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UNPAID CARE WORK AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: A
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE SUGGESTING UNPAID
CARE WORK AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

by

WILLIAM A. NOVELLO

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

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Unpaid Care Work and Civic Engagement: A Review of the Literature Suggesting Care Work as Civic Engagement

by

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Unpaid Care Work as Civic Engagement: A Review of Literature Suggesting

Unpaid Care Work as Civic Engagement

by

William A. Novello

Advisor: John Mollenkopf

Unpaid care work in the family is categorized as work done in the private sphere. However, Pamela Herd and Madonna Meyer (2002) have suggested a new framework that recognizes unpaid care work in the family as a form of civic engagement. Since women continue to perform the majority of unpaid care work in the family, the new framework seeks to recognize unpaid care labor women perform as a contribution to society - in particular for the development of children. The framework uses previously developed concepts from social capital theorist Robert Putnam (1995, 1996, 2000) to demonstrate that unpaid care work fits into pre-existing literature on civic engagement. This thesis pulls examples from different works of literature that involve civic engagement to demonstrate that Herd and Meyer's framework helps to demonstrate how unpaid care work contributes to one's civic engagement. Here the thesis also recommends ways that can 'recognize, reduce, and redistribute' (see Elson, 2017) unpaid care work to create a better balance of unpaid care work responsibilities between men and women.

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Section 1: Introduction

American civic engagement research has suggested a persistent decline in participation (see Putnam 1995, 1996, 2000; Galston 1996, 1997, 1999; Skocpol 1992, 1999). According to Robert Putnam (2000), civic engagement involves activities that are voluntary and altruistic while also promoting reciprocity, social ties, and social trust. He attributes the declines he observed in one's civic engagement to government taking over community functions, individualism arising from watching television, and single-parent families, which he suggests weaken social trust, which is foundational to civic participation (Putnam 1995, 1996, 2000; Galston 1996).¹ Putnam (1996) has also suggested that declines in civic participation, in part, have resulted from women entering the workforce. Feminist theorists responded by suggesting that gender differences in the way women and men approach civic participation must be considered when defining and measuring activities associated with civic engagement (see Lister, 1997; Warburton and McLaughlin, 2006; McBride, 2007). Theorists such as Putnam (1995, 1996, 2000) and William Galston (1996, 1997, 1999) classify unpaid care work activities done in the family with the private sphere. Hence theorists like Putnam and Galston do not count activities within the family as counting as civic engagement.

Pamela Herd and Madonna Harrington Meyer (2002) disagree with Putnam and Galston and have suggested that unpaid care work in the family should count as civic engagement activities. Herd and Meyer (2002) base this assertion two observations. The first is that formal volunteering for organizations like the Red Cross often involves care work activities like preparing meals and caring for people. The second observation is the main school of thought on civic engagement (social capital, historical institutionalist, and moralist) values the role of the family in

¹ Putnam (2000) also suggests that civic engagement resides outside the realm of government.

society but stops short of recognizing unpaid care work as a valued contribution to *society*, not just the family (See Putnam 1995, 1996, 2000; Galston 1996, 1997, 1999; Skocpol 1992, 1999). To Herd and Meyer, the recognition of formal volunteering and care work and the valuing of the family, but not the work to maintain the family unit, ignores the contribution women make to society by performing unpaid care work.² Other researchers, particularly feminist theorists, have made similar claims, suggesting that unpaid care work in the family performed by women acts as a public service and even as a catalyst to more traditional forms of civic engagement (See Skocpol, 1992, Gordon, 1994; Mink, 1995; Lister, 1997; England and Folbre, 1999; Martinez et al. 2011).³

This thesis explores some case studies of how unpaid care work can facilitate civic engagement.⁴ In order to demonstrate how unpaid care work can promote civic engagement, this thesis, relying on Herd and Meyer's extension of Putnam's definition of civic engagement, explores how unpaid care work embodies altruistic, voluntary behavior, reciprocity, social trust, and social ties in these case studies. It is hoped that through analyzing these case study examples will demonstrate that the labor devoted to the family (i.e., unpaid care work) contributes to the civic engagement.

The thesis is broken down as follows: in section 2, the thesis details the demands made on women's time. Section 3 reviews the case studies, observing how unpaid care work contributes to

² While this extension of activities that count as care work may suggest a strict focus on the family unit, Herd and Meyer recognize the various forms of reciprocity between families and people outside the family unit form networks for unpaid care work exchange (see Edin and Lein, 1997; Oliker, 2000).

³ The literature on civic engagement has similar dissenters like Herd and Meyer that assert researchers should extend understandings of civic engagement. Martinez et al (2011), suggest that civic engagement should not be limited to acts of formal volunteering, and other activities such as voting, engaging in community activism, staying informed on current events, caregiving, and having informal connections should count as civic engagement. Also, Martinson and Minkler (2006) suggest that formal volunteering also should not be conflated with civic engagement and that definitions of civic engagement in academic literature go beyond formal organizations as recognized civic engagement.

⁴ The case study examples for this thesis were chosen at random and attempt to represent a large number of different groups (black, white, older people, and immigrant).

civic engagement, as Putnam (2000) defined. In section 4, the thesis suggests ways to redistribute care work activities so that women can participate more in traditional forms of civic engagement. Section 5 provides a conclusion with some closing thoughts.

Section 2: Demands on Women's Time

Women's commitments to the home and workplace have evolved greatly in recent decades. Key to Herd and Meyer's (2002) assertion that women's unpaid care work in the family should be considered civic engagement is that women face different demands on their time than men, particularly in terms of time spent on child care. This obligation influences how women participate in the workforce as well as the time available from orthodox forms of civic engagement.

Between the 1950s to the mid-1970s, households typically followed the male breadwinner model, men worked to earn wages while women stayed home to take care of children. Since the mid-1970s, women have steadily increased their presence in the workforce (Andersen, 1975; Andersen and Cook, 1985; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). While there was a structural shift away from the male breadwinner model of employment, women still made more significant sacrifices to balance their work-family commitments (Presser, 1989). Women, especially younger women, are forced to delay or sacrifice having children until later in life in order to stay in school and have a better chance at higher-paying employment (Hewlett, 2002; Casper & Bianchi, 2002; Bauer et al., 2019). Since entering the workforce, research has suggested that the average American employee increased an additional two full-time work weeks between 1977-1997 (see Lahndorff, 1998). According to Bauer et al. (2019), younger women, irrespective of their relationship to the workforce,⁵ have more non-market commitments⁶ than their male peers. Women continue to face discrimination getting work (see Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004) and Goldin and Rouse, 2000). Moreover, adults that have been able to have children find it more challenging to find work-family balance.

America's new corporate culture has increased the challenges for work-family balance by reducing leisure time and making Americans feel overworked (Schor 1991, 1998). Family

⁵ If the woman is employed full-time and not in school, employed part-time and in school, is in school and not working, or not in school and not working.

⁶ Bauer et al (2019) uses the term non-market labor to categorize home production and family work, and while they are separated for measurement purposes, family care is considered a subcategory of non-market work.

commitments have become more strained, and are a significant reason women give as to why they do not seek employment, more than their male peers (Nunn et al., 2019). Middle-class families have felt pressured into pouring resources towards developmental activities for children, further making demands on parent's time (Lareau, 2002).

Working-class families lack the resources to match the ways in which their middle-class peers balance work and family commitments (Presser, 2003; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). It is challenging for families, particularly lower-income, to secure child care for young children before they are eligible for kindergarten (Cascio, 2017). Working-class parents without flexible work schedules are unable to go to parent-teacher conferences and care for children with chronic illness (Heymann, 2000). Lack of resources and job flexibility make it difficult for working-class parents to participate in developmental activities to prepare their children for the future. Studies on pressures from the workplace between the late-1970s and late 1990s have suggested an increase in pressures from one generation to the next (see Winslow, 2002; Robinson and Godbey, 1999). Across high-income economies, women have faced increased costs of living, and stagnant wages, which adds to the pressures women have to maintain their role in the social reproduction of the family (Hester, 2018). In addition, the lack of a federal parental leave policy in the U.S. makes it more difficult for middle and low-income families to balance work-family commitments (Blau and Kahn, 2013; Ziliak, 2014).

Also, women who work also feel pressured to volunteer their time outside the workplace more than their male peers. Hiromi Taniguchi (2006) indicated that women volunteered more time than their male peers because many felt pressured to volunteer.⁷ Unemployed men would volunteer less than women, while women would volunteer regardless of employment.⁸ Children (age six or

⁷ Taniguchi had to limit the scope of the findings to mainly white volunteers due to the small sample size of people from minority communities.

⁸ In line with other studies (see Friedman, 1997), Taniguchi suggests that holding multiple jobs increases volunteering

older) increase the likelihood of volunteering by upwards of 7% to 10%, and the amount of volunteering by 1.3 to 1.4 hours. Having children increases the need for unpaid care, while also increasing the potential for traditional civic engagement. Women spend significantly more time caring for family and extended relations than men, especially in times of emergency (Ward and Spitze, 1998). These discoveries indicate that women, more than men, are more pressured to give their time to unwaged work through volunteering or unpaid care work.

Work and family pressures also have limited women and their ability to participate in politics. As women entered the workforce, motherhood was a factor affecting women's decision not to run for public office; women opt to raise children before running for public office (Kirkpatrick, 1974; Lee, 1976; McGlen, 1980). In the decades since, studies have shown that women continue to face deeply rooted notions of motherhood that prevent them from participating in politics (Bianchi, 2000; Percheski, 2008; Jardina and Burns, 2016). Women continue to perform the majority of unpaid care work responsibilities even after entering the workforce (Elson, 2017; Hester, 2018).⁹ The indicators from Jardina and Burns (2016) point to continued gendered structures, which undermine political participation by women. The lack of women in politics partially reflects why family support policies, which usually target women, have reinforced gender inequality by incentivizing women to return to the household to raise children (Schwartz, 1989).¹⁰

This section has indicated that there are many demands made on women's time from their work and family spheres. Women continue to perform the bulk of unpaid care work in the home and have to continue to meet changing expectations as workers and mothers (Elson, 2017). As

rather than reduce it.

⁹ While women still are more associated with the home than their male peers, women have lessened their commitment to the home, and researchers have indicated women's increasing human capital investments (Pabilonia, 2017) and time spent on market work (Aguilar and Hurst, 2016).

¹⁰ As will be discussed further in section 4, some countries with advanced economies have passed family support policies that have shown to redistribute men's and women's unpaid care work responsibilities, but also reinforce women's domestic roles as mothers.

Herd and Meyer have asserted, women have many demands placed on their time, which should be considered when measuring their ability to perform acts of civic engagement. The next section looks at case study examples that have recorded the unpaid care work performed by women. However, this time the actions shall be looked at again in the lens of civic engagement how they match the criteria set up by Herd and Meyer (2002), but also civic engagement scholars - most notably Putnam (2000).

Section 3: Case Studies of Unpaid Care

These case studies show how the unpaid care work performed by women help build up social trust. They focus on unpaid care work in childcare center settings, exclusionary unpaid care work in baseball, race and unpaid care work, immigrant care workers and unpaid care work, and older adults and unpaid care work.

Section 3.1: Unpaid Care Work in Childcare Center Settings

Childcare centers provide examples of how unpaid care work contributes to civic engagement. In his book, *Unanticipated Gains: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life* (2009), Mario Small examines the network relationships formed by parents through childcare centers in New York City. Parents of children in childcare centers are encouraged to form bonds with each other and participate in events held by childcare centers. Many childcare centers, in lower-income areas mainly, rely on parent volunteers to help run events the childcare center hosts. Small (2009) states that parents with children maintain friendships outside of childcare centers. Childcare centers thus provide opportunities for parents to build social capital that translates into trust and reciprocal unpaid care work relationships among the parents, mainly women.

Furthermore, the reciprocal relationships formed between parents demonstrate how unpaid care work in the childcare centers facilitates greater participation of parents in civic activities. One member of the study, Katherine, describes how her experience in the childcare center is like those in her extended family:

The ones you consider family that know you'd leave your kids with, with no qualms. And you can talk about anything and, as one of the couples described, one of the women described, it's easy as breathing. You're just together and it's you know, it's like yesterday

and you catch right up where you were last time you were together. As one of them you keeps (sic) describing, it's just like our, it's just an extended family (Small, 2009, p. 88). Kathrine demonstrates that she developed a level of trust and familiarity with the people in the childcare center, to the point she considered some of them like an extended family. By seeing people often and getting to know each other, people like Katherine are building social capital. The accumulation of social capital built from familiarity with other people in the childcare center allowed for trust to build between parents to the point where some would reciprocate child care responsibilities. Katherine's example indicates that childcare centers encourage the voluntary offering of child care responsibilities among parents, which builds social trust and strengthens ties between parents in childcare centers. Kathrine's example demonstrates Putnam's definition of civic engagement is satisfied by unpaid care work, since the behavior is voluntary, non-state organized, and promotes reciprocal social trust. Also, Katherine's example indicates unpaid care work networks extend beyond immediate family and involve friends and neighbors, as Herd and Meyer suggest, thus showing unpaid care work is not a strict family affair.

Another benefit to parents who make friends with each other and created informal child care networks outside of the childcare center — reciprocated child care allowed for parents to have better work-family balance. The relationship that Serina¹¹ formed with Daniella indicates how informal childcare networks helped alleviate imbalances between work and family commitments for parents:

[There's a] woman, a single mom. Her daughter is in my class. I met her daughter, the most beautiful kid, and the most mischievous, the worst behaved kid in the class, but if she wasn't there my daughter would so that's fine.... When Daniella needs backup, she needs to

¹¹ Serena also joined her childcare center's parent association and led the charge to hold better fundraisers and improve the quality of childcare at the center.

go to something at night, I take her daughter [to my] home. I feed her dinner. We play. I give her a bath. Daniella comes and picks her up later. She would do the same for me....

When I teach a night class or a seminar, she will come. I pick up the girls [at the center] and bring them to my house, ... and then she does homework with them. They eat dinner and [then] my husband comes home [from work] (Small, 2009, p. 98-99).

Shared child care is part of the activities informally encouraged by childcare center networks. As parents' interactions with each other built social capital, that capital would turn into social trust, which would be expressed in sharing child care responsibilities. Studies on working-class families suggest that they lack the resources to balance work-family commitments and secure child care, especially for younger children due to the costs (Presser, 2003; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004; Cascio, 2017). Also, changes in workplace culture is facing parents with increasing pressures for both to succeed in the workplace (see Winslow, 2002; Robinson and Godbey, 1999; Schor 1991, 1998). By examining Serina and Daniella's relationship through the lens of Putnam's definition of civic engagement, the relationship is voluntary and reciprocates based on social trust. Also, it indicates how beneficial care work is for families, especially as they share unpaid care work, which reduces costs on struggling families. Thus, sharing child care became a way to enable better work-family balance, which helps address a reason why women drop out of the workforce (see Nunn et al., 2019).

Childcare centers might also benefit parents by connecting them with other people, which might improve their mental health. Research suggests that mothers who provide full-time unpaid care and shoulder disproportionate care work responsibilities at home suffer from high levels of depression and stress (Adam, 1999; Bird, 1999). One of the interviewees, Griselda, explains what happened to her as she entered the childcare center community:

It was through these events (sic)-the preparation, the anticipation, and then the participation-that Griselda, in a globally nonpurposive way, met the few parents she knew in the center. She described herself as naturally shy, not so much unfriendly as introverted, and her depression did not help. "[I was] not really that involved with the parent," she explained. But "if there was a party [at the center] coming up [I'd ask]... what are you going to cook, what are you bringing?" (Small, 2009, p. 55)

According to Smith, Griselda had suffered from depression, which was, in part, due to being unemployed and doing care work at home for her child. After entering her child into a childcare center, Griselda managed to build trust with other parents she met at the childcare center. Griselda participated in childcare center events with other parents and it reduced some of her stress and anxiety.¹² This thesis asserts that Griselda built social capital by interacting with other parents, which contributed to levels of trust and a desire to perform tasks to help other parents when hosting childcare center events. Griselda voluntarily performs unpaid care work tasks that contributed to childcare center events, which built social trust among her and other parents. Griselda's participation in the example matches with Putnam's definition of civic engagement as her actions were voluntary, while also building social trust, which also helped alleviate her depression. Thus, Griselda's civic participation improved as she got involved with the unpaid care work to host events at the childcare center.

Paying for childcare between the lines of paid and unpaid care work, but Small's research on childcare centers indicate that Herd and Meyer's assertion that unpaid care work as civic engagement is applicable to childcare centers. Childcare centers create opportunities for parents

¹² Research suggests that volunteering and civic engagement reduce symptoms of depression and anxiety (see Ballard et al, 2019; Kim and Pai, 2010; Musick & Wilson, 2003; Thoits & Hewitt, 2001; Willigen, 2000). Volunteering has been associated with better life contentment (Willigen, 2000), however, volunteering's effect on mental health may vary depending on age (Morrow-Howell et al., 2003; Musick & Wilson, 2003; Willigen, 2000).

with children to form bonds of trust and engage civically with each other. Reciprocated unpaid care work from these women made childcare center events happen and care for each other's children easier.

Section 3.2: Unpaid Care Work and Limited Civic Engagement

Maintaining baseball leagues is another example of how unpaid care work can provide opportunities for civic engagement. In *Protecting Home: Class, Race, and Masculinity in Boy's Baseball*, Sherri Gramuck (2005) examines the case of the Fairmount Sports Association or FSA. She focuses on how race, class, and masculinity shapes participation in the FSA. Gramuck's research on the FSA reveals how a community's identity is wrapped up in the local baseball league, and access to FSA is a coveted and guarded space. This thesis suggests that social capital in Fairmount is accumulated through participation in the FSA, and access is unencumbered for mainly local white men, while other groups are limited. Thus, access to social capital needed to build social trust and encourage voluntary participation in the community is dependent on race, gender, and being born in Fairmount. According to Gramuck, the FSA has a hierarchy of participation that favored insider Fairmounter men over women, newcomers,¹³ and black people:

Who did all the work [for FSA]? Volunteers did, but in very unequal degrees. Based on my interviews with strategic FSA leaders and coach-managers, I estimated the different degrees of involvement of the 100 or so most active volunteers keeping the organization running over the 2000 season. Table 3.1 illustrates five levels of volunteer participation. At the highest level, there was the inner core of three volunteers, all Fairmounters, who spend most of their waking hours outside of work at the clubhouse, maintaining an almost constant presence. These three men spent an average of fifty-three hours a week for five

¹³ According to Gramuck (2005) Newcomers is a status bestowed upon people in the community who were not born in Fairmount.

months of the year, and many unaccounted hours during the winter months, ordering equipment, maintaining the clubhouse and fields, and hanging out at the clubhouse. All three have been associated with the organization for more than two decades. A second level of support is provided by the six core supporters, also Fairmounters, who spend an average of twenty-six hours a week managing a team (sometimes multiple teams), umpiring other games, and supporting the general activities of the clubhouse. A third level of support comes from approximately twelve "super head coaches," who, beyond spending twenty hours a week coaching a team, provided additional support before and after the season in getting the fields ready, and often fill in as umpires during the season. Among this group are also a few Fairmount women who either coach softball or support the FSA administratively. Although Fairmounters also predominate in this third group, there are several newcomers accepted here as well. These three levels constitute the "deep insiders." (Gramuck, 2005, p. 61)

A small concentrated group of white men in Fairmount are the ones with access to leadership positions in FSA.¹⁴ The volunteer network would put white men in leadership positions to perform the unpaid care work of maintaining the FSA and regulate women to gendered positions in administration and as girls coaches. Gramuck called the structure of the network access within the FSA, 'hierarchical communalism.'¹⁵ This thesis suggests that access to unpaid care work opportunities of running the teams were coveted positions that elevated the social capital of the participants. Coaches, for example, would sometimes build enough social capital within individual

¹⁴ Kauffman (2002) has suggested that many community organizations started as social clubs for white men and excluded women and minority groups.

¹⁵ Gramuck articulates hierarchical communalism as the newcomer's critique of Fairmounters in FSA. Newcomers believed that FSA prioritized adult socializing over the children's interests, while Fairmounters believed Newcomers were too individualistic and only focused on their own children.

FSA teams that they would remain as coaches for years after their children leave. Trust built in FSA for people in positions was rewarded with people being kept on inside the leadership of FSA, this situation mainly benefited white men. Parents built trust in people, like coaches, and reciprocated their trust by keeping them in FSA leadership. The opportunities for social capital that positions in FSA present satisfy Putnam's definition of civic engagement for being voluntary, reciprocated, and building social trust in the community.

The opportunities for access to FSA were not just limited to formal positions within the organization. The white working-class people of Fairmount distrusted the new professional class of people moving into Fairmount and viewed them as outsiders or 'newcomers.' Newcomers lacked access to the social capital of white Fairmounters to participate in the preexisting informal networks around the FSA. According to one insider interviewee:

In interviews with FSA insiders, some complained that the newcomers used the league as a daycare service, dropping their kids off at practice or games and coming back later to pick them up. They viewed this as particularly a problem with newcomer parents. In part, this is because when it happened with a Fairmounter child, they often knew where the child lived and what other adults were friends with the child and felt less worried if something happen with the child. With newcomer kids, they didn't have the same sense of security, as expressed in this comment from one of the organization's officers: "We had a kid badly hurt here last season. There was no relative of his in a 20-mile radius." (Gramuck, 2005, p. 68)

Beyond formal volunteer positions within FSA, parents of children on the baseball teams formed informal networks that could be called upon to watch over each other's children.

However, newcomers did not have the trust of Fairmounters and could not rely on each other to reciprocate unpaid child care responsibilities. Many newcomer parents were higher-income

professionals who were absent at FSA events, and thus do not form close bonds with Fairmounter parents involved with FSA. Fairmounter parents felt newcomer children did not commit sufficiently to the baseball league due to their commitment to other after school activities, further isolating newcomers from Fairmounters.¹⁶ Thus, many newcomer parents had limited involvement with the FSA, which limited their ability to form bonds and gain access to FSA networks.

This thesis suggests that the hierarchical communalism Gramuck mentioned, is a network that, in part, assists in the childcare needs of FSA parents. The network of Fairmounter parents informally helps to watch over each other's children as needed. Due to their network, Fairmounter parents would know whom to contact in case of an emergency. Furthermore, this network is a class divide between the mainly working-class local Fairmounters and the newcomers. Social capital is built among parents with children in FSA. Parents at these events create social bonds that assist in reciprocated unpaid child care during FSA events. FSA lay parents also have access to and contribute to this unpaid care work. The unpaid child care the Fairmounters perform through this network is reciprocal and builds social trust. However, newcomers have limited access to this network due to their inability to commit to FSA like the working-class Fairmounters fully.

White Fairmounters have unobstructed opportunities to reap the social benefits of being involved in the FSA. Local white men dominated the private FSA space (see Kauffman, 2002). Black parents that lived in neighboring communities had limited opportunities for participation in FSA. According to one black parent:

Well, it was my daughter, Barbara, was at [a private downtown Quaker school]. We found out through Karla [a white girl at the same school], because she was playing ball, and her mother and my wife had a conversation about Karla. And my wife said, "Wow, you

¹⁶ Research suggests that higher-income professionals juggle increasing work time commitments and time, while also putting their children in developmental spaces to improve their chances for work later in life (see Schor 1991, 1998; Lareau, 2002; Presser, 2003; Jacob and Gerson, 2004).

know, I'm sure we want Barbara to do something like that." She was about six or seven when we took her down there.... And in the case of black people, all of us connected back to a neighborhood somewhere. We have middle-class, or upper-class, whatever, but we're all connected. And if we see an opportunity for young kids, we're gonna (sic), you know, bring others in. That's just the way it is. And dare somebody to tell us we can't do it.

(Gramuck, 2005, p. 37)

The social interaction of this resident's daughter helped her get a foot in the door of the FSA, which they used to help notify other black Fairmount parents to help them sign up for FSA as well. Without the connection of her daughter's white friend, black members of the community would not likely be signed up for FSA. Notice for FSA sign-up is via word of mouth, black people and newcomers were outside of the FSA network and thus were not always notified FSA sign-up. This quote demonstrates that black Fairmounters developed a collective sense of identity to help each other become more integrated into the community through the baseball team.¹⁷ This thesis suggests that for black people in Fairmount, involving their children in the FSA helps them claim the type of social capital and community involvement afforded to white people. Black Fairmounters also build reciprocity and social trust by helping each other gain access to the FSA. Thus, black Fairmounters trying to participate in FSA satisfy Putnam's definition of civic engagement by helping each other demonstrate reciprocal behavior that builds social trust and social ties between members of the community.

The unpaid care work to maintain the FSA stands at the intersection of race, class, and gender in Fairmount. The social capital differences in Fairmount are reflected in FSA participation. White male Fairmounters had the greatest access to opportunities followed by Fairmounter women

¹⁷ Sports acting as a medium for integration is an ongoing debate by scholars (see Eitzen, 1999, 2001; Gatz et al., 2002). According to Eitzen (1999), a poll done by high school athletes in the early 90s suggested that people befriended others across racial lines through participation in sports.

and Newcomers. Black Fairmounters' access to opportunities in FSA were the most severely limited. The FSA shows how the unpaid care work to maintain a local baseball team satisfies the definition of civic engagement from Putnam (2000) with Herd's and Meyer's (2002) inclusion for unpaid care work. Also, the network of parents reveals how unpaid care work networks can involve parents, neighbors, and friends, as Herd and Meyer stated. Thus, local baseball teams like Fairmount posit unpaid care work as facilitating civic engagement, but with limited access depending on one's place race, gender, and class.

Section 3.3: Race and Unpaid Care Work

The Flats are an example of a black community that uses a communal approach to sharing resources and unpaid care work to survive in a poor neighborhood and build a sense of community. In Carol Stack's (1974) work, *All Our Kin*, Stack writes about how black communities in the Flats manage poverty through domestic networks.¹⁸ Her research indicated that within the Flats lay a series of interwoven networks in the community that act to help families, neighbors, and friends or 'kin' survive everyday life. Kin relationships involve sharing resources or 'swapping'¹⁹ and unpaid care work for people in the network. People in the network rely on an informal system of 'credit'; reciprocity comes when the person can provide, and relationships last as long as people in the network are satisfied. Kin relationships also foster competition, in particular, between women for status and access to other networks for more resources.

Kin relationships enable the voluntary sharing of resources and unpaid care work between community members in the Flats. Participants rely on the reciprocated trust that is built in a

¹⁸ In the book Stack mentions that the kin relationships can extend beyond the geographic boundaries of the Flats, which demonstrates how notions of trust and reciprocity can function without immediate contact.

¹⁹ 'Swapping' is similar to bartering.

community that shares resources and care work. Here Stack presents an example of a kin relationship in the Flats:

Cecil (35) lives in The Flats with his mother Willie Mae, his older sister and her two children, and his younger brother. Cecil's younger sister Lily lives with their mother's sister Bessie. Bessie has three children and Lily has two. Cecil and his mother have part-time jobs in a cafe and Lily's children are on aid. In July of 1970 Cecil and his mother had just put together enough money to cover the rent. Lily paid the utilities, but she didn't have enough money to buy food stamps for herself and her children. Cecil and Willie Mae knew that after they paid their rent they would not have enough money for food for the family. They helped out Lily by buying her food stamps, and then the two households shared meals together until Willie Mae was paid two week later. A week later Lily received her second AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] check and Bessie got some spending money from her boyfriend. They gave some of this to Cecil and Willie Mae to pay their rent, and gave Willie Mae money to cover her insurance and pay a small sum on a living room suite at the local furniture store. Willie Mae reciprocated later on by buying dresses for Bessie and Lily's daughters and by caring for all the children when Bessie got a temporary job. (Stack, 1974, p. 37)

Cecil's story provides an insight into how kin relationships share and reciprocate scarce resources to survive. Cecil's story demonstrates that credit and time was earned through relationships based on trust. Trust allowed for the accumulation of social capital, which translated into social trust between participants in the network. When resources in the form of money or food stamps were scarce, people reciprocated through unpaid child care services to each other like babysitting. People participated in the network as a means for survival, but people's trust in each other to reciprocate allowed for altruistic actions to share and wait for reciprocation when the other person was able.

These actions conform to Putnam's definition of civic engagement by being voluntary, despite being a means for survival, and promoting reciprocated behavior and social trust among the people in the Flats who participated. Also, it reveals how care work networks, as Herd and Meyer suggested, can extend beyond family and involve friends and neighbors in complex networks.

In the next series of examples, Stack retells how she managed to integrate herself into the kin networks for her research. These examples from Stack reveal how trust can extend beyond one's family. This thesis asserts that the trust that formed between Ruby and Stack contributed to Stack's social capital and allowed her to gain access to the kin network for her research. Here is how Stack first became introduced to the concept of 'swapping' and began her integration into the kin network:

When I first met you [Stack], I didn't know you did I? But I liked what you had on about the second time you seen me and you gave it to me. All right, that started us swapping back and forth. You ain't (sic) really giving nothing away because everything that goes around comes around in my book. It's just like at stores where people give you credit. They have to trust you to pay them back, and if you pay them you can get more things.

(Stack, 1974, p. 41)

While Stack was not a member of the community, let alone the network, by allowing Stack to share her clothes, Ruby opened the door for Stack to demonstrate she is willing to share resources. The ability to share within the kin network demonstrates trust and reciprocation among participants. As mentioned before, trust is essential for the kin networks to function. After gaining access to the Kin network, Stack found herself being called upon to perform tasks for people in the network. Here, Stack describes how she became a fully integrated member of the network:

Despite the fact that my car was a convenience - it gave me an easily explainable role in the lives of the families I knew, helping me provide daily assistance with the

children, the shopping, the problems with "papers," the welfare office, sick children and so on - when it broke down I decided not to fix it. (Stack, 1974, p. 20)

Stack's activities for the people in the Flats reveals both the scope of the commitments people had for each other and how demanding the labor is to be part of this kin network. While Stack did not have material rewards to gain from the network like the people she helped, Stack gained compensated through access into the different facets of the kin networks.

Stack's contributions to the kin networks were not altruistic as her participation in the kin network was for her research. However, Stack's participation was voluntary and demonstrated that she felt obliged to reciprocate her strong ties to the kin network. Thus, the social capital Stack gained through Ruby and later participating in the kin network allowed her to build social trust and witness the reciprocity and labor it takes to maintain the kin networks. Among the main activities in Stack's and Cecil's example was care work, which was a form of compensation or 'credit' in the kin network. Unpaid care work is a method for the kin network to allow people to participate. Returning to Putnam's definition for civic engagement, the kin networks in the Flats demonstrate voluntary actions that contribute to the well-being of others and promote trust between people. The social trust formed acted as a way to help share resources and care work in a community scarce in resources.

Furthermore, Stack's work also demonstrates communalism in the black community. Communalism can be defined as a belief in the interconnectedness of people and valuing social relationships (Boykin et al., 1997). According to research, communalism is a firmly held value in the black community and is associated with positive behavior among black youth (see Musick et al, 2000; Mattis et al, 2004; Wood and Jagers, 2003; Jagers et al, 2007; Scott, 2003; Gooden and McMahan, 2016). Also, through the research of Piven and Cloward (1971), they suggest that poor

communities devise means and networks in order to survive. While Stack's research is old, this thesis asserts it conforms to recent research on communal behaviors in the black community.

Kin networks in the Flats reveal the extent of labor, including unpaid care work, to maintain the kin network of trust and sharing of resources. The Flats is a community that demonstrates a system of community activities, in part maintained by unpaid care work. It satisfies Herd's and Meyer's use of Putnam's definitions of but also this system of sharing contributes to the betterment of the whole community.

Section 3.4: Immigrant Care Workers and Unpaid Care Work

West Indian care workers in Brooklyn demonstrate how unpaid care work, which is, in part, shaped by their work and culture, provides opportunities to participate civically. In Tamara Brown's 2011 work, *Raising Brooklyn: Nannies, Childcare, and Caribbean Creating Community*, Brown follows West Indian care workers and their interactions and development of their community [West Indian] through shared experiences and practices. Brown notes that West Indian cultural activities like foodways or food sharing²⁰ and *susus*²¹ build bonds between West Indian care workers across ethnic lines. This creates a community where care workers not only perform labor for their employers, but also for other care workers. Brown asserts that the bonds formed through these activities create social solidarity and trust, which ensures reciprocity between childcare providers.

This thesis asserts that West Indian care workers build social capital through sharing child care responsibilities, food sharing, and events hosted by care workers. These actions by West

²⁰ Tamara Brown notes that foodways have different meanings, but the one she uses is, “practices, rules, and rituals that shape the food experience in all its aspects: sensory, social, and communicative” (see Tamara Brown 2011, 2012).

²¹ A Caribbean practice of money sharing (Brown, 2011).

Indian care workers are voluntary actions, which also promote reciprocity, social trust, and social ties due to unpaid care work exchanges between care workers.

In this example, Brown interviewed Darlene about how susus became a part of the series of exchanges prevalent in the care worker network:

I asked Darlene how she thought susus became so prevalent among West Indian babysitters in Brooklyn. She answered, "I think that probably came about many years ago where black people in the islands didn't open up accounts and yet they needed money to do certain things with, and I think that's how it came back [in fashion here in the United States]." Bonnett sums this up by suggesting that this informal credit system "is the only way they can narrow the gap between their small incomes and consumption needs."

(Brown, 2011, p. 124)

Darlene's description of susus suggests that they are a way for members of the West Indian child care community to share scarce resources, which involves a high level of trust among the participants.²² People voluntarily participate in susus with the promise people will reciprocate to each other when it is their turn to take the resources pooled together. If members violate this trust they become ostracized by their community. The organizers of susus activities were thus highly trusted members of the community. Brown attributes susus with providing members of the West Indian community access to money for family visits, paying bills, and other small consumption needs.²³

This thesis suggests that susus builds social capital for participants by promoting and building social trust and encouraging social ties between participants. Susus relationships

²² The participants of these susus were exclusively drawn from the West Indian care worker community in Brown's research.

²³ Piven and Cloward (1971) have suggested poor communities create informal networks to help the community survive.

demonstrate how social capital built through participation in these exchanges, strengthened social trust and ties in the West Indian care community. In addition, these activities are informal and done outside the scope of American law, demonstrating the degree this community is dedicated to the practice. These exchanges facilitate and are themselves unpaid care work, especially for the organizers, to share scarce resources to enable care for the needs of the care worker, which includes the family.

Food sharing is another way the West Indian care community demonstrates how unpaid care work facilitates civic engagement.²⁴ Brooklyn's child care workers share meals and look after each other's children. Also, they would use the time with children (including their employer's children on occasion) to share different styles of food from their respective cultures. Other researchers (see Kaplan, 2000) have suggested that there is a relationship between food and care in the private and public sphere like the care workers demonstrate in Brooklyn.²⁵ Here Brown (2011, 2012) retells an event involving food sharing between members of the care worker community:

One winter afternoon I observed five West Indian sitters, including Gail, a sitter Grenada, as they hosted a "playdate" at the home of Gail's employers (presumably with their permission, as was usually the case). I had been invited to join in with my daughter. Gail was preparing to cook some West Indian stew chicken that another sitter, Natalie from Grenada, had brought, along with rice and beans. While Natalie and Gail were primarily in charge of cooking the meal, there was a sense of community at this playdate. On the bottom floor of the duplex in a brownstown close to the park where sitters regularly met, many of the women were sitting on the carpet in front of the television playing with the children

²⁴ Herd and Meyer (2002) cite preparing meals as an activity that falls under the category of unpaid care work. This thesis asserts that food sharing involves a level of preparation, thus this thesis recognizes food sharing as a form of unpaid care work labor.

²⁵ Other researchers have suggested that food production is gendered work that exploits women's labor (see DeVault, 1991).

they cared for. It was a scene that contradicted previous literature as well as Marga's observations as a park employee, which had suggested that West Indian sitters did not play on the ground with the children they cared for. The preparation of traditional foods at this event was for the women a starting point for social interaction, discussion, and cultural identification, perhaps more so since they were in the presence of the white children they cared for and may have consciously wanted to reify their West Indianness. (Brown, 2011, p. 92)

The playdate that Gail sets up in this excerpt shows how food sharing acted as a medium for the care workers to come together. Food sharing would often happen when care workers came together at social functions, at someone's home or mainly in the park. Brown's (2011, 2012) research focused on how West Indian child care providers used food sharing as a way to influence their workspace and demonstrate their mothering skills to employers. West Indian care workers would share the food they made with the children they watched over and other West Indian ethnic groups, exposing their children to food they would typically not experience. Sharing food between different West Indian ethnic groups is voluntary and demonstrated a level of pride and a basis for community interaction. Also, there is an expectation among the West Indian care workers to food share, building trust, and reciprocity.

When care workers entrust each other to prepare a meal at one time or another, that would build social capital within their community. The social capital garnered from the sharing of food would also build reciprocity and was most often demonstrated while caring for each other's children, reinforcing reciprocated social ties. The food sharing combined with child care demonstrates altruistic and voluntary behavior that promoted reciprocity as Putnam defined for civic engagement.

Furthermore, West Indian care workers also ran and hosted events for each other and their employers, even earning the moniker of 'social networking agents.' Many of these events would take place in public settings, mainly the park, and act as a focal point for the community to socialize, share food, and care for each other's children. Brown (2011) retells one such event:

West Indian babysitters arranged celebrations not only for parents but for their own community. During my field research I attended an annual event held by and for West Indian babysitters in one of the larger public parks. I was invited by Molly to attend and to make a small donation for the food that would be supplied. I showed up on the day of the event and noticed a sea of red t-shirts with a design of little bears stamped on the chest. These shirts, which indicated that the wearer had made a monetary donation to receive food, literally territorialized the larger open space of the park. Large tables had been organized along the bocce ball alley fence to accommodate the food being served, the balloons decorated various parts of the open space. It was funny to see one half of the park occupied entirely by people dressed in red and the other half occupied by regular patrons of the park who didn't dare cross the "red-line." While several of the women were enjoying traditional West Indian foods, other babysitters set up relay races among themselves near the basketball courts. (Brown, 2011, p. 69)

Members of the West Indian community were committed to hosting this event annually. West Indian care workers would volunteer their time to prepare the food and space for the event. This thesis asserts that these celebrations further demonstrate how West Indian care workers build and maintain their community, in part, due to unpaid care work. Members of the West Indian community would build social capital through food sharing, *susus*, and child care; all those activities contribute to the trust in the community to throw significant events like the party in the park. These parties would also encourage closer social ties as members of the community

socialized. These activities satisfy Putnam's definition of civic engagement by being a voluntary activity that promotes reciprocity and social trust among the members of the community. Also, members of the West Indian community show how intricate unpaid care work networks exist between family, friends, and neighbors, as Herd and Meyer (2002) have suggested.

Brown's research reveals that the unpaid care work done by immigrant West Indian care workers in Brooklyn fits the definition of civic engagement Herd and Meyer use from Putnam. Thus, unpaid care work activities among West Indian care workers promote and build voluntary associations that build social trust and reciprocity in the West Indian care worker community.

Section 3.5: Older Adults and Unpaid Care Work

Much of the case study literature presented in this thesis focused on the unpaid care work in the family revolving around women and children. However, older adults also factor into the conversation of unpaid care work in the family. Unpaid care work for older adults is especially true for women who are more strongly associated with caring for older adults and children than their male peers (Ward and Spitze, 1998). This thesis categorizes two ways older adults factor into unpaid care work in the family and civic engagement: either directly contributing to the unpaid care work needs of other older adults or needing unpaid care work done on their behalf.

Like Herd and Meyer (2002), Martinez et al. (2011) understand that the traditional definition of civic engagement is too narrow and excluded the activities of older adults. In the article, "Invisible Civic Engagement among Older Adults: Valuing the Contributions of Informal Volunteering," Martinez et al. measure the volunteering habits of older adults and suggests that older adults have their own set of activities that count towards civic engagement. Also, Martinez et al. (2011) indicate that formal volunteering is something that older adults have difficulty doing. Here Martinez et al. (2011) sum up the reactions of older adults to formal volunteering:

African-American women in particular expressed the view that formal volunteering “*felt too much like work*” because of the fixed schedule and lack of flexibility. Moreover, they felt that participating in these types of formal activities could be interpreted as work without pay which was not seen as very attractive after working a lifetime for little pay. Many participants also expressed concern over their treatment in the volunteering organization, expressing that they were not valued and were sometimes bossed around. (Martinez et al, 2011, p. 31)

For older adults, especially those that have worked hard for little in return, like black women, formal volunteering is not an attractive venture for civic engagement. Participating in formal volunteering does not attract much participation by older adults. This thesis suggests that older adults do not nurture social capital from formally volunteering, and they cannot build the trust to reciprocate involvement with formal volunteering organizations. Also, this statement demonstrates that applying traditional expectations of volunteering to older adults obscures where their actual energies for civic engagement lay.

Other interviewees echoed this sentiment and articulated their definition of volunteering. The collective understanding among older adults was that taking care of each other was their way of giving back or participating in the community. This thesis indicates that the activities associated with the older adults helping each other involve activities associated with unpaid care work. When asked about informal helping activities:

[One responded said,]“When they get sick I do little things, fix them a meal....”

(Lower SES African-American Woman).²⁶

²⁶ SES means socio-economic status

[Another respondent said,]“I volunteered to be floor captain on my floor in case a fire alarm rang, I go knock on people’s door[s] on my floor and be sure they come out.” (Lower SES African-American man) (Martinez et al, 2011, p. 29)

When measuring the participation of older adults in society, it is essential to note that health is a substantial barrier to entry for volunteering among older adults (Li and Ferraro, 2006). For older adults who have difficulty performing self-care tasks, like cooking meals, food sharing helps provide a necessary service and connects the older adult community.

Other researchers have suggested that food helps build notions of solidarity among members of the family in the private sphere (see Kaplan, 2000). Respondents believed that by taking care of each other, they were volunteering and participating in their community. This thesis suggests that these respondents in their retirement homes helped create a system of reciprocity and cooperation that builds social capital, which turned into trust among older adults, especially those dependent on others to take care of them. Older adults demonstrate social trust and reciprocity in line with Putnam's definition of civic engagement, which requires behaviors that invoke reciprocity, voluntary attitudes, and altruism. Also, unpaid care work, which, in formal organizations, is considered volunteering, demonstrates Herd and Meyer's assertion that unpaid care work is a form of civic engagement.

Older adults go a step further and suggest that volunteering also includes spending time socializing with each other. Respondents noted that they would visit sick friends in the hospital:

“... I think a lot of volunteerism is something which is invented by young people because they think old people want to do it, and I don’t think we necessarily do.... I do what I want to do.” In fact, he reported that he already spent a good amount of time visiting sick friends in the hospital, as did many of those interviewed....

As one participant expressed, she “would like to volunteer at a number of different activities, in a number of different things, where needed.” When asked about specific examples, she replied “Hmm, whatever needs to be done.” Another participant added: “She helps everybody.” (Martinez et al, 2011, p. 30)

To older adults, seeing sick friends and providing companionship in the hospital is a form of volunteering that they saw as providing a type of service to their neighbors and friends. This type of behavior encouraged others to participate and help each other.²⁷ Herd and Meyer (2002) primarily focus on unpaid care work in the family but suggest that networks of unpaid care work connect people outside the family unit into interconnected chains of reciprocity. Martinez et al. (2011) have indicated that for older adults, especially black women, volunteering involves deeper levels of reciprocity than merely volunteering one's time for a formal organization. This thesis suggests that when older adults are performing unpaid care work for each other, like preparing meals and spending time with each other, they are building social capital. That social capital turns into trust and, more importantly, reciprocity to give back to their community. The way that older adults give back to each other satisfies Putnam's definition of civic engagement by involving voluntary behavior that promotes reciprocity and social trust.

For older adults who may struggle (due to their age) to perform essential self-care tasks, many rely on their children to take care of them. Some parents find themselves 'sandwiched' between taking care of both their children and their parents. Studies show that caregivers for the elderly and mentally disabled have poorer self-reported health including higher levels of depression, exhaustion, lack of exercise and chronic illness and drug misuse (Brody, 1990; Hoyert and Seltzer). Leslie Hammer and Margaret Neil (2007), in their work, *Working Couples Caring for*

²⁷ It should be noted men mainly volunteer outside their homes, while women volunteer mainly inside the home, suggesting sex segregation of volunteer work (Rotolo and Wilson, 2007; Neil and Hammer, 2007).

Children and Aging Parents: Effects on Work and Well-Being, present research demonstrating how parents often have to take care of both their children and their parents. Due to poorer health in old age and rising healthcare costs, there is an increased reliance on family and friends to provide unpaid care work to substitute for formal healthcare services (Wagner, 2000).

This situation leaves some parents trapped between caring for both their children and their parents, the 'sandwiched generation' (see D.A. Miller, 1981; Nichols and Junk, 1997; Neal and Hammer, 2007). According to a study by Nichols and Junk (1997), they suggested 15% of the respondents' parents between 40-65 years old had responsibility for children and aging parents. Neal and Hammer (2007) suggest that between 9% and 13% of American households with a telephone and with one or more persons aged 30 to 60 are composed of dual-earner, sandwiched-generation couples. These studies all suggest varying degrees of parents forced to do work to care for their parents and their children, limiting the time they have for other activities like leisure (Schor 1991, 1998; Neal and Hammer, 2007). Women, in particular, are often burdened with taking care of children and older adult parents more than men (see Ward and Spitze, 1998). In order to help shoulder the burdens of care work, some respondents pressed family members to help care for older relatives and children (Neal and Hammer, 2007). Here is one parent's example for helping to ease the burden of being sandwiched:

One man suggested the strategy of enlisting children's help, in particular, not only to increase available resources but also as a method to pass along family values. Another woman similarly advised: "Include your children in caregiving to an aging parent. Children can learn so much from being around their grandparents ... and will learn the value and see how rewarding it can be. They will always have the memory and that is very important. The children will learn to be compassionate." (Neil and Hammer, 2007, p. 134)

The demands on parents to take care of their parents are high, and enlisting children to help is a way to spread out responsibilities of unpaid care work for older adults. This respondent believes that there were social benefits to having family, and particularly help care or volunteer for older relatives. This thesis asserts that sharing unpaid care work responsibilities for older adults implies that the children will learn to share in unpaid care work responsibilities as they get older and pass along the same values of caring and reciprocity to future generations. In other words, unpaid care work contributes to the social capital of children and builds reciprocity of behavior across generations. Families can build mutual support systems based on trust and reciprocation of actions with an emphasis on improving the civic behavior of children. Teaching children to care for older adults demonstrates civic engagement, as Putnam defines. Directly improving the social capital of children contributes to their ability to participate in civic activities. Also, it aligns with Herd's and Meyer's (2002) framework of unpaid care work in the family as civic engagement because children are imparted values, which are supposed to help them participate and help improve the quality of life for their relatives allowing them to reduce the burdens of unpaid care work on women.

These examples demonstrate both aspects of older adults and unpaid care as civic engagement. Older adults are in two groups, those that can help and those that need help. When they can help, older people pitch in for one another and do tasks to improve each other's quality of life, in other words, unpaid care work. Similarly, when older adults need care, they rely on friends and family to care for them. Due to the pressures of work, many families enlist the support of more relatives and children to help care for older family members. Parents believe that the unpaid care work done by children will help them build up to do the same work later on in life.

Section 4: 'Recognize, Reduce, and Redistribute'

The previous section re-examined several case study examples of care work and revealed how unpaid care work contributes to civic engagement, fitting Putnam's definition of that term (Putnam 1995, 1996, 2000). Many of these activities have reflected the direct experiences of women who continue to perform the majority of unpaid care work (Elson, 2017). This section outlines different ways to change the relationship between women and unpaid care work. Its purpose is to find ways to create a better work-family balance to provide women more significant opportunities for more traditional forms of civic engagement.

Diana Elson (2017) has argued that women have hit a glass ceiling of participation in the workforce. Elson attributed this persistent gap in women's wages on continued responsibilities to perform unpaid care work in the home. Wage disparities between men and women have also contributed to gaps in resources allowing for participation in traditional civic engagement (Schlozman et al. 1994, 1999). Elson (2017) proposes that the best way to address women's continued wage gap is to change women's roles as stewards of unpaid care work or to use her framework 'recognize, reduce, and redistribute' unpaid care work labor.

By recategorizing unpaid care work as civic engagement, as Herd and Meyer (2002) argued that it should become recognized labor similar to Elson's (2017) framework. By acknowledging and changing the value of unpaid care work and making it a civic activity, then it becomes labor that builds community rather than just the home, as some theorists have posited (see Putnam (1995, 1996, 2000; Galston 1996, 1997, 1999). Furthermore, countries would have to increase social spending and transfer unpaid care work to paid care work and redistribute what left equally between women and men to reduce and redistribute unpaid care work respectfully (Elson, 2017). Many researchers have offered solutions or methods to 'recognize, reduce, and redistribute' unpaid

care work; however, this paper has decided to explore one researcher's solutions as it forms a broad basis for all endeavors that could address the inequality in the distribution of unpaid care work.

Nancy Folbre's *The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values* (2001) breaks down the philosophy of capitalism to argue at its core capitalism is an economic system that associated women with labor attributes related to the home, which allowed for men to accumulate the resources to dominate society. Folbre's work is in line with Elson's (2017) framework due to Folbre's recognition of women's unpaid care work role in the economy and how it liberated men to work, while imprisoning women in the home. Also, Folbre breaks down three broad categories to reduce and redistribute the responsibility of unpaid care work: market-socialism or people's capitalism, participatory democracy, and shared care. Following is a review of some of the previous case studies and their interaction with Folbre's categories, primarily market-socialism and shared care.

Market-socialism, according to Folbre, would involve a redistribution of societal or state resources to place people on relatively equal footing. By redistributing resources, women and men would start with the same resources and reduce inequality, which Folbre suggests could open the door for reforms in education, healthcare, and family life. Other researchers (see Schlozman et al. 1994, 1999) have indicated that by redistributing resources like finances, that would close the gaps in participation between men and women. Stack's case study offers the closest example of what could move society towards this solution. As put forth earlier, Stack's example demonstrates how poor communities share resources to help each other survive through communalistic activities (Piven and Cloward, 1971; Gooden and McMahon, 2016).

While Folbre argues for the state to redistribute resources to people and communities, people in the Flats already redistribute, through 'swapping' or bartering, state resources like food stamps for other goods and services (Stack, 1974). This redistribution creates type of equality

among people Folbre recommends. Also, communal networks could relieve the burdens of unpaid care work on individual women and allow for opportunities to seek other ways to participate in society.

Planning care for Folbre means taking steps to redistribute the burdens of unpaid care work, through universal programs for the care of children. These policies seek to expand the welfare state and replace male breadwinner models of welfare programs and replace them with programs that enable women to work outside the home and allow men to participate in household duties, like paid time off for men. The ultimate goal for these reforms would be to create the type of society to foster more mutual care. The United States lacks a family-friendly social system compared to other industrialized countries (Davis and Kruze, 1994). Looking abroad to other nations offers some direction to policies that may help redistribute unpaid care work responsibilities that can take the immediate pressures of motherhood off women. The Scandinavian countries and France, in contrast to the US, offer more social safety nets that include paid parental leave for both parents, and universal daycare respectfully (Henneck, 2003). Compared to their European counterparts, the US has more hours worked by all citizens and by dual-earner households (Jacob and Gerson, 2004). Foreign social safety net programs could be used as a model for the United States to redistribute unpaid care work.

Small's case study reveals the potential of Folbre's third framework; planning for care and what it could do for unpaid care work. Small's research focused on childcare centers, and as stated before in the paper, the childcare center provides opportunities for unpaid care work - opportunities for unpaid care work also means participating in civic engagement. Childcare centers could become part of the universal programs paid for by the state and reduce the burdens of unpaid care work. Childcare centers help provide opportunities for unpaid care work and networking among

parents to address work-family imbalances and childcare needs due to lack of affordability, especially for lower-income parents (Cascio, 2017; Heymann, 2000).

The categories provided by Folbre offer insight into ways to redistribute unpaid care work responsibilities. Stack's case study is an early example of potentially what market-socialism redistributing state resources and care work. Meanwhile, the benefits of paid childcare can be observed through Small's research. Not only the benefits of having direct care for children, but the other benefits of opportunities for networking with other parents and sharing care work informally. In any case, the goal is as the people in Stack's research strive for, equitable distribution of resources as a means of survival. Methods for redistributing unpaid care work remain important as women continue to face barriers to sharing unpaid care work responsibilities, which, in part, can determine their access to participation outside of the home.

Section 5: Closing Thoughts/ Conclusion

This thesis has drawn examples from care work case studies to substantiate Herd's and Meyer's (2002) assertion that unpaid care work in the family should be considered civic engagement. Putnam's definition of civic engagement provided a standard for understanding how unpaid care work behaviors from the case studies would demonstrate civic participation. The examples described here have explored a variety of contexts in which unpaid care work activities have contributed to civic engagement, specifically among older adults, and the black community. Reconsidering unpaid care work as civic engagement is particularly important because women perform the majority of unpaid care work in raising children. Many of the case study examples provided a perspective of women participating in unpaid care work as a way to give back to their community. Thus, reconsidering unpaid care work as civic engagement opens up the possibility to catch the full scope of contributions unpaid care work gives to society. Furthermore, Herd and Meyer (2002), Putnam (1995, 1996, 2000), and Galston (1996, 1997, 1999) all agree that family and raising children are essential parts of society, and well-raised children are the desired outcome of family life.

Significant findings upon re-examining the case studies are (1) the communalism demonstrated in Stack (1974). Stack presented an example of communities that were struggling and used networks to share unpaid care work responsibilities and resources to help their community thrive. People placed their trust in one another and relied on reciprocated exchanges. The observed reciprocated exchanges in Stack (1974) align with the framework of unpaid care work as civic engagement that Herd and Meyer (2002) developed. Stack demonstrated the network exchanges as an example of communalism in the Black community. Her examples also reveal that redistributing state resources and unpaid care work along a network can provide a more equitable sharing of these

resources and activities. For future research, communalism as a process should be studied as a way to equitably distribute state resources and unpaid care work.

Another finding (2) is that definitions of civic engagement need to be flexible; as suggested by feminist theorists (see Lister, 1997; Warburton and McLaughlin, 2006; McBride, 2007).

Additionally, Martinez et al. (2011) advocate that civic engagement should be more loosely defined to encompass the civic contributions of women and older adults.

Throughout this paper, evidence from the literature has been reported to reveal the role unpaid care work has always played in civic participation. Case studies offer insight into how activities categorized as 'private' can transform public discourse around participation in communities.

Unpaid care work needs to be recognized in order to reduce, redistribute and establish as a contribution to the *community*.

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