023-2024

A universal social structure

- All societies have families
 - Consequence of strong secondary altriciality [*altricialité secondaire*] (Lahire, 2023).
 - Brain underdeveloped at birth & baby highly immature & dependent
 - Stable set of persons who produce, enculturate and socialize children
- Asymmetric gender roles: mother in childbearing (& to some point in breastfeeding)
 - Potential for gender specialization/gender hierarchy
 - Generality/Universality of male domination?



Rinehart 1899, Sauk family

Extremely diverse

- Patrilineality vs Matrilineality:
 - tracing of kinship through masculine vs female line
- Patrilocality vs Matrilocality:
 - Living in masculine vs female parents' house
- Patriarchy vs Matriarchy
 - Societies where males (fathers) vs females (mothers) hold power
 - No clear evidence of a society with full Matriarchy
 - Often strong role of brothers/uncles
- Couple structure
 - 1,231 societies in *1980 Ethnographic Atlas* : 186 monogamous / 453 occasional polygyny / 588 frequent polygyny / 4 polyandry
 - Polyandry: mostly in Himalaya. Fraternal polyandry
 - Tied to land scarcity



Varmâ, 1900. Draupadi and her five husbands, the Pandavas.

The Mosuo. The kingdom of women

- Ethnic group in the Yunnan (speaking Naxi – a.k.a the Na or the Naxi)
- “A society without fathers or husbands”
 - Free sexual relations. No monogamy (but serial monogamy now common)
 - “Walking marriage”. Each partner lives in parental house. Visit at nights
 - Father has no paternal/education role
 - Male as rain on grass: male sexual role limiting to watering a female plant
 - Children raised by by mother’s extended family
 - Role of uncles as paternal figure
 - Importance of having female children → maintenance of lineage. But also male children: uncle/brother as paternal figure
- Matriarchy? 2 chiefs (male/female) structure.
 - Authority of oldest woman (*dabou*) in the family for domestic affairs.
 - Authority of a male (Brother/Uncle) for external affairs. Strong sexual division of labor and male in charge of politics
- A type of structure disappearing with Maoism & now tourism → towards monogamous couples

Wikipedia: Reconstitution of a night visit



Outline

I. The formation of the heterosexual couple

1. Anthropological view on the rules of alliance
2. The new structural features of dating
3. The social determinants of couple formation

II. Transformation of family models/life

1. From permanent economic and social units ...
2. To temporary unions based on emotional satisfaction
3. Fragile progress in legitimization of sexual minorities and alternative family models

III. Family as a key device for the reproduction of inequalities

1. A gendered division of unpaid domestic labor
2. The reproduction of gender roles.
3. Permanence and transformation in gender inequalities

Incest ban: The Westermarck effect

- Inbreeding avoidance among many animal species (& some plants)
 - Genetic selection → Genetic diversity
- Reverse sexual imprinting among humans (Westermarck, 1891)
 - Living closely together in first years of life → decrease sexual attraction
- Kibbutz proof
 - Very low intermarriage rate among children raised together in Kibbutz (Shepher, 1971)
 - But: Reassessment. Strong social norms against dating within the kibbutz (Shor & Simchai, 2009)



Wikipedia: Kibbutz Gan Shmuel, circa 1935–40.

The ban of incest: Rules to create ties and fostering solidarity (Lévi-Strauss, 1947)

- Linking the ban on incest and structures of kinship
 - Obligation to “give” daughter or sister
 - Mauss’s gift theory. Obligation
 - To give
 - To receive
 - To reciprocate
 - Expectation of reciprocity from the group to which you give a woman
- Kinship rules: Rules setting all together
 - Ban of incest
 - Reciprocity obligation
 - Respecting structural equivalence between siblings
 - Brothers
 - Sisters
 - Mother’s brothers
 - Mother’s brothers’ daughters
- Two types of exchange
 - Restricted exchange
 - Generalized exchange

Rules of alliance

- “The universal prohibition of incest specifies, as a general rule, that people considered as parents and children, or brother and sister, even if only by name, cannot have sexual relations and even less marry each other. [...] the prohibition of incest establishes a mutual dependency between families, compelling them, in order to perpetuate themselves, to give rise to new families” (Lévi-Strauss, 1960)

Forms of kinship

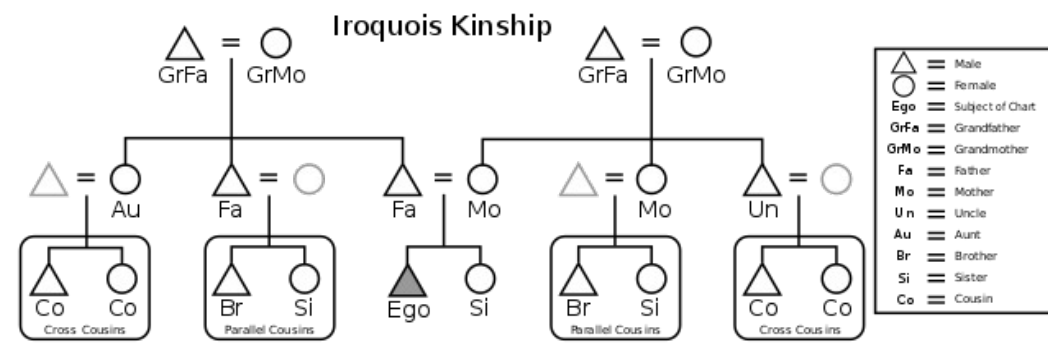
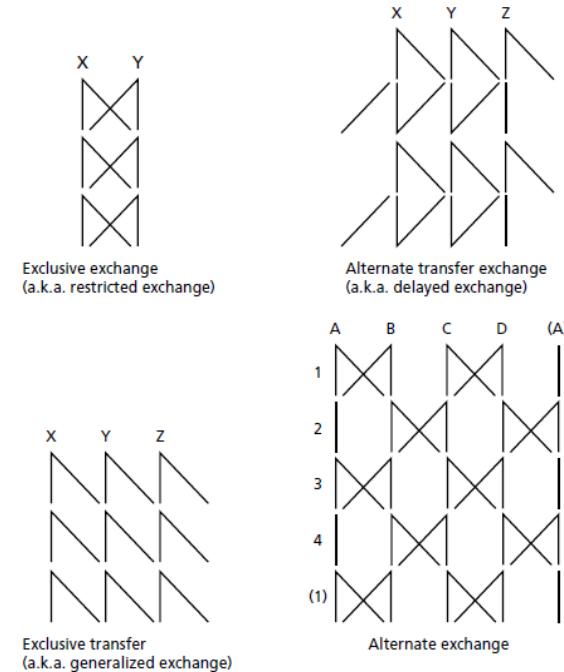


Figure 1 Four elementary forms of kinship according to Héran (2009)

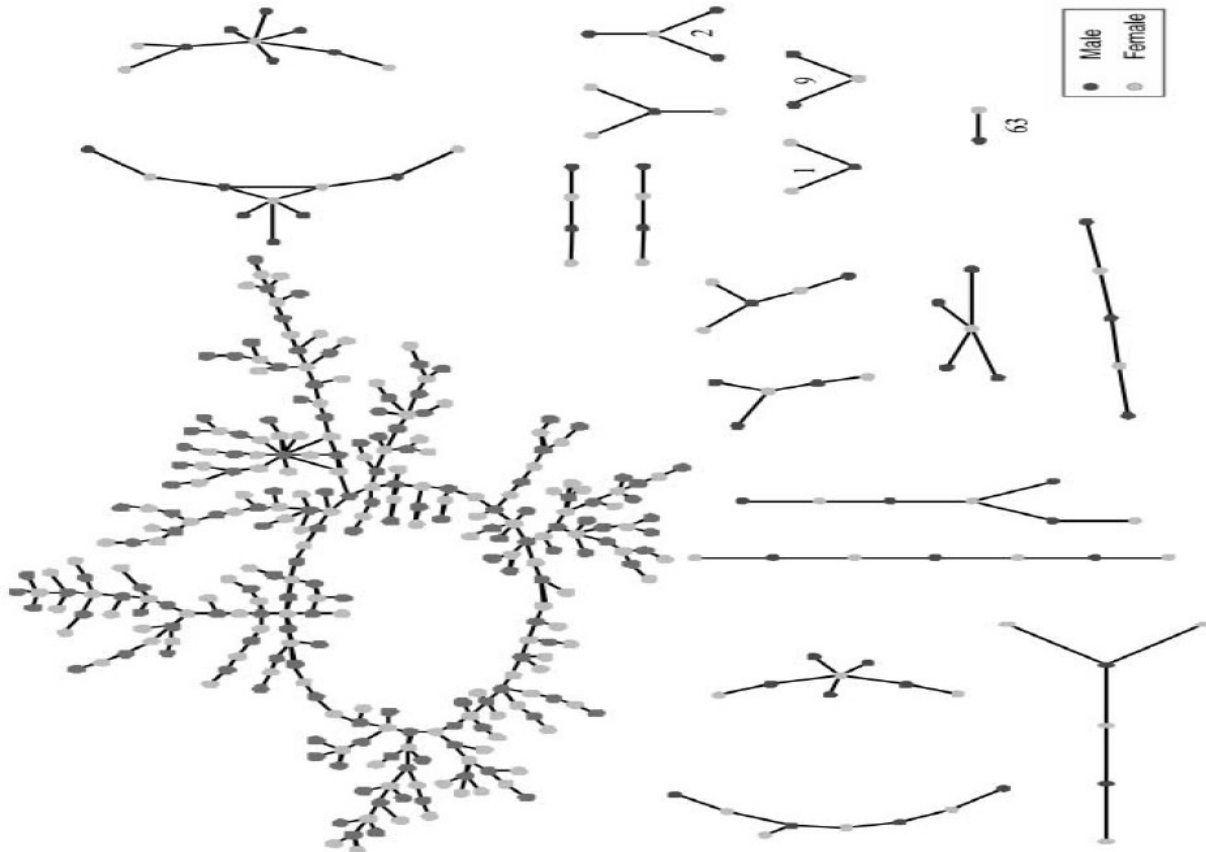
- With a simplified representation (Héran, 2009)
- Cross-lateral cousins => restricted exchange
- Mother's brother's daughter => generalized exchange
- Father's sister's daughter => delayed exchange
- Paternal grand-father's sister's grand daughter => alternate exchange



Note: Héran represents males with a vertical bar |, females with an oblique bar \, marriage with the lower junction \, and a brother and a sister with the upper junction / . He also uses a single bar for representing same-sex siblings and same-sex parallel cousins.

Families

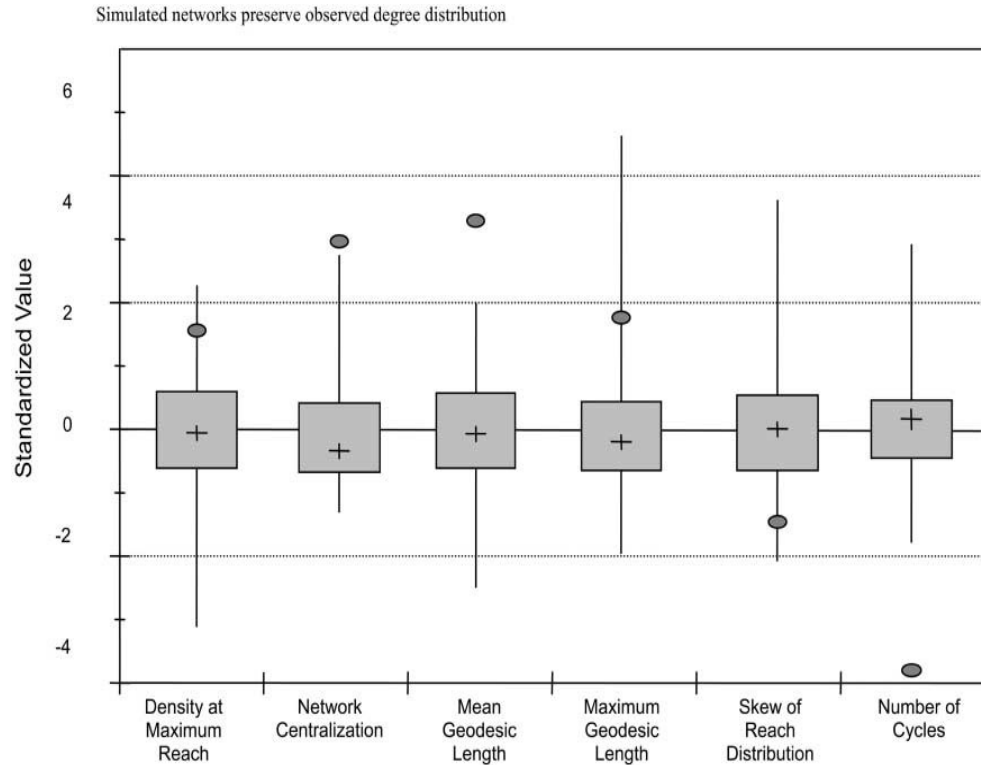
Structure of teenager love and sex stories (Bearman et al., 2004)



- Add Health 1995
- High school network of romantic and/or sexual relations
- Puzzle: strange spanning trees

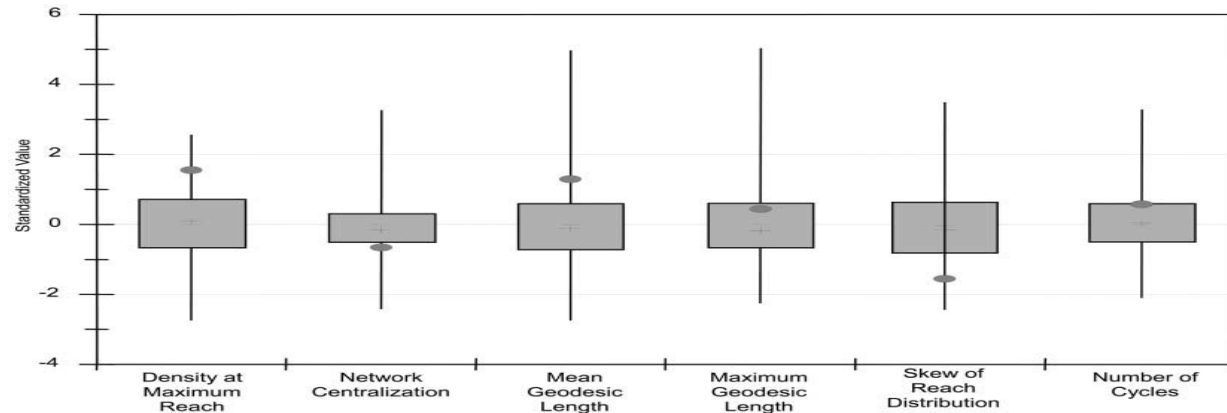
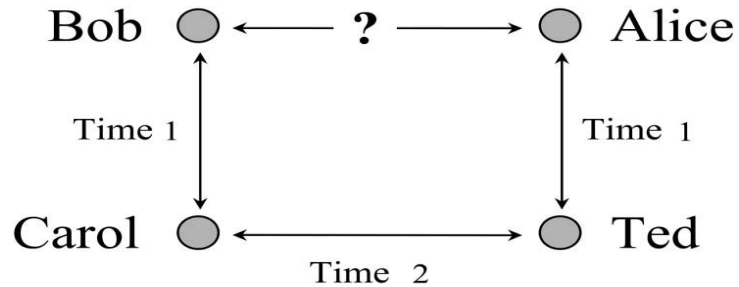
Difficulty to reproduce those structures

- Spanning tree as a mystery
- Simulation in order to reproduce the structure
 - Matching the degree the distribution
 - Matching the degree distribution + isolated dyads
 - Cycles anomalies

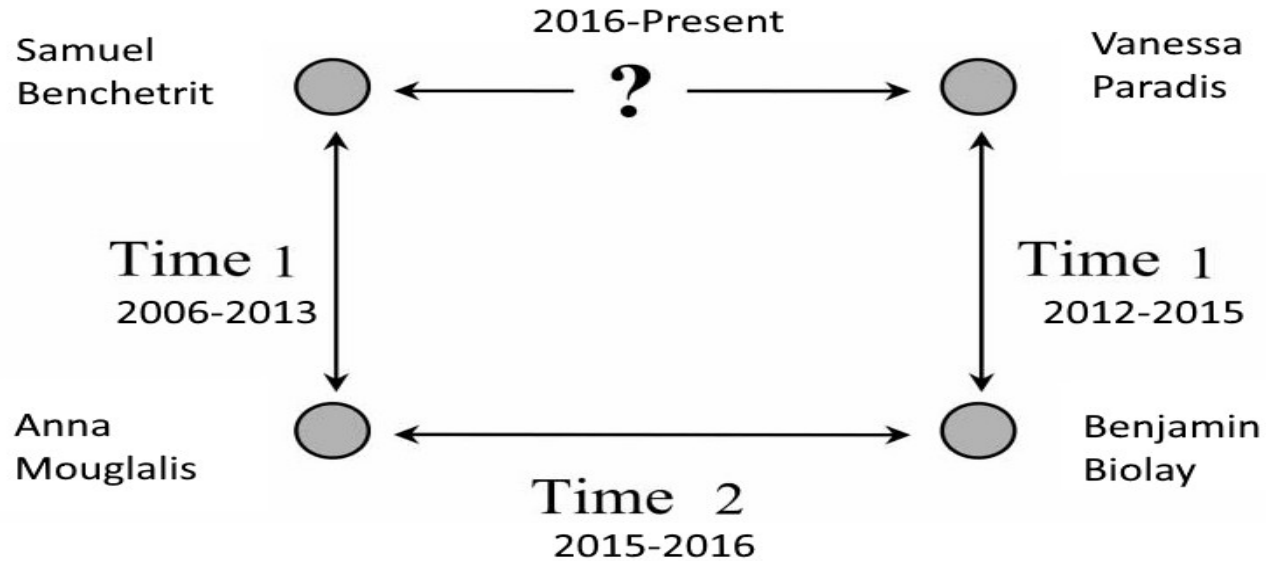


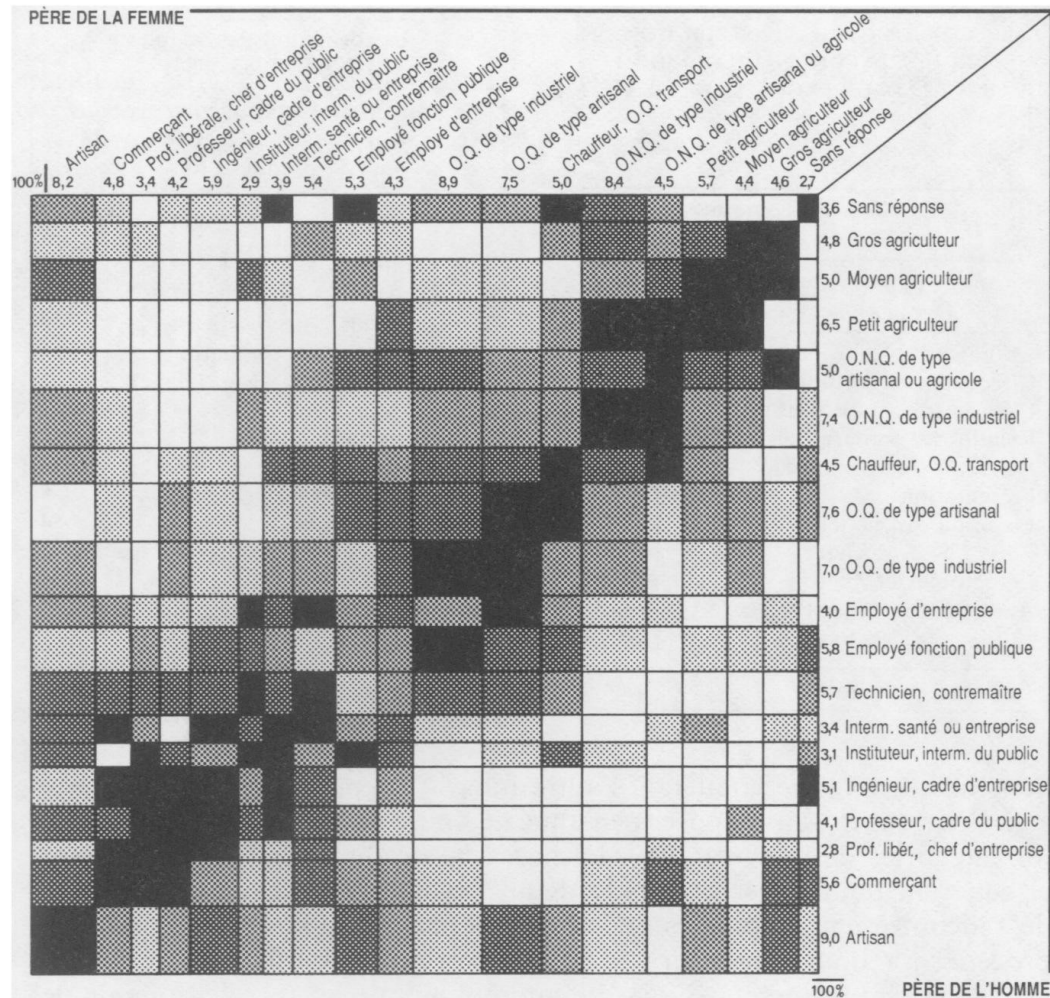
Devalued unions and the structure of the network

- The special case of 4-degree cycles
- Constraining the network to avoid 4 cycles



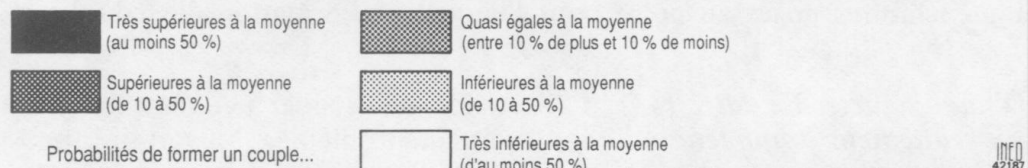
Miracles happen (sometimes)



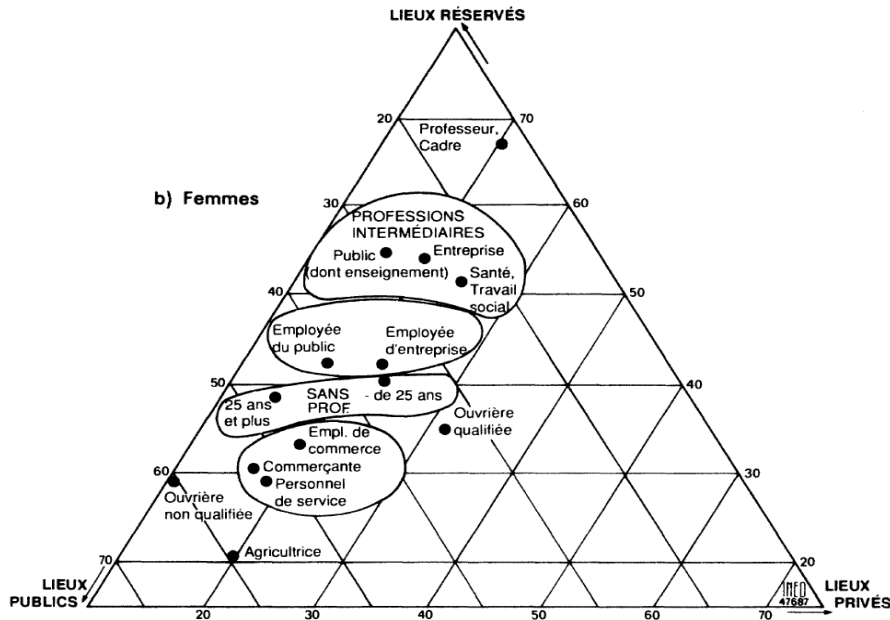


Social structure of dating (Bozon & Heran, 1987)

- Modern societies, no strong rule of alliances
 - Remaining ban on incest
- Strong social homogamy



The role of social stratification of locus of encounters



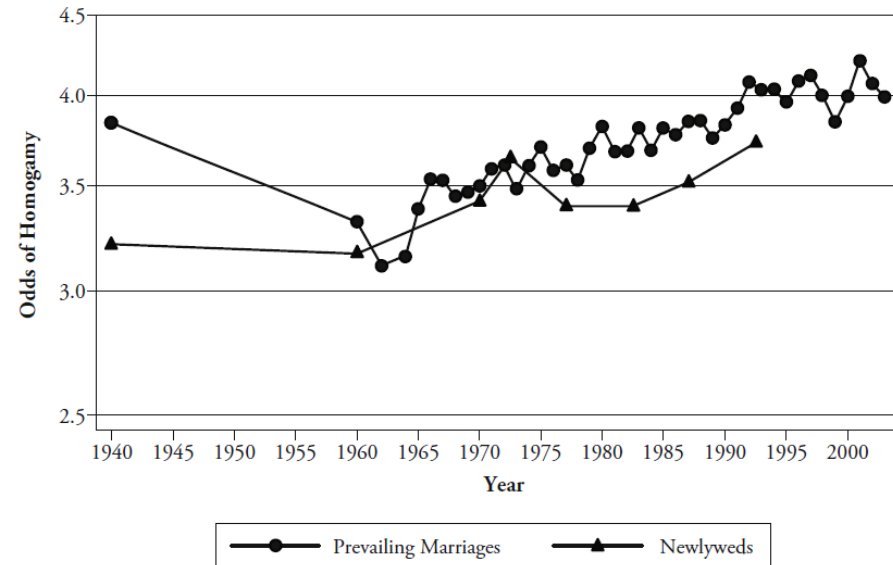
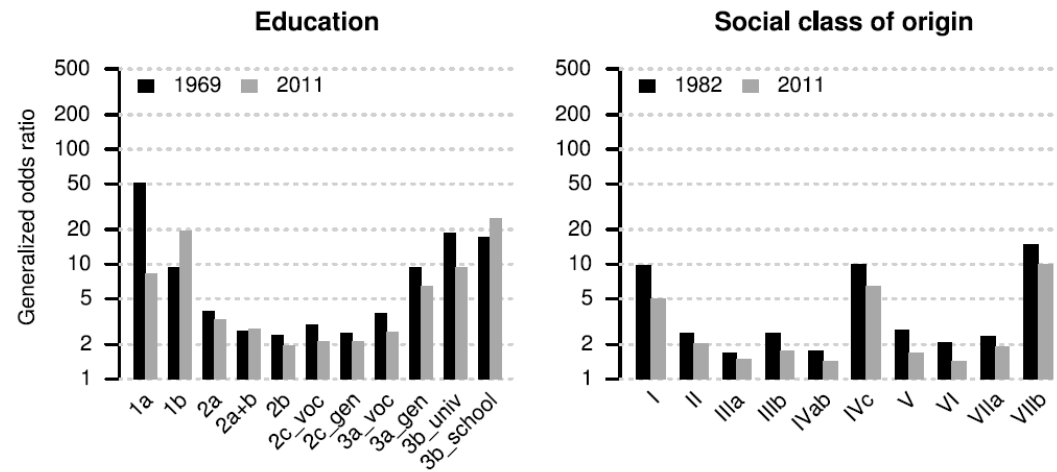
"LIEUX PUBLICS": bal, fête publique, rue, commerce, sorties de groupe en ville, voisinage.
 "LIEUX RÉSERVÉS": association, lieu d'études, lieu de travail, boîte, concerts, sorties de groupe au restaurant, cinéma, sport, lieux de vacances, animation culturelle.
 "LIEUX PRIVÉS": domicile privé, fête de famille, fête entre amis.

- « Si n'importe qui n'épouse pas n'importe qui, c'est d'abord que n'importe qui ne fréquente pas n'importe qui et ne le fait pas en n'importe quel lieu » (Bozon et Héran, 1988)
- Public space: public ball, street, neighborhood
- Private space: home, family, private parties
- Selective space: School, work, sport, cinema
- Upper class meet much more in selective spaces

Bozon, Héran, 1988

Evolution of social homogeneity

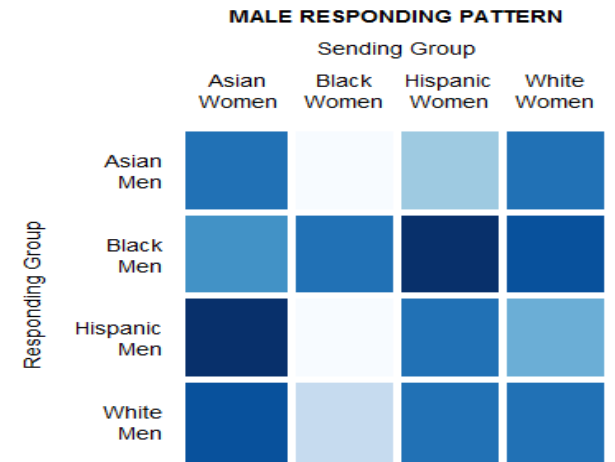
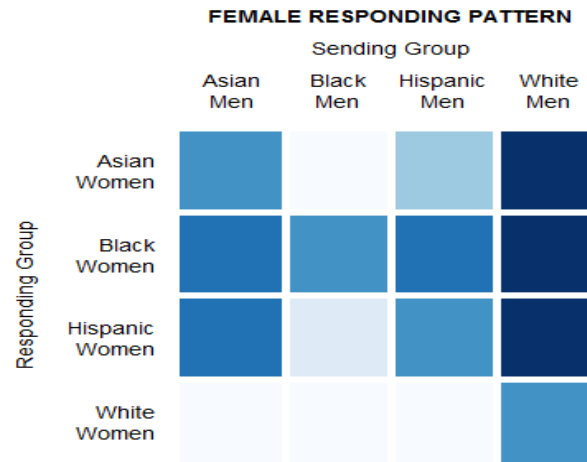
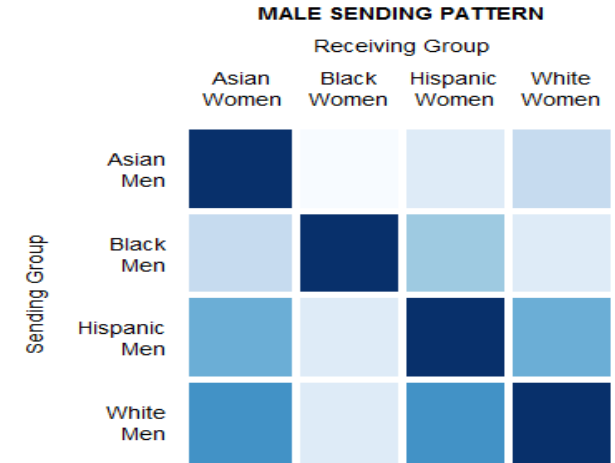
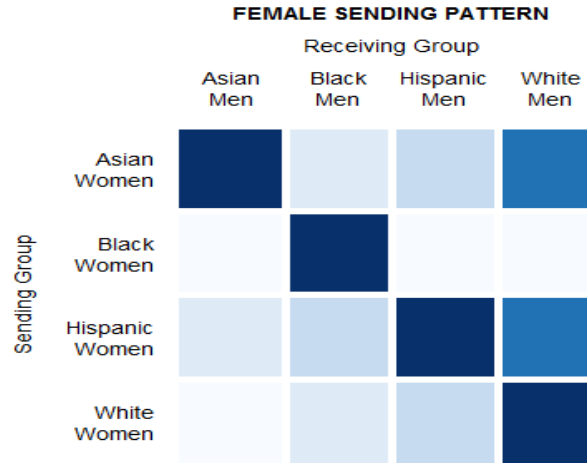
- General decline of social homogeneity in France
- But increase of *Grandes écoles* homogeneity (Bouchet-Valat, 2014)
- In the US, strong increase in educational homogeneity (at all educational levels) (Schwarz & Mare, 2005)



Families

Meeting on line follow structural patterns (Lin & Lundquist, 2013)

- Largest US dating online website
 - 20 Largest metropolitan areas in the US
 - 529 000 straight men, 405 000 straight women
- Sending pattern governed by racial homophily (top)
- Answering pattern governed by racial hierarchy (bottom)



Readings Discussion

Pinçon, Michel et Monique Pinçon-Charlot. 1989. “Les rallyes, ou la mise en ordre du hasard des rencontres amoureuses”. *Dans les beaux quartiers*. Paris: Seuil, p. 147-192

Europe: Monogamous heterosexual family as a social and economic unit

- Framing role of Christianity
 - Marriage as Holy sacrament (Gregorian reform)
 - Alliance (indissoluble)
 - Sexuality (fidelity, procreation and prohibition of homosexuality)
 - Filiation (bilinear with inheritance)
 - Residence (family unit)
- Family as a social and economic unit
 - Peasant life: Women work! (Field, harvest, etc.)
 - Household basic economic unit → survival
 - Free sexuality is a threat for survival (shame of girl-mothers [*filles mères*])
 - Marriage is under family control. Arranged marriage
 - Cf. Molière's plays: conflict between parental & personal choice
- Heterogeneous family structures (depending regions)
 - Extended (multiple couples) versus nuclear families (father-mother children)



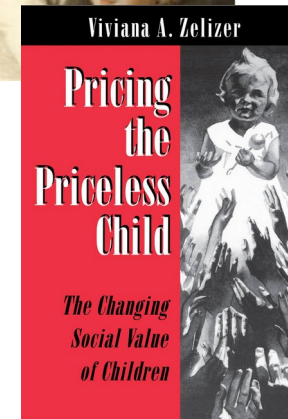
Le Nain, 1642. *La famille heureuse*

The transformation of marriage institution (in France)

- Marriage and divorce laws
 - French revolution: Civil marriage and mutual consent divorce (1792)
 - Divorce maintained but restricted by Napoléon (Code civil)
 - Divorce abolished in 1816
 - Reintroduced in 1884
 - Mutual consent divorce 1975
- Birth control
 - Pill (Loi Neuwirth, 1967)
 - Abortion (Loi Veil, 1975)
- Recognition of homosexual unions
 - Decriminalization of homosexuality (1982)
 - PACS (1999)
 - Same sex couple marriage (2013)

The transformation of the children status

- Limited emotional investment in traditional ancient regime families
 - High mortality
 - Infant mortality (before 1): 25 to 30%
 - Children mortality (1 to 15) around 25%
 - Child is a source of cheap labor
- 18th century change in the value of children (Ariès, 1960)
 - Decline in infant mortality
 - New gaze on children (cf. Rousseau Emile)
 - Emphasis on education. Increase in emotional attachment
- Pricing the priceless child (Zelizer, 1985)
 - From useful child (early 19th) to emergence (late 19th) of a child who is economically ‘worthless’ but emotionally ‘priceless’
 - How to justify life/death-insurance for children?
 - Immoral (death lottery) OR sign of respect (cover funeral/studies)



Transformation of marital structures

	Fécondité (a)	Âge moyen à la maternité	Naissances hors mariage (%) (b)	Mariages (milliers)	Âge moyen au 1 ^{er} mariage (femmes)	Divorces (milliers)	Pacs (milliers)	% de familles monop. (c)
1960	2,72		6,1	320	23,0	30,2		
1965	2,83		5,9	346	22,7	34,9		9,6 (62)
1970	2,47	27,2	6,8	394	22,6	40,0		9,3 (68)
1975	1,93	26,7	8,5	387	22,5	61,3		9,4
1980	1,94	26,8	11,4	334	23,0	81,1		10,2 (82)
1985	1,81	27,5	19,6	269	24,2	107,5		
1990	1,78	28,3	30,1	287	25,5	107,6		13,2
1995	1,71	29,0	37,9	254	26,9	119,2		
1996	1,73	29,1	39,3	280	27,5	117,4		
1997	1,73	29,2	40,5	284	27,6	116,1		
1998	1,76	29,3	41,3	271	27,7	116,3		
1999	1,79	29,3	42,3	286	27,8	116,8	6,1	17,5
2000	1,88	29,4	43,2	298	28,0	114,0	22,1	
2001	1,89	29,4	44,3	288	28,1	112,6	19,4	
2002	1,88	29,5	44,7	279	28,3	115,8	24,9	
2003	1,89	29,5	45,2	276	28,5	125,2	31,1	
2004	1,90	29,6	46,4	272	28,8	131,3	39,5	
2005	1,92	29,7	47,2	276	29,1	152,0	59,8	19,8
2006	1,98	29,7	49,7	267	29,3	135,9	76,6	
2007	1,97	29,8	50,9	260	29,5	131,3	101,1	
2008	2,02	29,9	52	267			140	

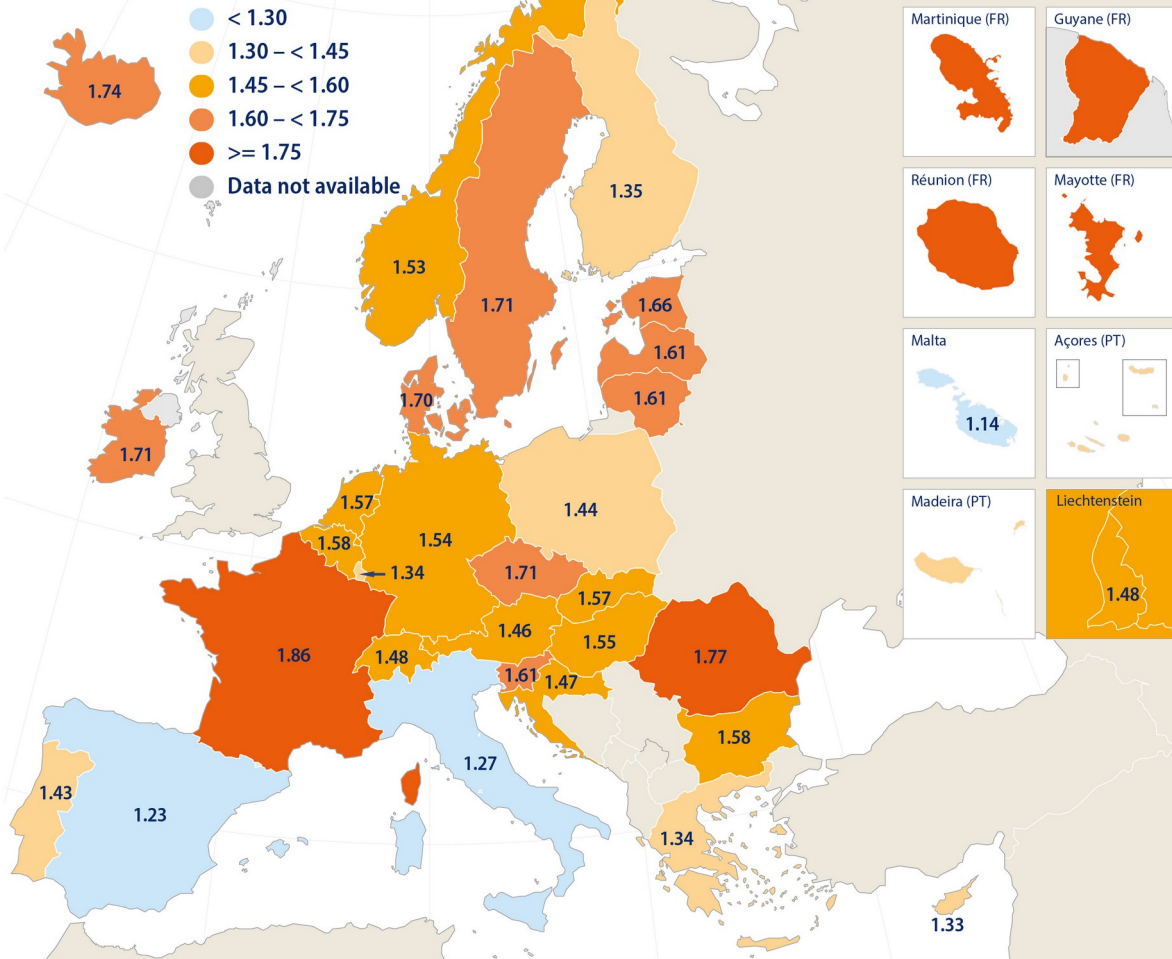
(d)

Transformations

- Delays in entry in the labor market
 - Increase in age at marriage and first birth (col 2 & 5)
- Deinstitutionalization of mating
 - Decline in marriages, Birth outside marriage, Growth in PACS,
- Increase in emotional value and cost of children
 - Decline in number of children (col 1)
- Marriage based on the primacy of emotional attachment
 - Increase in divorces/separations, single parents

Total fertility rate, 2019

Live births per woman



Comparisons

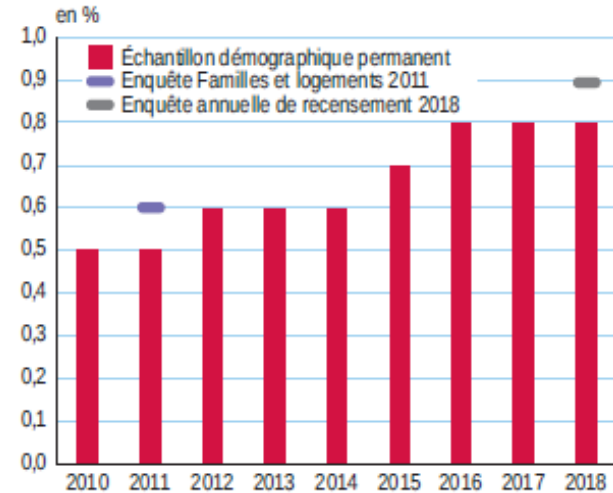
- France an exception in Europe
- Strong Middle-class family orientation
 - Taxation policies
 - Long school hours
 - Crèches

The emergence of alternative family structures

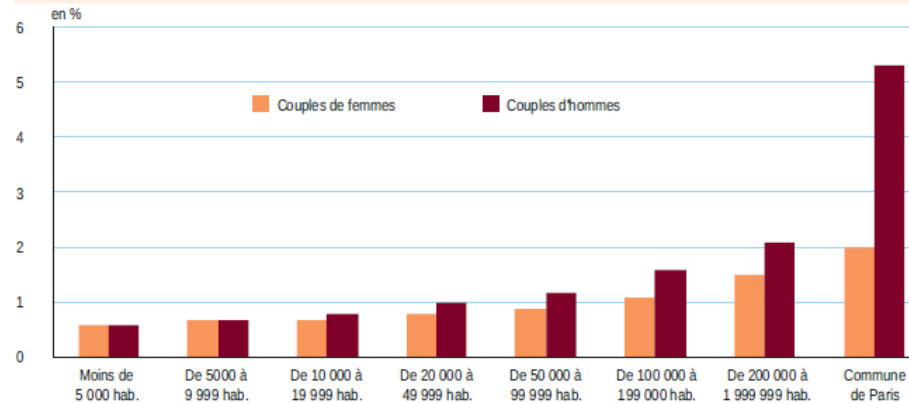
- Homosexual couples (Algava, Penant, 2019)
 - 0.9% of French couples in 2018 (vs 0.6% in 2011)
- Unequal access to parenthood issue
 - French ban on surrogate mothers [*GPA*]
 - Recent access of all women to Assisted reproductive technology (ART) [*PMA*] (2021)
 - In couple living with children:
 - Heterosexual couple: 50%
 - Homosexual women: 25%
 - Homosexual men: 5.5%
- Similarity of educational outcomes for children in the US (Watkins, 2018)

Families

Part de personnes en couple de même sexe, parmi celles en couple cohabitant, entre 2010 et 2018



2 Proportion d'hommes et de femmes en couple de même sexe selon la taille de la commune



Lecture : en 2018, 2,0 % des femmes résidant en couple à Paris vivent avec un partenaire de même sexe, 5,3 % des hommes.

Champ : personnes de 18 ans ou plus vivant en couple cohabitant, France hors Mayotte.

Source : Insee, enquête annuelle de recensement 2018.

Inferring sexual orientation (Mize, Manago, 2018)

“*Michael* is currently single but has had multiple happy relationships *with women* in the past. *Michael* has only dated *women* and one of his relationships with a *woman named Emily* lasted for over two years. The other night, *Michael* met *Matt* and felt attracted to him. At the end of the night, *Michael and Matt* went home together and had a casual sexual encounter.”

- 4 treatments:
 - (1) man with a heterosexual dating history but recent same-sex encounter,
 - (2) man with a gay dating history but recent different-sex encounter,
 - (3) woman with a heterosexual dating history but recent same-sex encounter
 - (4) woman with a gay dating history but recent different-sex encounter
- Question on attribution of sexual orientation
 - how likely they thought the target character was heterosexual, bisexual, or gay/lesbian (from 0 to 100)

Results

- Survey
- Nationally representative sample
- 2000 participants

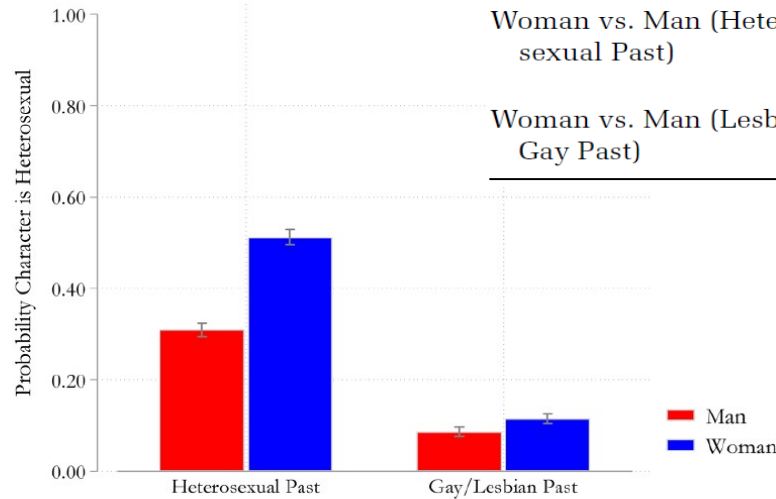


Table 1. Means for Sexual Orientation Percent Guesses Based on Vignette Characteristics (Top Panel) and Fractional Response Logit Regression Results (Bottom Panel); Study 1 ($N = 1,965$)

	Percent Certainty That Target Character Is Listed Sexual Orientation		
	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Gay/Lesbian
Woman (Heterosexual Past)	51	41	15
Man (Heterosexual Past)	31	51	24
Woman (Lesbian Past)	11	54	40
Man (Gay Past)	9	51	47
	Fractional Response Logit Results		
	Heterosexual	Bisexual	Gay/Lesbian
Woman vs. Man (Heterosexual Past)	.205*** (.022)	-.101*** (.023)	-.078*** (.017)
Woman vs. Man (Lesbian/Gay Past)	.029* (.014)	.027 (.023)	-.068** (.023)

Figure 2. Probability Rating That Vignette Character Is Heterosexual, Study 1

And how did you respond?

Gender division of paid & unpaid work

- Men spend more time at work (+1h17)
- Less involved in domestic work (-1h26)
 - Especially house work & care for children
 - except bricolage gardening
- The gap decreased
 - 1999: 1h49 → 2010: 1h17
 - But mostly because women devote less time to domestic work (-22'), especially house work (-31')
 - Men increased by 1' their involvement (4' for housework)
 - Both increased time in childcare: Male +7' and Female + 9'

	Hommes	Femmes	Ecart
Temps physiologique (sommeil, soins personnels et repas)	11:07	11:24	- 00:17
Temps professionnel (travail, études, formation, trajets)	06:05	4:48	01:17
Temps domestique	02:00	03:26	- 01:26
- Dont ménage, cuisine, linge, courses	01:08	02:35	- 01:27
- Dont soins aux enfants et adultes	00:18	00:36	- 00:18
- Dont bricolage	00:20	00:05	00:15
- Dont jardinage, soins aux animaux	00:14	00:10	00:04
Temps libre	03:20	02:45	00:35
Temps de sociabilité (hors repas)	00:43	00:45	- 00:02
Trajets (hors travail)	00:43	00:50	00:07
Ensemble	24:00	24:00	24:00

Source : Insee - Enquête emploi du temps 2009-2010 - © Observatoire des inégalités

Understanding the gap

- Comparative advantage and time availability
 - Rational choice model (Becker, 1991)
 - Different labor markets and difference in pay
 - Specialization in different task depending on relative pay
- Limit: women may still perform a larger share of household work even when the spouse has a lower income (Mandel, Lazarus, and Shaby 2020)
- Doing gender (West and Zimmerman 1988)
 - Women and men ‘do gender’ when they divide according to gender norm and expectations
- Tasks tagged “feminine”
 - Care – Cleaning
 - Egalitarian roles: Men increased their role.
 - More as subsidies.
 - More for fun activities (cooking, playing with kids). Less for cumbersome activities

Women and the “double bind”

- Women face conflicting norms. Sanctions for being too “masculine”.
Sanctions for being too “feminine”
- Ex. Long breast feeding
 - Norm 1: it is good for the children (In a context where value of children increases)
 - Norm 2: it is bad for the career
- Female face double penalty for following norm 1, penalty for following norm 2.

Family & the (re)production of gender norms

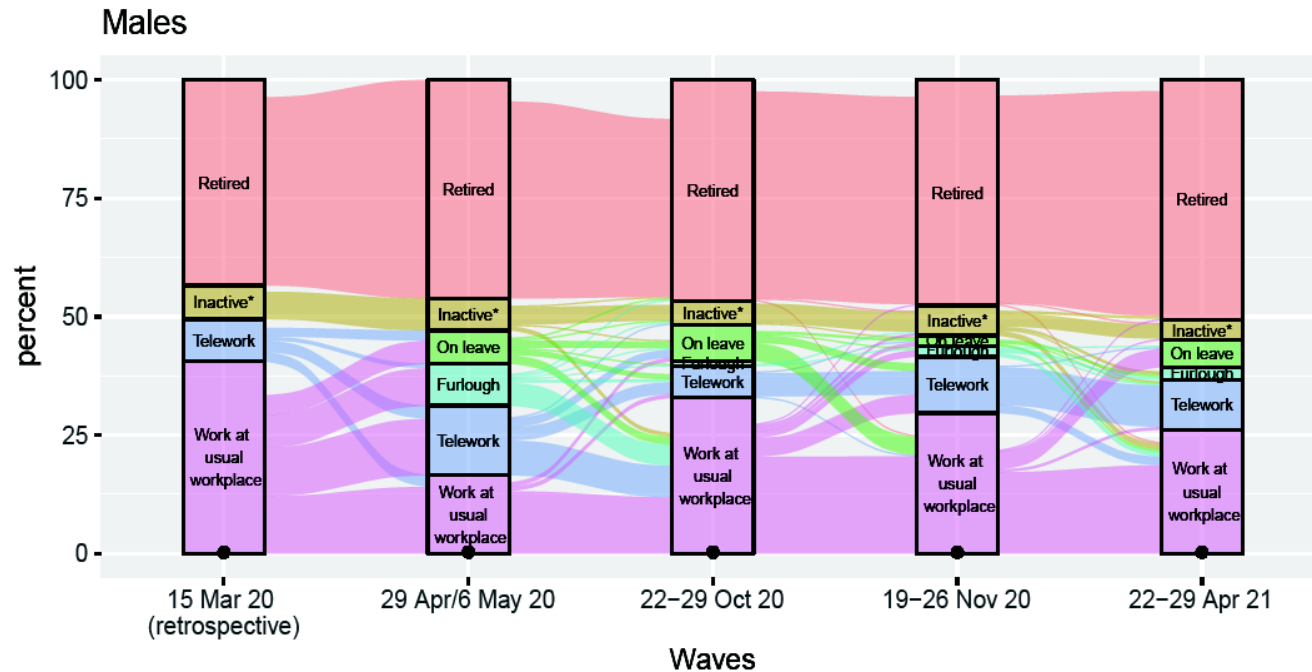
- Gender roles
 - Who is cleaning? Ironing? Cooking? Bringing money?
- Children identification
 - Gender as the basis of identification
 - Imitation games
 - Gender order appears natural
- At the heart of the matrix of preferences
 - Differential of interest for the “Care sector”
 - Differential of concerns for family-time availability



The covid Crisis as a test

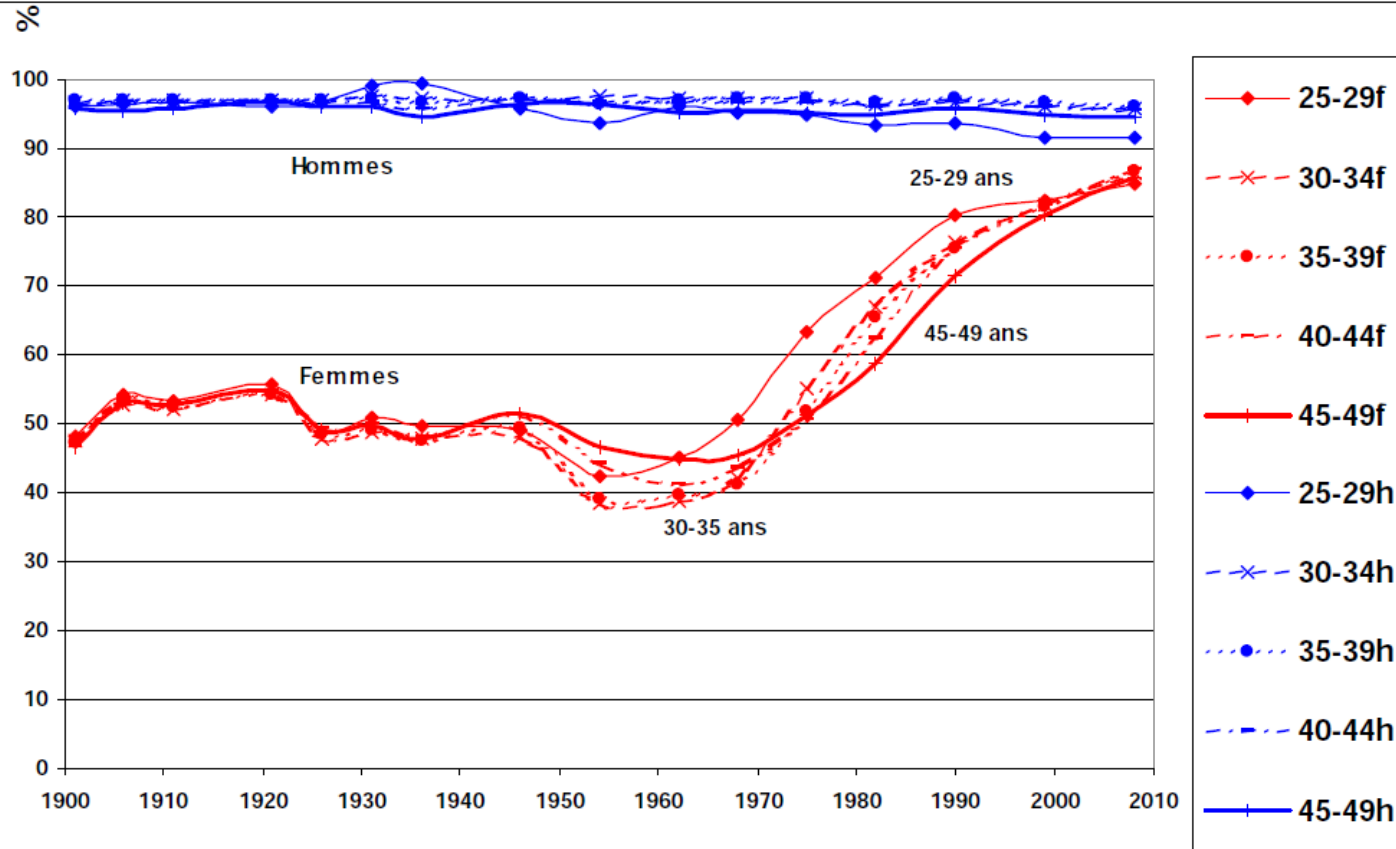
(Pasqualini et al. 2022)

Figure 1b: Variation of paid work situation over CoCo survey waves



- First lockdown men suddenly home (time availability increase)
- Change in housework?
 - Increase in share of shopping
 - + 6 pct point share
 - Decrease in share of childcare
 - - 3 pct point share
- Both signs of time availability & doing gender

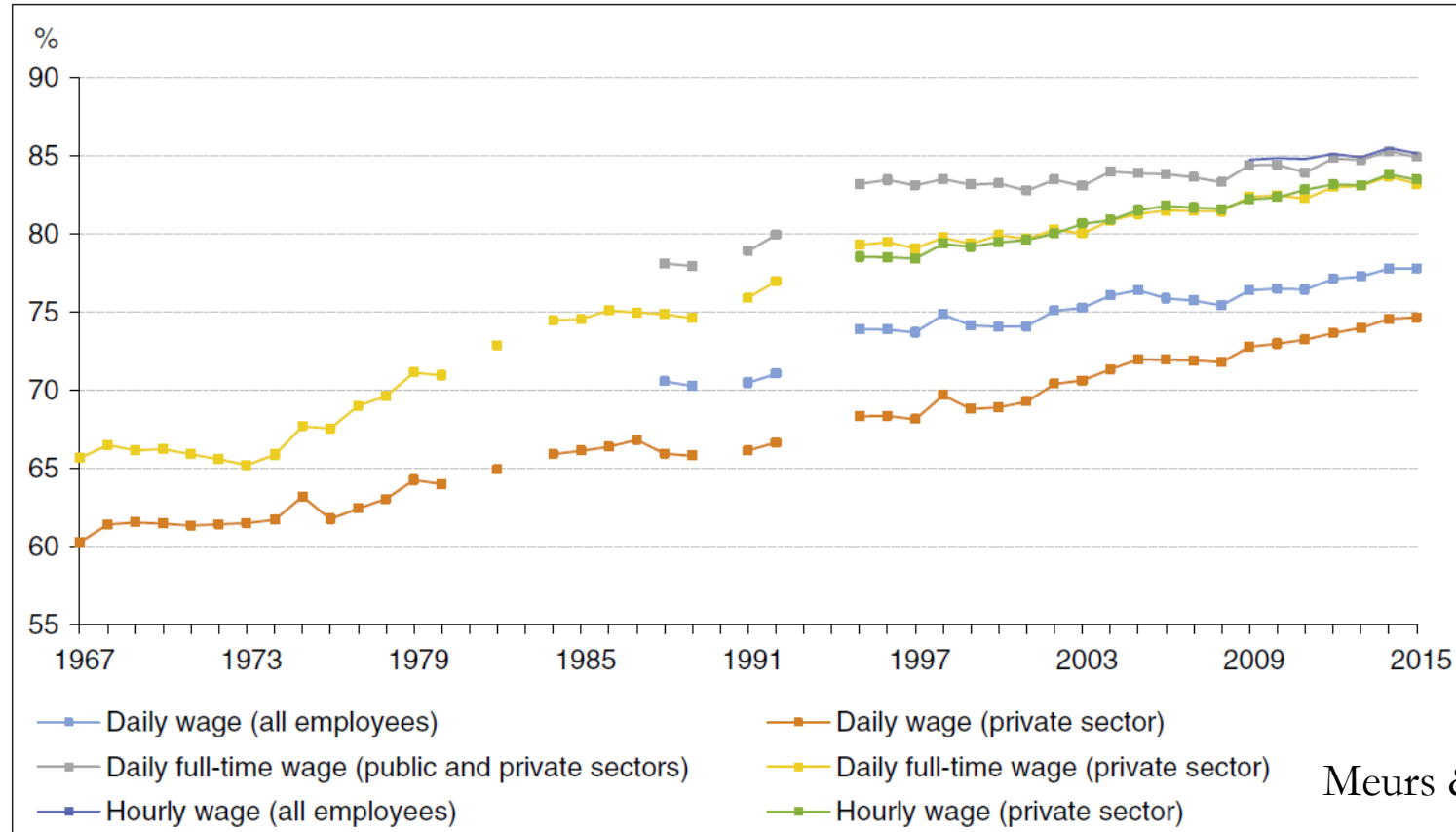
Evolution of female work



- 19th century - early 20th century. Women work (especially in agriculture). Underestimated
 - Fuzzy frontier domestic/paid work
- Decline of female work till mid 1960s
 - Model of inactive wife
- Strong increase afterwards

A decline of the gender gap

Ratio of female-male daily wages, 20-59 age group



- Daily full-time wage in France

-35% in 1967

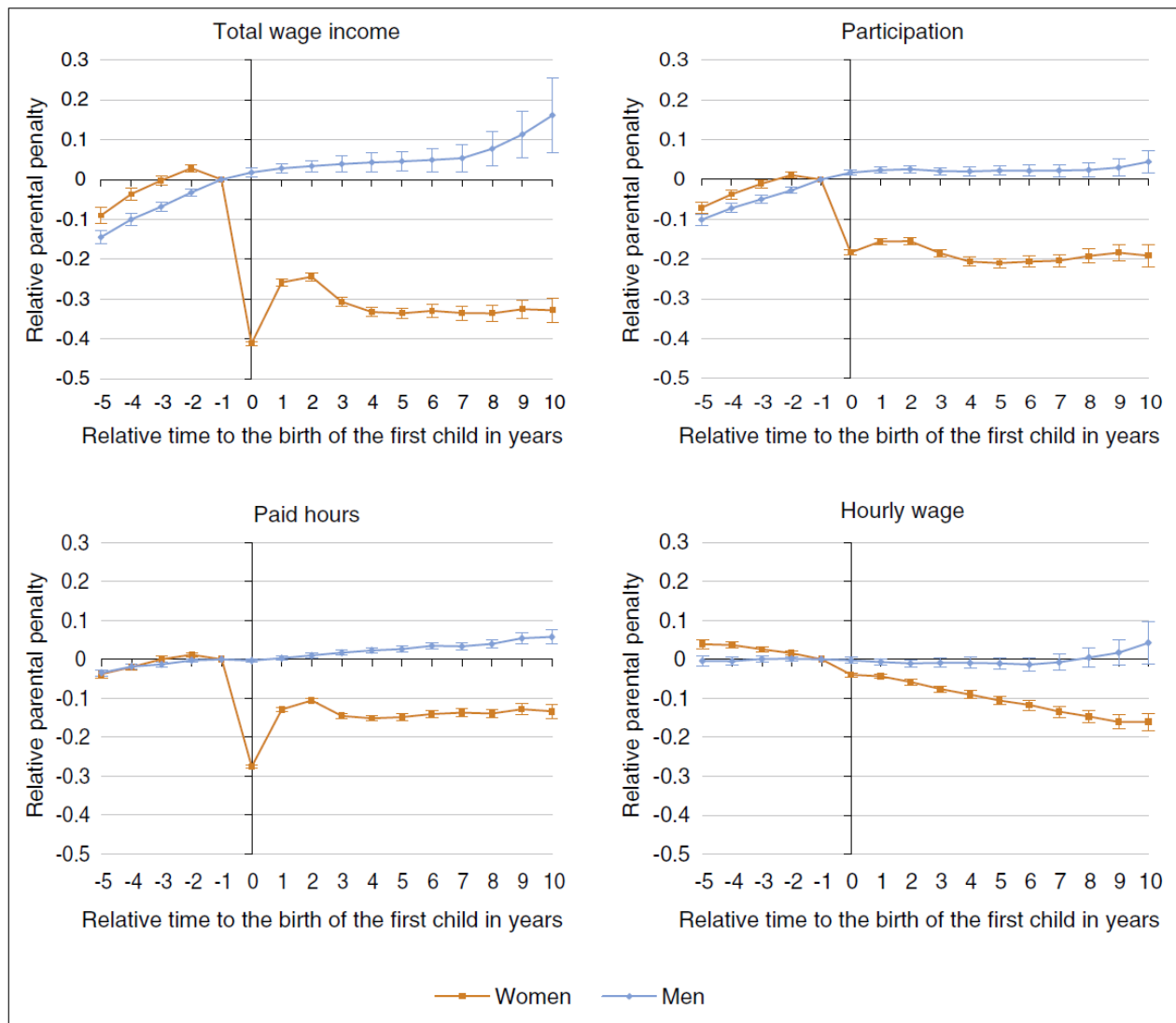
- 12% in 2015

The maintenance of the gender wage gap

Table 1 | Gender differences in earnings within establishment, occupation and job

	Year	Basic adjustments	Within:			Proportion within job
			Establishment	Occupation	Job	
Canada	2015	-0.221	-0.172	-0.137	-0.121	0.55
Czechia	2019	-0.280	-0.225	-0.179	-0.123	0.44
Denmark	2015	-0.178	-0.132	-0.107	-0.072	0.40
France	2015	-0.111	-0.108	-0.084	-0.065	0.59
Germany	2015	-0.241	-0.168	-0.206	-0.130	0.54
Hungary	2017	-0.099	-0.130	-0.098	-0.095	0.96
Israel	2015	-0.336	-0.197	-0.196	-0.119	0.35
Japan	2013	-0.350	-0.328	-0.304	-0.257	0.73
The Netherlands	2014	-0.202	-0.146	-0.111	-0.075	0.37
Norway	2018	-0.206	-0.128	-0.120	-0.086	0.42
Slovenia	2015	-0.190	-0.169	-0.157	-0.140	0.74
South Korea	2012	-0.406	-0.244	-0.335	-0.188	0.46
Spain	2017	-0.158	-0.176	-0.164	-0.121	0.77
Sweden	2018	-0.175	-0.118	-0.093	-0.076	0.43
United States	2015	-0.296	-0.214	-0.202	-0.141	0.48

Figure XII
Impact of the birth of the first child on total wage income and its components



Child penalty

- First birth → Decrease
 - in labor market participation
 - Especially at the bottom of the wage distribution
 - Number of hours
 - Increases mostly for higher deciles
 - Hourly wages
 - Increases mostly for higher deciles

Gender roles

Experiment 2

The survey

(inspired from Skorge, 2023 – CRIS seminar)

- After two months of parental leave to care for **[her/his]** two young children, **[Jessica/Rachel/Brandon/Christopher]** returns to work at **[her/his]** company, a leading investment bank. **[Her/His]** previous position has been eliminated and **[she/he]** must choose between two positions:
 - 1) To work as an HR manager, where **[she/he]** would be responsible for managing careers throughout the company: this job involves human contact within the company, requires some attention to the well-being of employees, requires some intense work, but within regular working hours. It would come with a 5% pay raise.
 - 2) To work as a merger and acquisition banker, where **[she/he]** would conclude financial transactions with clients. This job is very demanding and requires a lot of contact with clients after hours. It would come with a 50% pay raise.
- **[Jessica/Rachel/Brandon/Christopher]** is considerate, brilliant and hardworking. **[She/He]** loves to spend time with **[her/his]** family but **[she/he]** is also very business oriented. Knowing that **[she/he]** could **[always/sometimes]** be available in the evenings, which job would you recommend to **[Jessica/Rachel/Brandon/Christopher]** ?

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