

*FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE EFFECTS OF
PARENT-CHILD OBLIGATIONS ON HELPING BEHAVIOR*

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by

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ABSTRACT

The scope of this study is to get knowledge about the relationship between norms and helping behavior. Norms in the context of the family system refer to parent-child obligations and role behavior. In subsequent, this scope necessitates understanding the extent of family's commitment to its normative arrangements and the way in which fulfillment of norms affect helping behavior as part of family life that is subject to request under varying conditions. Following this idea, research questions address the extent of impact of each normative aspect on helping behavior and the way other relevant aspects such as privacy and family solidarity may take effect. In order to empirically deal with the problem, survey methodology is the best way to yield the maximum findings. In addition, since the focal point of this project is on the relationships of family members, an analysis grounded in rational choice theory provides knowledge about the normative actions of family and the consequent social outcomes. In sequence, findings indicate in a theory developed by G. S. Becker, obligation of feeling at the collective level serves as an input factor in the production of helping behavior. At the individual level, parent-child obligations of attitude and material need are variant by family position as part of division of labor at home as well as instrumental reasoning. These fulfillments will eventually provide utility of positive relations with friends and relatives. In another theory developed by D. Chong, obligations of feeling and attitude are part of rationality that parents have acquired in the past as a variety of values, while parents are concerned about attitude its only the mothers who show this concern when the data is separated. These values are taken into account when determining helping behavior. Although role behavior is widely practiced by parents, interdependent social factors at home and at work predispose only employed mothers to helping behavior. In so doing, mothers in general and employed mothers specifically are mainly responsible for the organization of life at home and have more opportunity to coordinate relationships with familiar others. Role identity, which predominantly emerges after marriage, increases informed knowledge of one's role but is not the reason to involve in helping behavior. Empirical evidence also indicates that married parents versus non-married parents have conspicuous understanding of a given role. Family members may also request solidarity upon those affairs which they cannot afford personally. Fulfillment of one's obligation of feeling by members is positively related to family solidarity. In other words, those who have internalized values and beliefs about one's obligations of feeling will also take actions which are beneficial to other members, but the relation between obligation and solidarity varies upon one's position. Finally, the above relationships take place at home where affairs are under the influence of normative arrangements like availability of amenities. An analysis of effects of levels of access to housing amenities on privacy shows that, there is no firm impact on dimensions of privacy. The amenities as resources also have no effects on solidarity.

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Chapter

I

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTION:

The family¹ like other social institutions has a formal body of legal norms², which systematically bind individuals to perform their duties in a designated manner. Nevertheless, such norms are constantly being violated due to some basic facts. The inner family relationships are on a large part based on social norms, the control of which as well as acting upon or evasion from specific norms are subject to the personalities of the parents and children as well as their knowledge of these norms. In the meantime, family as a social system in many aspects follows particular values that in the whole support norms and produce concrete patterns of action (Therborn, 2002:864). These norms are not externally strictly in control by controlling agencies for their routine activities, however within other institutions such as economy and politics they are. It is obvious that these natural flaws leave family, a unit whose success and social consequences mainly depend on partners and their internal management. Family in its normative³ performance besides internal organization of life has social relationships with friends and relatives making them mutually interdependent.

To analyze these norms and relationships taking into account a rational choice point of view, what appears to put internal organization of norms within family into effect are fulfillment of one's obligations according to one's family position, fulfillment of one's role in a pertinent position and the amount of access to some resources at home. That is to say, how members are going to act upon their normative duties. Positive commitment to obligations and effective engagement in a role as a parent or a child in turn can lead to corresponding effects in relationships with others. A great deal of contact among relatives takes place upon demand for planned help due to a variety of reasons. These relationships based on norms are determinant for both optimum operation of family and their inevitable social consequences.

Some aspects of helping behavior⁴ within family are widely practiced through actions that in which satisfaction of members generally form family solidarity. In spite of this, this interdependence can vary according to knowledge and material condition of life. The latter factor as available resources can also affect the privacy of individuals and the way they arrange relationships with others. Thus considering the fact that the norms are a vital part of family life and the actions to be taken depend on individual values, choices and concomitant rationalities that individuals bring into a relationship, extensive investigation of these relevant dimensions are worth attending.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION:

In a study about rationality of social action, Feld (1985:1145) concluded that for instance in small groups the adding of members does not increase the likelihood of help, but for large enough groups the increase in group size, increases the likelihood of helping behavior. For this reason, distributive characteristics such as age, sex, material status and education can provide insight about differences that affect a specific segment of the population to behave in one way or another. In general, sex distribution of sample size consists of 150 males (40.4 percent) and 221 females (59.6 percent). In fact presence of female respondents was dominant during contact with families. In regard to age distribution the youngest person was 10 years old while the oldest person was 85 years old. Other distribution statistics show that a coefficient of 0.278 represents that age distribution is skew to the right side of the curve. Furthermore, the Kurtosis coefficient of -.525 shows that age distribution is flat. In other words, no high concentration on certain ages among sample is observable.

For the sake of analysis, further classification of families in terms of sex and age as shown in table 1.1 represents that; in the age groups 33-37 (with 11.7 valid percent), 38-42 (with 14.7

valid percent), and 43-47 (with 11.7 valid percent) males and females together are representative of age structure of the families although the difference between males and females was high within the age group of 38-42 year olds. In this 15 year period (33-47) of early adolescence active presence of both males and females is a consistent pattern. The average age of population which is 41 years old, also belongs to this group. In addition in this age group there were 0.36 percent more females than males. Data⁵ indicates they have lower age distribution across other groups taking valid percent into account.

Table 1.1 Age Distribution by Sex

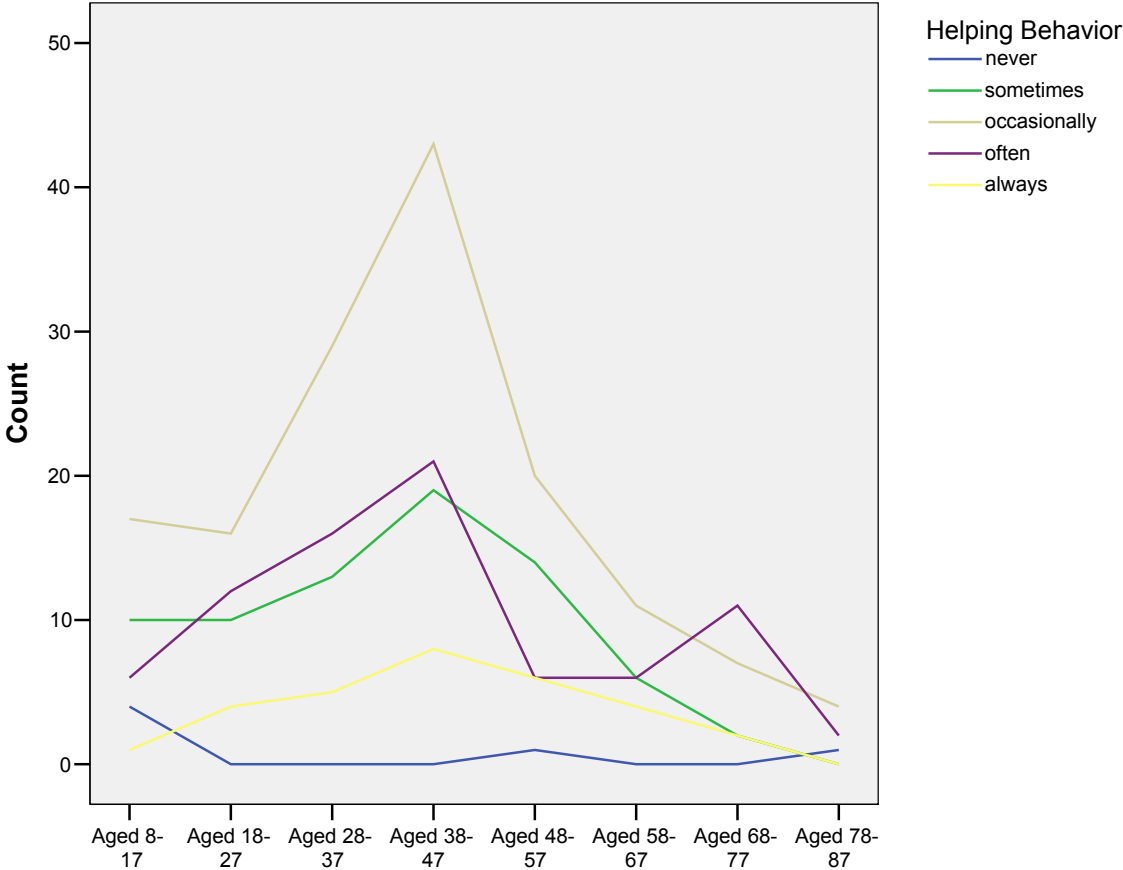
	Male		Female		Valid Per.	Cum. Per.
	Fre.	Percent ⁶	Fre.	Percent		
Aged 8-12	4	1.1	4	1.1	2.2	2.2
Aged 13-17	12	3.3	17	4.6	7.9	10.1
Aged 18-22	7	1.9	13	3.5	5.4	15.5
Aged 23-27	8	2.2	19	5.2	7.4	22.9
Aged 28-32	9	2.5	16	4.4	6.9	29.8
Aged 33-37	22	6.0	21	5.7	11.7	41.5
Aged 38-42	14	3.8	40	10.9	14.7	56.2
Aged 43-47	18	4.9	25	6.8	11.7	67.9
Aged 48-52	13	3.5	14	3.8	7.3	75.2
Aged 53-57	10	2.7	16	4.4	7.1	82.3
Aged 58-62	5	1.4	8	2.2	3.6	85.9
Aged 63-67	8	2.2	10	2.7	4.9	90.8
Aged 68-72	9	2.5	8	2.2	4.7	95.5
Aged 73-77	6	1.6	2	0.5	2.1	97.6
Aged 78-82	4	1.1	4	1.1	2.2	99.8
Aged 83-87	0	0.0	1	0.3	0.3	100
Total	149	40.7	218	59.4		
Valid cases=367.						
Missing values=5.						

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

As shown in Figure 1.1 and 1.2, males and females engage in helping behavior differentially with consideration of their age. In fact, the impact which age structure of families makes on helping behavior is most notably characteristic in the 10 year period of elderly (68-77) males and females. Males and females at these ages are conscious of their social relations. Males start off slowly and later this effort has a higher increasing momentum. Females from the age

of 10 years old to age 77 consistently respond to planned help considerably, but their level of participation varies. This pattern varies from a minimum of 26 percent to a maximum of 71 percent across different age groups. The above conditions are not adaptable to males (refer to chapter X, tables 10.1 and 10.2 for additional information). For people aged 78 and above this general pattern does not coincide with others. This is the oldest age cohort. No matter which sex the respondent is, helping behavior due to physical capabilities decreases at an old age.

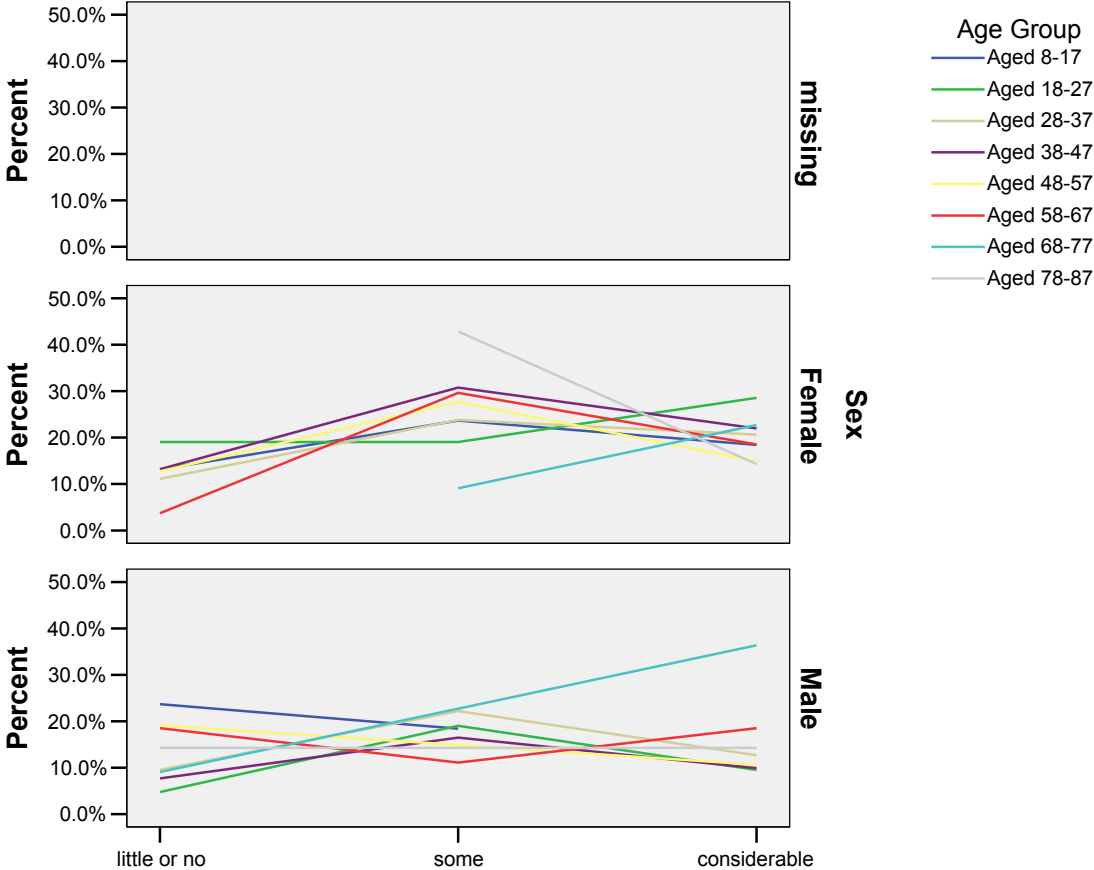
Figure 1.1 Line Graph of Levels of Helping Behavior by Age Group (Frequency Distribution)



Valid cases=368.
Missing values=4.

In respect to other demographic characteristics like marital status, data indicates that marriage with 52.2 percent is the most dominant type of family structure in the city of Hamburg. There are more married people among families than non-married people. Nevertheless, those who had divorced consists of 14.6 percent of the population (refer to chapter X, table 10.6 for a full description). In addition, families regardless of marital status have on average two children (Mean= 1.79). Major discussion of the effects of marital status on the relationship between role behavior and helping behavior is to follow in chapter V. Also the majority of families have an education level of high school or less. A classification of education as; high school or less, some college, and college graduate reveals that females in the first two groups in contrast to the third group surpass males in educational level (refer to chapter X, table 10.7).

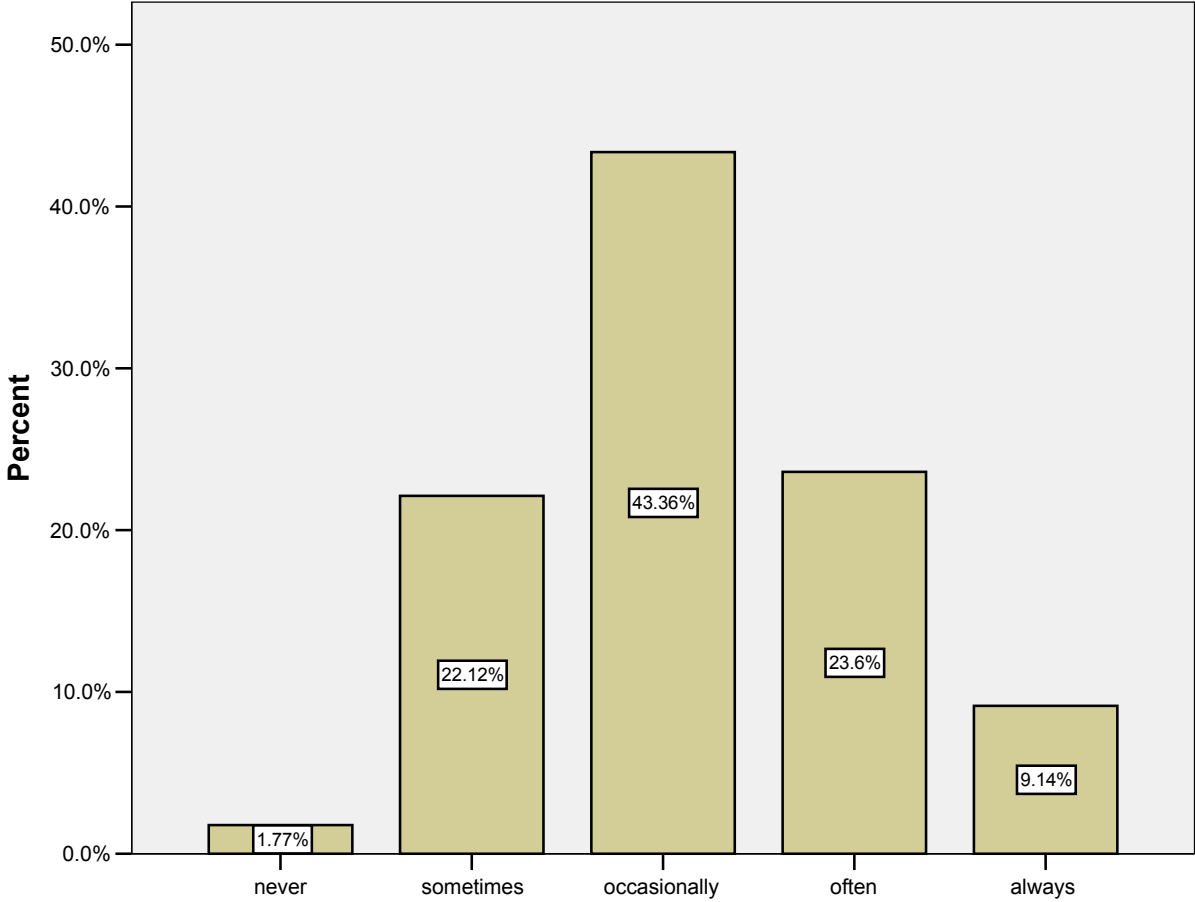
Figure 1.2 Line Graph of Helping Behavior by Age Group and Sex (Percentages)



Valid cases=275.
Missing values=42.

Figure 1.3 represents the fact that, individuals within families regardless of their family position depending on the conditions of life provide various levels of help to friends and relatives. They behave amongst other options with a peak of 43.36 percent occasionally. In fact, there is no solid evidence for decisive presentation of helping behavior. Rather the conditions which support or baffle helping behavior are likely to be receptive to variations in normative expectations as part of the regulatory system within the family. In addition to this, level of contribution to helping behavior regardless of the context also varies by family position. There are some other factors in which decision making fluctuates by rational organization of life to cope with its socio-economic demands. Mothers with 38.1 percent considerable contribution to this behavior represent their susceptibility to family relations. This level among fathers with 33.96 percent is still lower and among children with 18.42 percent is the lowest one (see figures 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6 for differences).

Figure 1.3 Bar Graph of Levels of Helping Behavior among Families (Percentages)



Valid cases=339.
Missing values=33.

Figure 1.4 Pie Chart of Helping Behavior among Fathers (Percentages)

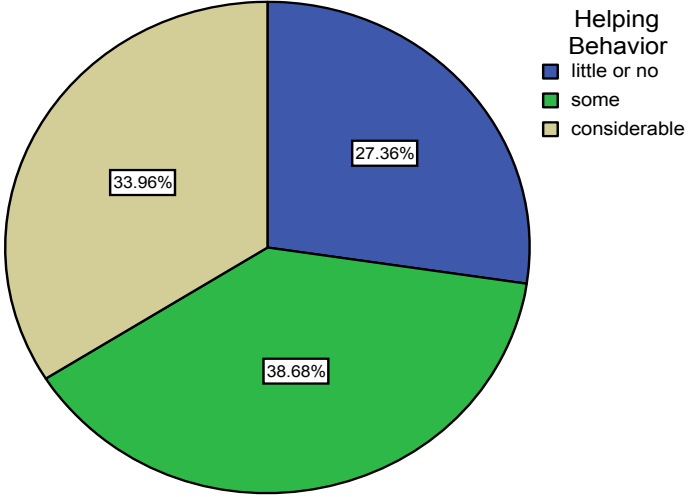


Figure 1.5 Pie Chart of Helping Behavior among Mothers (percentages)

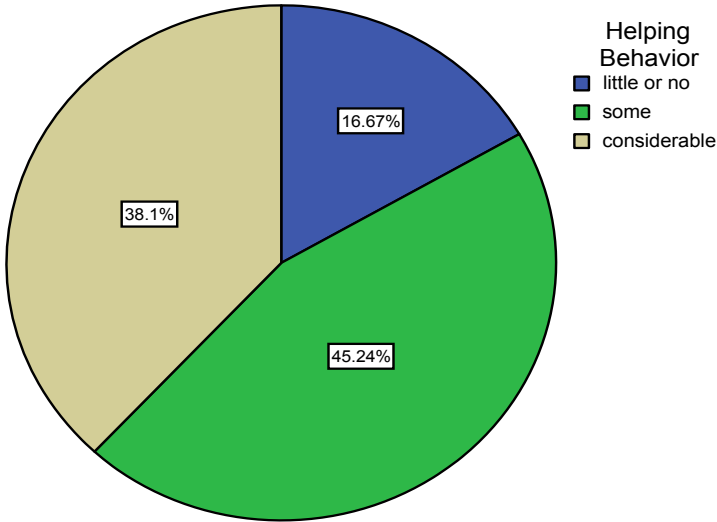
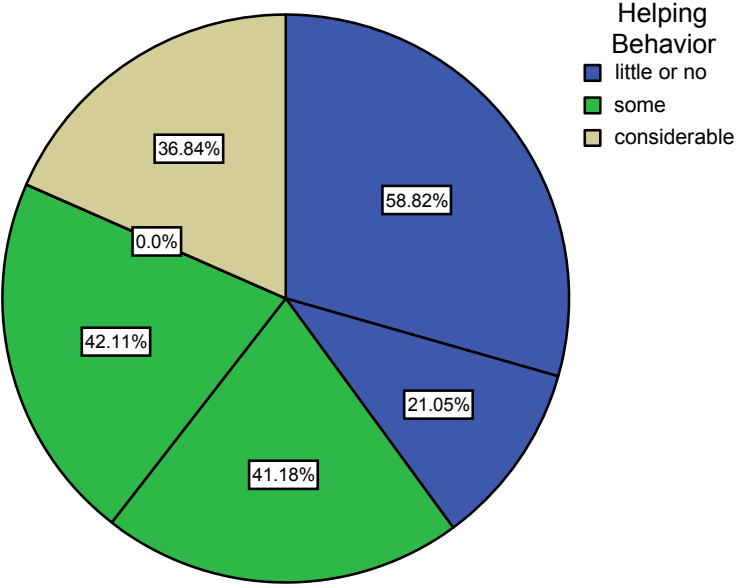


Figure 1.6 Pie Chart of Helping Behavior among Children (Percentages)



Note: Percentages are reported for sons and daughters. The average percentage for each category are the following; “little or no”=39.93, “some”=41.64 and “considerable”=18.42.

In summary, there are generational differences in the amount of help provided to others. Aging involves changing standards and the calculations people make on their decisions (Chong, 2000). In subsequent, differences belong to the fact that at a young age especially females of 18-27 years old are susceptible to provide help, primarily due to physical stamina. Also, people in every generation behave according to their own social standards that are subject to the social system in which they live. It should also be taken into consideration that societal and cultural impacts are no exception on generational differences. These impacts create variations on views in dealing with responsibilities.

ENDNOTE

¹ Any adult heterosexual individual regardless of his marital status living alone or together with others in private accommodation is by definition a family. Parents are those who at the time of survey had at least a child or expected to have a child. Children are under 18 years old and live either by their parents or alone. For which type of relationship across time and place characterize the family, see Macionis (1991:394) and Bird and Melville (1994:23).

² Therborn (2002:863-864) in the definition of norm stated that a norm tell us what something is, what the distributive structure of a population is and what we ought to do (rule of action). He also distinguished among three types of norms. Namely, they are; legal norms which are backed up by special apparatus of adjudication and sanctioning, moral norms which are located only in the conscience of the individual and social norms which are a wide range, subject to the approval or disapproval of a set of actors. Scott & Marshall (2005:451) believe norms are similar to rules or regulations in being prescriptive, although they lack the formal status of rules. In another analysis, a norm is not understood as those that are applicable to a specific social group but rather to general system (institutional) norms which are less subject to individual choice. For example, the Jones family have set a rule that children must be in bed at eight o'clock at night, it will refer to this particular group, Boss et al. (1993:233). They further classify institutional norms as static and process. Static norms regulate the behavior and expectations from members like children may not have driver's licenses. Process norm regulate timing and sequencing of expectations and behavior like the expectation that marriage comes before the child is born. These general characteristics of norms are of major concern in the analysis of family.

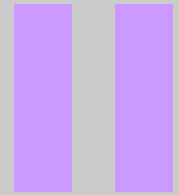
³ Normative system refers to value consensus among actors within a social system and further supplemented by social norms to keep social order running.

⁴ Helping behavior encompasses some services which are given to familiar others such as friends and relatives upon request. The decision of whether or not to give help is up to the person asked to help. There are three types of help; informal planned help, spontaneous help and planned formal help. Only informal planned help will be measured from Amato's (1990:31-34) 18 standard items on self-report of helping. Opposite concept is egoistic behavior in which case individual do not provide help to the needy. For a full description of items of helping behavior and related statistics refer to (chapter X, table 10.3). By engaging in helping behavior, it is possible one demands similar requests from others but in altruism as another type of behavior within family, help is offered without the expectations to receive anything in return, yet in solidarity as another type of helping behavior members help each other during emergencies. Further analysis of each type is to be followed in relevant chapter and heading.

⁵ For some chapters there are additional statistics in chapter X that has not been pointed out during the text but served for data analysis.

⁶ In the tables where there is enough space the word 'percent' fits in the table, otherwise abbreviation 'per.' or the symbol % serves as replacement. All of the chapters follow standards of the manual written by K. Grigg for editing a dissertation, but very few cases like size of tables due to their contents are exceptions to the rule of consistency.

Chapter



FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND:

The scientific inquiry of helping behavior as a type of pro-social behavior became popular in the 1970s. Within the literature there are some studies about helping behavior where the units of analysis are different, for example "personality and social network engagement as predictors of helping behavior in everyday life" (Amato, 1990:31-43) in which he made a typology of help and the level of engagement by personality types, "helping behavior as role behavior: Disclosing social structure and history in the analysis of pro-social action" (Callero et al., 1987:247-256) and the way that people use their knowledge and purposes in the conversation in the case of a call for help (Whalen and Zimmerman, 1987). Some of these studies are laboratory based. Amato distinguished between informal planned help given to familiar others and spontaneous help given to strangers. As this project, aims to investigate the family as its unit of analysis, only planned help will be examined. Helping behavior here is understood as an actual ability of a person to offer particular services to another person upon request. If somebody is not in a position to provide help, then this person cannot help. In addition, there is a distinction in Amato's study between planned formal, which is the help given to organizations and planned informal which is offered to friends, family members and other familiar individuals. Similarly (Ross and Wu, 1995) regarded "friends and relatives as people that one feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters and can call on for help."

Some other scholars like (Legros, 2001:63) quote from (Kellerhals, 1995) who "emphasized the importance of research in the practices of support and mutual aid". In a study about planned formal help among families with disabled children, Kazak (1989:87) for instance argued that although these families experience some kind of isolation, the majority of them have regular contacts with professional helpers. My study in methodological terms differs from other studies as it will be investigated empirically under an actual family setting. It is

necessary to explain that, in the questionnaire there is no list of any forms of help for which one receives money is accountable. Normative conception of family system in the framework of rational choice theory implies to focus primarily on rules including obligations, role behavior and the conditions under which these norms will influence helping behavior. Further, (Chong, 2000) suggested that resources increase our attachment to the norms.

Accordingly, family solidarity which is based on mutual aids and privacy which has to do with resources at home will presumably be affected by norms and resources respectively. Therborn (2002:863-880) regarded “obligations as norm following behaviors”. In other words, individuals acting upon their obligations follow both personal and social norms. In this connection, commitments to parental role(s) are other variations of norms. The same applies to the children in regard to their parents. As the study by Callero et al. implies that helping behavior is directly related to role behavior and possibly its adherence to the system of obligations, in sequence when family members act upon roles and obligations we can expect that helping behavior to be fulfillment of norms.

(Castelain-Meunier, 2002:197) regards that “behavioral differences exist among parents concerning their role but the extent of these effects is not known. For example, mother-child relationship is not discussed, except in its psycho-analytic dimension. The importance of mother-child relationship is not discussed in its practical and actual dimensions. Van der Lippe (2002:222) also emphasized necessity of knowing the impact of the institutional context on women’s behavior and the extent of women’s characteristics and their immediate family situations on women’s behavior.

Normative conception of family system demands to analyze and interpret these relationships in the framework of a normative theory. Rational choice theory seems at best to make this

goal accessible as Elster (1986:1) regards the theory “before it is anything else, a normative theory. It tells us what we ought to do in order to achieve our aims as well possible.” The normative view of family also implies that it primarily focuses on norms including obligations, role behavior and the conditions under which these norms will influence helping behavior. Further, other scholars have speculated about this aspect of theory in similar ways. For instance, Harsanyi (1986:83) stated that ; “in everyday life , when we speak of ‘rational behavior’ in most cases we are thinking of behavior involving a choice of the best means available for achieving a given end. This implies that, already at a common-sense level, rationality is part of normativeness: it points to what we should do in order to attain a given end or objective”. Rational-choice theory, decision theory and game theory predominantly focus on these aspects of human behavior.

(Opp, 1989) in his definition of the general (rational choice model) provided three hypotheses as following; “1. Individual preferences are determinant of actions which in the view of actor are instrumental in the satisfaction of preferences. 2. Constraints (opportunities) are imposed on individuals as determinants of actions. 3. Individuals take action in pursuant of goals to the highest possible extent.” As (Chong, 2000) assumes resources increase our attachment to the norms and with regard to the fact that housing amenities are in close association with privacy, it satisfies the criterion set by the constraint hypothesis. Opp (1989:8) "regarded constraints or opportunities are external events which reduce or enhance the possibility of satisfying needs. A standard example of a constraint is the available income." Therefore, privacy seems to be effective as one’s economic capabilities enable him to get access to necessary housing amenities.

One would think that quality housing amenities can increase the privacy situations the extent of which is to be determined by this empirical study. Already (Newmann, 1995) in a study of

family considered “some products of technology have all increased the privacy of American households by reducing the need to go elsewhere for entertainment, goods and services.” Similarly, as family solidarity is based on norms, it is a key concept in explaining normative performance of family. It emerges from family ties, identities and available resources. The impact of resources on this aspect is to be investigated. A criterion set by the utility¹ maximization hypothesis put forward by Gary Becker.

A broad range of phenomena are explainable by rational choice theory. Namely, in a study at macro level Hauptmann (1996:4) suggested “focus on the concept of choice takes us to the core of rational choice theory in relation to the issue of democracy”. Following the above view, yet another study on rational choice theory in the context of strategic interdependence in the European Union by Moser (2000:1-11) presents how actors rationally adapt their behaviors and beliefs within the complex power sharing mechanisms. In the whole, rational choice theory put forward by Chong which asserts behavior adapts to both norms and instrumental reasons with the prospect of future social and material gains and the theory also put forward by Becker which stresses the economic base of behavior with the aim of maximizing utility appear more suitable in the explanation of the phenomenon. The major theoretical propositions of both theories follow in the next part.

B. RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY:

In the early ages Aristotle termed in his works the concept of reason and passion. He believed that rationality is an instrument that helps one to achieve his goal without one being determined by reason, Coleman and Fararo, (1992). They further argued that among modern social scientists, Hume in his *Treatise of Human Nature* made a distinction between means (reason) and ends (passion). He treated reason as a slave of passion. The latter are neither reasonable nor unreasonable. Choice converts reason into passion. George Simmel is regarded

by Abell (1991: xii) in many ways the founder of exchange and rational choice theory. Furthermore, Opp (1989:2-29) regards the theory a general social theory as was already in usage by classic writers particularly Adam Smith. Gary S. Becker (1976:8) in an economic approach towards human behavior put forward the idea “that rational economic choices govern most aspects of human life as they in search of self-interest intend to maximize their utility. For a choice to be rational the assumption of preference has to be met. Preferences are assumed to remain among different people and societies stable over time. These are not only reflections of market goods and services like oranges, automobiles or medical care but to underlying object of choice that enable decision maker to compare all alternatives and reach at accumulation of information² in different markets”.

The optimization element of rational choice theory in economics proposed by Becker differentiates it from other theories. The actor engages in acting rationally in order to optimize his position. This is also referred to as maximizing utility, or maximizing cost. He compares all the possible actions and chooses the one that best fits into the outcome. Accordingly, he evaluates actions on the basis of comparison across costs and benefits with the postulation that he takes the optimal action. Functionalist theory in contrast for instance postulates optimization or equilibrium at a systemic level, sketching the way institutions contribute to that social optimum.

An analysis of family in this framework at a collective level views it as the main place of socialization in society. On the individual level it views the family as an attempt on behalf of members to gain from collective action due to economies of scale³ or an efficient division of labor, Quah and Sales(2000: 68-69). According to these authors, Becker’s analysis of behavior takes place within a market oriented framework. In this sense, households are an organized group of actors with the aim to maximize common household material benefits.

Marriage for example comes into being because it provides additional benefits for partners. In subsequent household division of labor forms if there is a comparative advantage. In the whole the main topic of the theory comprise the following issues:

1. Marriage decision is a goal oriented behavior in which actors evaluate the basic commodities of the relation such as children, prestige and esteem, health, altruism, envy and pleasure of senses. This evaluation is a basis for possible future remarriage of partners.
2. Stability of marriage relations can affect their expectations for future marriages in, the case of divorce. This expectation varies upon the conditions of marriage market and cost and benefits of new marriage. Divorce is regarded as imperfect knowledge of partners from each other.
3. The decision to have children surrounds the utility function which children provide, like future support to parents. This process demands certain resources and positive care and rearing of children. Accordingly fertility is subject to use of available resources under situational constraints.
4. Education and occupation of child (intergenerational effects) are an outcome of parental investments. These investments are based on altruism and the idea that educated children can better serve their parents in the future. Within the condition of parental employment especially for mothers, which reduces the chance of accumulating human capital for children at home, will lead to low return of social support from children. In fact, maintenance of a child both physically and mentally by

parents equip the child with a good intergenerational effect which represents itself through success within labor markets.

5. Division of labor and gender roles lead to monetary gains and childbearing. Subsequently parents should decide who is responsible for which commodities. Distinct capabilities of parents such as lower educational qualifications for women and comparative advantage concerning child care direct female labor force participation to private households.

Contemporary sociological theories do not assume optimization to be income or profit maximization since they do not regard self-interest as the sole motive for action, but rather the work with any motive provided that decision-makers maximize and be consistent, Ritzer and Smart (2001:275). These scholars view rationality as bounded in the sense that the decision-maker has limited information. Due to imperfection, the individual cannot predict the outcome of his behavior and it is most likely to be faced with unintended consequences which can be either positive or negative.

The central theoretical propositions of rational choice theory concentrate on choosing rationally. In so doing, the analysis provides axioms that intend to define rational action and choice procedures (preferences, beliefs, opportunities and choices) which are characteristics to be regarded as rational. The principle of methodological individualism⁴ as periphery theoretical explanation relies on these common properties. Allingham (2006: xi) states that “all action is intentional; and that all social phenomena are explicable only in terms of the actions of individuals”.

Any type of rational choice theory is in some forms related to the concept of methodological individualism. Ludwig von Mises (1949) argued various societal level phenomena namely social and economic are explainable in terms of individual level of action. That is to say, societal-level phenomena are explainable through micro-level events. So, the opposite explanation does not hold accountable. Lukes (1968) used in his works a similar concept. He coined the term 'truistic social atomism' which implies no reasonable person can evade from truism as society consists of individuals and institutions consist of people plus rules and roles.

Ritzer and Smart further believe James Coleman (1990:5) regard himself as committed to a 'special variant' of rational choice theory and that this approach is closer to truistic social atomism put forward by Lukes. According to Coleman's sociological theory the following criteria characterize methodological individualism: macro-level explanations should combine three propositions: macro-to-micro propositions which take account of macro level effects on individuals; micro-to-micro propositions which describe individual level of action; and micro-to-macro propositions to show how individual actions aggregate to form societal level changes.

Another topic of interest is dealing with the norms. In the traditional sociological theory this has been referred to as actors as norm followers whereas in rational choice theory it mainly targets the emergence and enforcement of norms. In a normative system like the family, interactional structure lays upon norms in which multiple actors exert power on a single actor to make him be in line with others and also use it to control disobedience at a collective level. The power is on the side of the group not the individual. Norms are variant across societies and each codifies norms as the 'Golden Rule' (Ritzer and Smart; 2001).

Norms contribute to normative order through the following conditions: Firstly they may serve as a means to resolve a dilemma through rewarding co-operators and punishing dissidents. Secondly norms can serve to allocate scarce resources including property, power, and prestige as a system of property rights and thirdly norms which can solve the problem of coordination. For example, norm of language is to coordinate words (symbols) in sentences or the issue of turn-taking such as in conversation, table manners, and rules that parents should teach to their children. The emergence and enforcement of norms is representable at collective action when somebody disregards the norm or somebody does not cooperate to prevent intervention of the norm, free-rider effect arises, since implementation of norms are beneficial to public good. Scott and Marshall (2005) provide examples of the free rider effect that are of major concern to economists in the provision or use of public goods, such as in the case of a person who uses public TV but does not contribute to costs through taxes, or the country that regularly exceeds its fishing quota and so depletes the fish stock for other countries fishing in the same area.

A development in rational choice theory called game theory is concerned with the rational behavior of two or more people where their interests are in part conflicting. They also quote from John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern (1947) who attempted to develop a theory out of both zero-sum games and non-zero-sum games that, a game refers to any social situation where interaction occurs between at least two players who are sometimes competing with each other. Such situations might include marriage, war, rivalry between political parties, the labor market and more specifically employer-worker negotiations. The contribution of game theory is to provide abstract mathematical theory to explain what choices are possible or likely in certain similar situations. Zero-sum games specifies the situations in which the gain of one participant is less than that of another; that is, situations where the size of the 'cake' is fixed and everyone tries to get a slice as large as possible.

In non-zero-sum games, it may pay all or some of the participants to cooperate actively to increase the total benefits achieved, so the analysis focuses on the formation of coalitions and their outcomes. In effect, collaboration increases the size of the cake, but participants cannot always predict their rival's choice. The most famous example is the prisoner's dilemma taking into account the situations in which choices that maximize each individual's self-interest produce the worst possible outcome overall. Only if the participant chooses what is in the interest of collective will rather than self-interest, will the collective optimum result be achieved. In most laboratory experiments, two-thirds of participants who made selfish choices, made a distrustful choice and a small minority of cases achieved the outcome. This experiment has been done on a large scale using computer simulations to assess the effectiveness of strategies against each other, cooperation evolved in a society of completely self-interested individuals.

The theory in sociology specifies the following criteria: 1. The phenomena to be explained is the behavior of social systems (large and small). 2. Explanation of the behavior of social systems requires explanation in terms actors in the system. This theory belongs to few theories in sociology that explain phenomena in terms of macro-micro link, Coleman and Fararo (1992: xii-xiv). According to them (1992: xi-xiii) "what is problematized in rational choice theory is not individual psychology but the transitions between the micro level of individual action and macro level of system behavior". A significant distinction at the macro level can be described as the institutional structure and at the micro level as the behavior of the actors within that structure.

Chong (2000:6) put forward an alternative rational choice framework stating that "rationality is based on subjective calculations of self-interest, that individuals are motivated by both material and social goals, and that calculations of interests are contingent on the history of

one's choices, including the values, identifications, and knowledge that one has acquired through socialization.“ He further distinguishes differences between the sociological and the economic explanations of rational action. He believes the sociological model and the economic model provide alternative approaches to the concept of preferences. In the sociological model preferences and actions are taken on the basis of how people are socialized in family, school, church and other social institutions. This socialization has its ground on norms and values. If a person for example has internalized democratic norms he will be more tolerant to nonconformity etc.

In the economic model, preferences and actions are taken on the basis of instrumental reasons. Taking an action is optional in so far as it leads to secure and private outcome. ”Behavior is motivated by the relative attractiveness of different alternatives instead of being driven by internal values, identities, and propositions”, Chong (2000:3). Whereas in the economic view, individuals have no tendency to discard existing norms even if they cease to serve their interest, in the sociological view changing behavior requires subsequent change in underlying norms and dispositions that one has acquired. He also regards the model which integrates both approaches among other things applicable to norms and values (Chong, 2000:229).

Assumptions of the economic model:

- The mechanism upon which preference works, accounts for two relevant factors: a preference among a set of alternative items is considered rational if this item is 1) Complete (every item is ranked) and 2) Transitive (if item A is preferred to item B and item B is preferred to item C then item A is preferred to item C). Thus a decision-maker is able to choose among various alternatives and every comparison across selections is consistent.
- The idea of common household production.
- The concept of human capital.

- A theory of time allocation.

Assumption of the rational choice model:

- Rational action is goal-oriented behavior which is based on rational beliefs about the relationship between means and ends.
- Individual calculations of self-interest overcome social incentives and other material factors.
- The current interest of an individual originates from his past decisions.

Assumptions of rational choice theory in general:

- If an individual envisages uncertainty, then he will make a decision based on independence axiom plus rational preferences.
- Time consistency is important if a decision to be made over time.
- The rational choice-maker must always choose the item that he or she prefers.

Behavioral implications of rational choice theory in general:

- An individual knows what the outcome will be when he makes a choice.
- An individual has cognitive ability to evaluate the choices.
- An individual is aware of all possible choices.

According to rational choice theory “the reason for founding group loyalties is to integrate ourselves within a system of norms and values that in turn are transformed into a normative system. We develop greater attachment in those norms through education, career plans, financial investments, and social relationships that cannot be reversed (Chong 2000).” Generally speaking, rational choice theories differ in terms of viewing means and goals. (Allingham 2006) identified three paths to a social outcome. That is to say, preferences as one

variation of rational choice theory and institutional constraints in sociological theory as another variation are the various paths to social outcomes. The third path focuses on opportunity costs⁵ of particular course of action to be taken by an individual.

Critiques of rational choice theory have provided models of bounded rationality. Although they do not completely abandon the idea that reason underlies decision-making, they suggest a psychological explanation of these phenomena, Abell (1991:208). Another critique of this theory surrounds an economic model that assumes individuals are motivated by both material and social goals, as chong (2000:13-14) argues that “John Harsanyi, recognized this shortcoming years ago when he suggested that rational choice models would have limited application beyond economic choices unless they assumed that individuals were motivated by both material goals and a desire for social status.”

The model developed by Chong and the model developed by Becker share almost an equal view to explain the phenomena, in respect to norms and rationality of choice and behavior but tiny differences distinguish them concerning subjects of individual, family, optimization and socialization. Table 2.1 provides a brief summary of these models:

Table 2.1: Basic Theoretical Statements of Rational Choice Theory

Topic	Chong's Model	Becker's Model
Individual	Is faced with material and social incentives and past investment that he has in values(standards)	Self-interested individual seeks utility and evaluates the current status of the situation
Family	Shapes preferences and beliefs	An organized group of actors who provide social and material benefits
Norm	Norms are combined effects of dispositions (group identity, ideology trait) and incentives (social pressure, rewards, legal sanctions, material benefits)	Norms are systems of values and beliefs that help families reach to their economic goals and social order
Rationality of choice and behavior	Purposive action based on social and material goals. It is goal-oriented behavior	Purposive action instrumentally determined by preferences. It is goal-oriented behavior
Optimization	Multiplicity of material and social incentives as well as past investments in values direct behavior	Multiplicity of egoistic and altruistic goals can direct behavior
Socialization	Central to acquisition of norms for success in particular environment in which values and identities are internalized	Beliefs and value formation are motivated by external or instrumental benefits

C. APPLYING THEORY IN PRACTICE:

There are several reasons for choosing family as appropriate case study for application of rational choice theory;

1. As this theory assumes collective behaviors are an exclusive result of individual human actors, then family at best fits into this assumption. The emphasis and focus will therefore be on this unit of analysis. Subsequently, this demands to study behavior of parents and children.
2. A family is a unit whose individual human actions are based on both preferences and constraints. Parents are decision-makers who are able to compare alternative ways of

organizing their daily lives and base those comparisons for selection across alternatives. Constraints based on norms and resources also confine behavior.

3. This particular study can through development of analysis increase a theoretical insight about rational choice prospective.

D. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

In the mind of many laymen it is usually assumed that family life especially marriage automatically brings an individual's responsibilities and family affairs like father role, mother obligation etc. or at least familiarity with these responsibilities are subsequent to the process. But in reality these understandings appear to be somehow different. The difference that an individual views in regard to others' families, who are successful in their living plans, is subject to justification in the form of one's own weakness against others' ability in access to education and governmental occupation. In the meantime with attention to the fact that families upon these different abilities interact with others can be accompanied by weakness, mistake and misunderstanding, this question brings into forth how cooperation in relationships develop and what is the impact of family norms and identities on decision-making in helping others.

If members differ in these fulfillments, what distinguishes them and what is the impact on behavior and relationships with others. Why family solidarity which is responsive to the need of members in turbulent conditions of living, is changeable across circumstances. A new situation in which helping behavior is demanded poses certain problem to the individual who is subject to request, and those factors that influence his reply. In subsequent, the extent and conditions leading to the provision of help to the needy in the framework of norms among

family members necessitates further investigation. For this reason, the study aims to find out the causal factors and consequent effects which lead to helping behavior. The above normative distinctions also affect material things at life which are part of man's interaction with his immediate environment.

E. RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

Taking into consideration that reason underlies decision-making processes such as the decision to provide help, the following research questions aim to get insight about the extent and circumstances under which these relationships take place;

What effects do various dimensions of parent-child obligations have on helping behavior?

The assumption is that, obligations differ in terms of rules regarding the role of person and the fulfillment of those rules. Accordingly, the consequent impact on helping behavior is most likely to change substantially.

Based on parental position why does role behavior affect helping behavior?

Although parents and children appear to be familiar with their given role, there are numerous family conflicts that challenge this way of thinking. Inefficient role behavior can dramatically affect the decision to provide help in a negative way.

How effective parents identify themselves with their roles that in turn may influence a response to help?

This sensitive issue necessitates understanding whether parents have a vague notion about their role identity or it is based on a real and tangible knowledge. Role identity is assumed to strongly affect degrees of engagement in a given role.

Which dimension(s) of parent-child obligations affect family solidarity?

Solidarity has a relationship, with norms and family values the combined effects of which is interdependence, but how effective obligations influence solidarity has to be investigated.

How strong family solidarity takes effect under changing conditions such as possession of housing amenities?

With regard to theoretical background suggesting that material interests influence behavior, as such housing amenities aside being structural properties of family system are economic constraints as well as preferences. The question aims to get insight about the possibility under which resources in one way or another may influence family solidarity.

To what extent privacy is dependent on possession of housing amenities?

Privacy is almost well defined goal for people. It is where a great part of our lives is spent on but without fully realizing how this objective condition of life can change its existence effectively.

F. HYPOTHESES:

Hypothesis 1.

Parent-child obligations in terms of feeling, attitude and material need contribute significantly towards effective informal helping behavior.

Obligations as social norms appear to serve both as values and preferred means among family members to achieve the optimum goal of developing ties with others through helping behavior.

Sub-hypothesis 1: The stronger parent-child obligations the higher engagement in helping behavior.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Parents engage in helping behavior more frequently than children as an outcome of stronger fulfillment of obligation.

Sub-hypothesis 3: Mothers feel more responsibility than fathers in regard to their obligations.

Hypothesis 2.

Parental role behavior is positively related to helping behavior.

Attachment to the expectations of a given role enables individuals to respond to the demand for help by familiar others.

Sub-hypothesis 1: Parents share equal engagement in helping behavior because of their role behavior.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Role specialization among mothers make them have a lucid perspective on household duties in regard to their husbands and children and timely and proper decision about helping behavior.

Hypotheses 3.

The more the parents identify with their roles the more improved helping behavior they represent.

The general assumption is that, identity makes individuals powerful and gives them conspicuous knowledge of expectations of a given role.

Sub-hypothesis 1: The higher educational level of parents the more role identity they experience.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Marriage is more likely to improve parental role identity and in subsequent helping behavior.

Sub-hypothesis 3: Role identity directly affects role behavior. In other words, the more tangible role identity the better role behavior.

Hypothesis 4.

Fulfillment of parent-child obligations leads to improved family solidarity.

Likewise helping behavior, family solidarity has its roots in the help and mutual aid within family. Obligations are motivating values that predispose an individual or group in the circumstances to respond to planned help positively.

Sub-hypothesis 1: Family solidarity varies by family positions and fulfilling corresponding obligations (economic model).

Sub-hypothesis 2: Subjective dimensions of obligations create equal positive effects on dimensions of family solidarity (rational choice model).

Hypothesis 5.

Family solidarity varies upon level of access to housing amenities.

Housing amenities are material means that can substantially increase individual's capabilities to contribute to the family solidarity.

Sub-hypothesis 1: Housing amenities are in positive relation to affective, medical and financial supports as dimensions of family solidarity with strong amenities to influence individual (s) more effectively than weak amenities do.

Hypothesis 6.

Privacy is subject to changes in what families have at home as housing amenities.

Family resources depending on the socioeconomic status of family are part of home arrangements with further impacts on activities that take place at home.

Sub-hypothesis 1: The more equipped the housing amenities are, the more family members take advantage of housework, the self and friendship as dimensions of privacy.

Sub-hypothesis 2: Doing housework is influenced by normative beliefs about role of men and women (rational choice model).

Sub-hypothesis 3: Doing housework is an outcome of specialization between parents to cope with demands of labor market system and household duties (economic model).

ENDNOTE

¹ Refers to maximization of benefits in a transaction that emerges from cost benefit calculations.

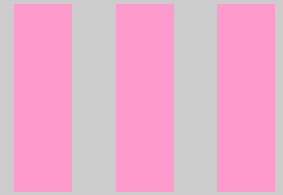
² In order to make a rational decision, actors need for relevant information concerning the subject of interaction with others.

³ A proportionate saving of cost gained by an increased level of production.

⁴ “Joseph Schumpeter coined the term in 1908 and the classic statement of methodological individualism is attributed to Ludwig von Mises (1999)”, Ritzer and Smart (2001:274).

⁵ “Those costs associated with differential possession of and access to resources which make some ends easy for individuals to attain, some more difficult, and preclude the attainment of others altogether. The next most attractive course of action will vary considerably for different actors, (Allingham, 2006).”

Chapter



FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

METHODOLOGY

A. DATA COLLECTION:

The data used in this study is a part of the FANS survey research project. FANS is an abbreviation for family as a normative system. The sample size includes a mixture of youth and adults amounting to a total of 372 people within the population of Hamburg, these people are living in private accommodations. The city of Hamburg is divided into seven regions and 104 sub-regions. There are also 137 underground railway stations which are scattered throughout the city and make communication within the regions and sub-regions possible. To select a representative sample of families, there were two possibilities. The first option was to select sample from the sub-regions and the second option was to select sample from the underground stations within these sub-regions. Both options provide roughly similar distribution of sub-regions. For the sake of easier communication I preferred the second option which led to a random selection of 20 stations which belong to 18 sub-regions.

Then, random routing distribution of questionnaires in residential areas began on July 2, 2005 and ended on May 7, 2006. To increase sample size for children a new round of data collection began on November 10, 2007 and ended on December 9, 2007. Following the pre-test a standardized questionnaire¹ was prepared in English and then translated into the German language. The pre-test in Neugraben² showed that very few families were at home to take the questionnaire during the week. Therefore, every Saturday around five to six hours was allocated to distributing the questionnaire and the following Sunday around three to four hours was allocated to collecting them both personally and in collaboration with a group of students. Every person received one questionnaire. Based on proportionate sample allocation each community had equal probability to get questionnaires. Differences among regional distribution are due to random selection of underground stations and community's own level of participation in the designated time frame. Although Wedel is a suburb of Hamburg, it was

thought to be a part of the city and questionnaires were distributed there. By the time this was discovered the questionnaires had already been mixed in with the others and it was impossible to separate them out. For the communities which had two or more adjacent stations, only one of them was included into the sample. The questionnaire consisted of seven major sections each aimed at measuring a particular aspect of research questions. Table 3.1 presents full information about the data collection process.

Tale 3.1 Regional Distribution of Participant Families

No	Region	Sub-region ³	Underground station	Referral days	Participant families	Only Parents (*)	Total per region
1	Altona	Altona Nord	Diebsteich	4	8	*	69
		Groß Flottbek	Hochkamp	-	27	-	
		Altona Altstadt	Sternschanze	4	19	*	
		Holstein	Wedel	2	15	-	
2	Bergedorf	Bergedorf	Bergedorf	2	4	-	7
		Moorfleet	Billwerder-Moorfleet	2	3	-	
3	Eimsbüttel	Niendorf	Joachim-Mähl Straße	4	13	*	19
		Niendorf	Niendorf Nord	2	6	-	
4	Hamburg Mitte	Hamburg Mitte	Dammtor	4	30	-	99
		Billstedt	Legien Straße	4	20	-	
		St. Georg	Lomühlen Straße	2	9	-	
		Neustadt	Stadthausbrücke	6	26	-	
		Horn	Trabrenbahn	2	14	*	
5	Hamburg Nord	Fuhlsbüttel Nord	Fuhlsbüttel Nord	4	10	*	49
		Eppendorf	Hudwalker Straße	4	32	-	
		Alsterdorf	Alsterdorf	5	7	*	
6	Harburg	Willhelmsburg	Willhelmsburg	2	11	-	11
7	Wandebek	Farmsen-Berne	Berne	2	27	-	49
		Wandebek	König Straße	3	10	-	
		Wandebek	Straßburger Str.	7	12	*	

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).
Handbook of Hamburg (2004-2005).

B. METHODS:

I have used a survey method for this research because quantitative data produces a measurement of subjects' characteristics and behavior. In accordance with the survey research method, research questions focus on a relationship among concepts whose operationalization is possible through an application of one or more indicators of particular dimensions of a concept. In sequence, after data entry appropriate descriptive and inferential statistics were applied to test the hypotheses respectively.

C. DATA DESCRIPTION:

In order to make a composite index for father role, 14 questions (related items); each measuring a particular aspect of father role were added and then divided by the sum of them. Next, the inter item correlation of each single item with the overall index of 14 variables was calculated. Those items which had a correlation of below $r = 0.60$ were omitted. Therefore, a new index was made with the remaining items. In this example, namely, the remaining items making an overall index of father role are; 1. Spending time with family. 2. Showing family members what is right or wrong to get along with life. 3. Telling children what is important in life 4. Discussing events with family and 5. Praising family members for accomplishments. Thus the index measures father role which is made up by a combination of items having an inter-correlation of equal or above $r = 0.60$ not only one particular item. This procedure is done for the following variables as well; father role identity, mother role, mother role identity, parental obligation of feeling, parental obligation of attitude, parental obligation of material need, children obligation of feeling, children obligation of attitude, children obligation of material need, privacy (housework), privacy (self), privacy (friendship), family solidarity

(affective support), family solidarity (medical care), family solidarity (financial support) and helping behavior.

For each index of the above variables, the definition of items which have been selected to make a composite index of that variable are provided in the relevant chapters. Only in the variable family solidarity (affective support) the item “giving comfort” with the new index of this variable has an inter-correlation of a little below $r = 0.60$ but is included in the index.

Measurement of concept of privacy originally in the definition provided by (Bailey, 2002) consists of the following dimensions; housework, self, friendship and personal but the indicators of last the dimension except one case (listening to radio) did not have spearman correlation of above $r=0.60$ and made it an unreliable measure of personal. For this reason, this dimension during computation is disregarded. Since these three dimensions measure privacy the aim was to make an equal ordinal scale for each of them. Originally helping behavior in Amato’s study consisted of 18 items, but in my study only 10 items showed correlation above $r=0.60$ within the index of 18 items. Accordingly, the analysis of this variable throughout the text is done with an overall index of 10 items.

During a pre-test questionnaire, families assigned points to the relative importance of housing amenities according to their order of importance. Namely, they assigned three points to a highly important resource, two points to a medium important resource, and one point to a low important resource. After adding the points to each single resource, the total points of each resource according to the order of importance was calculated. Following this, high-level amenities consist of furniture, a refrigerator, a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, an oven, a kitchen table, a bed, heating, a bedroom, a telephone, electricity, water and a bathroom. Medium level amenities consist of a desk, a dishwasher, gas, a living room, a garden, and storage. Low-level amenities consist of; a personal library, a television, a personal computer,

air conditioning, a dining room, a simple kitchen, a decorated kitchen, a swimming pool and a garage. Since parents are usually responsible for housing amenities, the given ranking was in exclusion for children. For the purpose of measurement, classification of families consists of the number of amenities that they reported to have at home and the sum of the score values that those amenities accompany (see chapter X, table 10.27 for ranking). Thus, the classification divides families based on the total points obtained for their amenities. Accordingly, the 52-63 point range is considered as having complete access to amenities, the 43-51 point range is considered as having sufficient access to amenities, and the 21-42 point range is considered as having insufficient access to amenities. The difference between these point ranges is arbitrary made by attention to the point that those families who obtained a high score had particular items, which other divisions did not have.

Classification of variable age consists of 10 year periods to find out age cohort differences across population. Then to obtain concise groups of age and sex cohorts in regard to helping behavior, it was further classified into five year periods. I recoded the variable family position as to allocate family members who identified their marital status and have answered to the questions as father, mother, son and daughter but did not state it when asked for their family position. Recode of variable marital status included two categories of married and non-married since not too many cases belong to other categories of non-married people.

Variable education is recoded into three categories of high school or less, some college, and college graduate in order to get knowledge about different educational levels. Recode of variable employment status is to allocate full-time or part-time respondents into the employed category. Respondents who reported themselves as sick, housewife, retired and unemployed are excluded from analysis since they are not active in the labor market. Measurement of variable housing amenities was originally based on an interval range. To enter this variable

into statistical computation, it has been recoded into an ordinal level which consists of three categories of complete, sufficient and insufficient access to amenities. I have also recoded some five item scales variables into three or two items scales to summarize the information. Throughout the text analysis uses only valid cases since missing values are around 10 percent of the whole cases. As very few variables exceeded this limit, they were excluded from analysis. The same applies to not applicable cases. For the computation of correlations, relevant variables have been equally scaled (e.g. considerable role behavior, some role behavior, little role behavior versus complete amenities, sufficient amenities, insufficient amenities).

D. VARIABLES:

D.1. Independent Variables:

Father role (ordinal scale), father role identity (ordinal scale), mother role (ordinal scale), mother role identity (ordinal scale), parental obligation (ordinal scale), children obligation (ordinal scale), housing amenities (ordinal scale).

D.2 Dependent Variables:

Family solidarity (ordinal scale), helping behavior (ordinal scale), privacy (ordinal scale).

D.3 Control Variables:

Age (interval scale), age group (ordinal scale), sex (nominal scale), family position (nominal scale), education (ordinal scale), marital status (nominal scale), employment status (nominal scale).

D.4 Variable Numbers and Names:

V1 Questionnaire number
V2 Year of birth⁴
V3 Sex
V4 Family position
V5 Education
V6 Marital status
V7 Disabled
V8 Having children
V9 Number of children
V10 Number of family members
V11 Employment status
V12 Only child
V13 First born
V14 Youngest child
V15.1 to V15.14 Father role
V16.1 to V16.10 Father role identity
V17.1 to V17.13 Mother role
V18.1 to V18.8 Mother role identity
V19.1 to V19.8 Parental obligation – feeling
V20.1 to V20.12 Parental obligation – attitude
V21.1 to V21.7 Parental obligation – material need
V22.1 to V22.7 Son role
V23.1 to V23.6 Daughter role
V24.1 to V24.3 Children obligation – feeling
V25.1 to V25.4 Children obligation – attitude
V26 Children obligation – material need
V27.1 to V27.6 Family relations
V28.1 to V28.9 Privacy – housework
V29.1 to V29.4 Privacy – self
V30.1 to V30.3 Privacy – friendship
V31.1 to V31.8 Privacy – personal
V32.1 to V32.7 Family solidarity – affective support
V33.1 to V33.7 Family solidarity – medical care
V34.1 to V34.4 Family solidarity – financial support
V35.1 to V35.18 Helping behavior
V36 Housing amenities

ENDNOTE

¹ The questionnaire is available for viewing in Chapter X.

² Some months before distribution of the basic questionnaire began the pre-test in which 25 families took part was carried out in this sub-region.

³ City Hall staff in Harburg Rathaus provided information regarding sub-regions.

⁴ Families reported their age as year of birth. Changing birth date to age was calculable by subtracting it from the year at the time of survey for each round separately.

Chapter

IV

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

OBLIGATIONS

A. RATIONALISTIC APPROACH TO HELPING BEHAVIOR:

A.1 Rational Choice Model;

Taking Chong's model¹ of rational choice into account, which is based on both sociological dynamics and economic premises, parents pursue social aspects of norms by fulfilling obligation² of feeling and obligation of attitude which influence the decision procedure to engage in helping behavior. Parents engage in this behavior as a result of their investments in norms of obligations to protect children from uncertainties of life and harmonize relations with others. A dominant motive behind this commitment is social and material incentives deemed appropriate by larger society. In so doing, they identify with values of a typical family. In a society where there is emphasis on family life, this conformity is a positive response to the organization of larger society and a trait of progress in family affairs. Children in pursuit of principled behavior follow social and material aspects of norms by fulfilling obligation³ of feeling and obligation of material need as the superior means to achieve the prospect of future gains in the situation of a demand for help. In fact, for children social as well as material reasons motivate behavior that is in turn variable by their family position. The choice to provide help also emerges from material incentives. Involving in helping behavior aside the effects of normative means like commitment to one's obligation has a prospect of future gains in the situation of similar demands. In other words, both mechanisms contribute to encounter the situation. As people's behavior in circumstances varies from habitual responses to the incentives associated with circumstances (Chong, 2000), subsequently the decision to provide help, depending on the situation can be the outcome of either normative constraints which are strengthened by social and material incentives. The situation may call for joint effects of these aspects as well.

Incentives have material and social bases (Chong, 2000). Material incentives of helping behavior mainly belong to the fact that individual(s) are alone and need help, and that one will not be served later should he abstain to provide help now. Since the conditions giving rise to helping behavior are multifarious, it is most likely people have similar demands during time. Mutual cooperation decreases loss of benefit that one gets from material benefits associated with helping behavior. Social incentives associated with helping behavior are conformity with the norms of larger society even when these norms do not appeal to the individual. In fact, response is not only a direct outcome of calculation on one's benefits but also the indirect benefit of conformity with social norms in which obligations are a dominant factor. Accordingly, engagement in helping behavior is likely to make some restrictions on one's current affairs and loss of one's material capabilities. Because helping behavior has distinguishable incentives, the rational choice of engagement in helping behavior is a reflection of both each member's familiarity with and fulfillment of his respective obligations and the family's general orientation in regard to family life and an opportunity to develop social relationships with others.

A.2 Economic Model of Rational Choice;

With regard to Becker's economic approach to the family based on rational choice analysis, the family's fulfillment of obligations alongside other household factors during time can be viewed as providing utility. These fulfillments are inputs that parents and children have learned during the socialization process and are influential and positively related to the production of helping behavior. The utility function of helping behavior is a positive relationship with others that creates harmony across society, the total effect of which facilitates social order. In fact, families produce and consume helping behavior using home environment inputs such as household ability in terms of level of commitment to one's

obligations. Becker (1981:24) views other inputs such as human capital, social and physical climate and home environmental variables relevant in the multifarious range of household production functions. Accordingly, a decrease in the practice of values which an individual is obliged to do is most likely to lower respect toward one another and vice versa. As parents and children take account of norms on how to respond to the demand for help, they are behaving rationally.

The decision to put family norms into effect can be analyzed as goal-oriented behavior. Individuals who based on family position follow respective norms will in turn decide to provide help. In subsequent, by being involved in helping behavior they confirm earlier relationships and maximize the expected future gains from mutual relationships with friends and relatives. In many situations an individual has to make a balance between his own limits and interests as well as the present situation which demands help. Decision making based on these factors alongside rationality of taking advantage of norms ascertain an optimal action that highly relies on the present situation. As, only the fulfillment of the norm of obligation of material need among children is motivated by external factors to help their parents and serves as an input in the production of helping behavior. Stability or breakdown of these relationships is explainable through future advantages or disadvantages of situations. Breakdown of relationships may occur due to imperfect knowledge about the situation and individual(s) who are being asked for help. In an analysis of social norms Quah and Sales (2000:62) found such social regularities as interesting sociological point of views that emerge under everyday life situations of interdependence.

Family members' effective practice of various dimensions of obligations are not only proper means to achieve its normative aims but also increases the likelihood of improving prospective relationships with friends and relatives through helping behavior. Feeling and

attitude as components of obligations among parents as a whole underlie the decision making process, but the effect of attitude among fathers is not related to helping behavior. These components for children are feeling and material need since they have a different family position. Responsiveness to help maximizes their future benefits should they have similar demands. This is an exclusive process in which each individual member takes action. The collective contribution of parents and children in helping behavior is a social situation that can emerge under certain circumstances. In this connection, the information which they have about circumstances enables them to predict the outcome of their choice to be taken. Furthermore, they evaluate the situation and the possible outcomes of giving help. In effect fulfillment of family obligations increases the likelihood of giving help as a rational behavior.

B. EFFECTS OF PARENTAL OBLIGATIONS ON HELPING BEHAVIOR:

To begin with, parental authority and family obligations have roots in fundamental links between individual relief and pressures created by social forces, as Coontz (2000: 277) views:

Only the family, it seems, stands between individuals and the total irresponsibility of the workplace, the market, the political arena, and the mass media. But the family is less and less able to “just say no” to the pressures that emanate from all these sources, or even to cushion their impact on its members. It is no wonder, then, that many people experience recent cultural trends as a crisis of parental authority and family obligations. It is no wonder they hope for a renewal of family values that would soften these social stresses. But very few people can sustain values at a personal level when they are continually contradicted at work, at the store, in the government, and on television. To call their failure to do so a family crisis is much like calling pneumonia a breathing crisis. Certainly, pneumonia affects people’s ability to breathe easily, but telling them in breathing techniques, is not going to cure the disease.

What are these obligations, how effectively do they function and how do they have mutual interest with demands of others? They can be classified as the order of vital subjective and objective values. As shown in table 4.1 there are three dominant dimensions of obligations; 1)

Obligation of feeling; in order to view that if something is rational, it becomes of major concern to find the link between feeling and interactions. The logic of how parents and children are behaving with each other and toward others is largely dependent on the level of acquisition of the norm of responsibility that guides their feeling in family affairs. Accordingly, an individual pursues a particular course of action, thinks about the situation and brings rational accounts for his decisions. In fact, a decision takes place through cognition and leads an individual to manage his life situations. 2) Obligation of attitude; an attitude is an orientation (towards person, situation, institution or social process) that is indicative of an underlying value system or belief among people. Namely, the parents-children tendency to act in a certain way toward each other and their situation with regard to the point that is understandable through observed behavior. Parent-child responsibilities in this regard are based on orientation which originates from particular belief which in this case is the idea of mutual care, and 3) Obligation of material need; a need is something that is necessary for the survival of a person, organization, etc. Material need aspect of parent-child responsibilities belong to this group of needs. They differ from wants as it seeks the things that are desired. The concept of need implies that, something has to be satisfied. Policy makers have debated over the determination of requirements of the level of need in which further action lies. Pinpointing needs like food, money and other material facilities has been easier than determining the level of these needs. It is of central attention to welfare regimes as well. In any case, a certain amount of positive response to these needs is necessary in order to claim that a child's material need is satisfied.

Parents who pay a lot of attention to the feelings of their children are more likely to help friends and relatives as well. They will get more respect from their children too. For each dimension the mothers' contribution is larger than the fathers' contribution. Discrepancy between parents may partly be due to the effects of welfare regime⁴, regardless of individual

characteristics like income, education, and job status. Earlier cross-national research showed that women in a conservative welfare regime are mainly responsible for housework versus in a liberal regime like the USA and in social-democratic regimes as seen in Nordic countries (Geist 2005:30-31). This combines longer time and effort investment at home.

Table 4.1 Statistics and Description of Helping Behavior by Parental Obligations (The Overall Index)

Variable	Description	N	Percent
Obligations			
Feeling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To explain about sexual affairs with children and provide necessary answers to their questions • To give answers to the questions of children about life • To prevent children from involving in harmful actions and propose to them correct way • To tell children if you are not sure about something 	Fathers	87 44.7
		Mothers	115 55.3
Attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If parents think something absolutely different, they would have to talk about it and would have to tell children what parents don't like about their thinking 	Fathers	92 46.1
		Mothers	115 53.9
Material need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide adequate food for children • To give money to the children • To provide material facilities for children so that they can reach to their goals 	Fathers	84 46.9
		Mothers	100 53.1

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Each item was scaled from one (never) to five (always).

In this type of welfare regime the focus of attention is on the family and occupational categories as central social institutions. The advantage of these measures is to prevent risks associated with living conditions of a new born child. The logic behind this ideology which works at family level is to keep solidarity through various mechanisms. The main concern is

to integrate members into society. By acting upon ones responsibilities especially parents in regard to their children whose most important cause is the impact of family policies, they make children ready to become an effective member of society. For this reason, they commit to their obligations whose type varies on occasion, and subject to what they think as appropriate action. Once this integration is achieved successfully this is transformable into a form of social stability with the possibility for people to have access to benefits provided by welfare across society. In fact, this social stability makes optimum productivity of other social institutions possible. In the occupational categories integration is observable at wage stability, and to protect the most vulnerable people against unemployment.

Parental obligations as beliefs not only give centrality to family affairs but also are the cornerstone of moving from beliefs to principles and vice versa. Obligations reassure that care for children remains at no risk. In this condition, parents are obliged to be attentive to the needs of their children from post-natal care and later on until the teenager period. During these steps parents take the best possible action as the following. An obligation of feeling which works at the collective level taken the economic theory of family into account represents the fact that parents especially mothers are well-informed about their duties. The ability to acquire and practice ones obligations enable parents to deal with the situation appropriately. In subsequent, parents either explain or put into effect what they regard as a necessary attribute for this particular time in the growth of children. In this process, education provides a basis for this type of knowledgeable. That is to say, as this model postulates, rationality on a large part depends on human capital and makes the individual capable of acquiring, processing and using relevant information, this knowledgeable confines the possibility of bounded rationality, Ritzer and Smart (2001: 275). For instance a significant number of adults have a high school education (23.4%) and also a large share of them

(32.8%) have mastery over higher education. Along with this knowledge comes the ability to know the right form of action given their responsibilities as mothers or fathers.

As it is observable, this fulfillment which is subject to family position among mothers where 55.3 percent are more knowledgeable in contrast to fathers with 44.7 percent. In addition as shown in table 4.2 the correlation coefficients indicate there is a statistically significant relation among parents for obligation of feeling and attitude in regard to their children and consequent decision to engage in helping behavior. Similarly parents alongside other household labor divide their obligations through specialization of partners. For this reason they have differential skills toward children. In fact women's comparative advantage in domestic labor, emerging mainly from their role as mother directs their concentration on non market work. Though they care almost equally about fulfilling attitude and material needs of their children, these are obligations of feeling and attitude within parents which influences the likelihood to give help.

On the individual level parents differ from each other due to variations of attributes of their obligations. However the combined effects of collective level for parents represent a positive relationship between obligation of attitude and helping behavior (table 4.2). Despite joint effect, maternal obligations are still stronger than those of their husbands and therefore they have a greater possibility to engage in helping behavior. In fact the choice to practice the right type of obligation is made upon the benefits that will ensure within family as well as the benefits that emerge from relations with others that will eventually provide benefits in the future. Their behavior is more reasonably oriented but the outcome is beneficial to the total well-being of the family.

Table 4.2 Bivariate Spearman Correlations between Helping Behavior and Obligations Controlling for Family Position (The Overall Index)

	N	Coefficient	Sig.
Parents			
Feeling	213	.260**	.000
Attitude	218	.169*	.012
Material need	184	.016	.834
Children			
Feeling	35	.512**	.002
Attitude	36	.178	.299
Material need	35	.341*	.045

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

C. EFFECTS OF CHILDREN'S OBLIGATIONS ON HELPING BEHAVIOR:

On another development, it is necessary to explain how a normative dimension works for children. They regard respect for parents as part of realizing their obligations with a major outlook on the future of their family. In this way, they are somehow familiar with specific behavioral norms of obligation which they have internalized during the socialization process (table 4.3). One possible explanation for development of behavioral norms within children could be that they perceive parents as well-trained in their respective roles which are recurrently experienced during everyday life. The reverence regarding their parents is tangible as they pay respect to the feeling and material need of parents actively (table 4.3). There is no priority among these dimensions, because they are almost equally practiced in everyday life situations to express their mutual respect towards parents. Besides viewing it as a matter of routine, they contribute to the total utility of family by engaging in helping behavior that is favorable to both friends and to relatives as well. Neglect of these dimensions on the contrary is more likely to bring about irregularities at home with consequent social outcomes.

Table 4.3 Descriptive Statistics of Children's Obligations Concerning Parents

	Considerable		Some	Little	Cum Per.
	N	%	%	%	
Feeling					
• If children feel something about parents (physical or non-physical) is wrong, talk about it with parents or other close relatives	36	77.8	11.1	11.1	100
• If children realize something against parents outside home happens, then they discuss it with parents	36	63.9	19.4	13.9	97.2
Attitude					
• Parents have the right to interfere in their children personal affairs so far as they are not adult	36	36.1	36.1	27.8	100
• If parents prohibit their children from going outside for any reason and give logical argument for it, children should accept it	36	52.8	19.4	27.7	99.9
Material need					
• To take care of parents when they are ill	35	83.4	11.1	2.8	97.3

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

The order of norms over different conditions of feeling, attitude and material need is not nearly homogenous for children (Table 4.3). This pattern exists among parents in which mothers are more obliged in regard to their children than fathers (Table 4.1). These values influence individual's subjective calculations with further decision to provide help. Accordingly, obligation of feeling serves as an aggregate mechanism that is based on shared investment of each family member. They partly confine children to certain activities and are partly the means to modify family interactions which lead entirely to the well-being of family. Yet in another explanation as economic theory of family postulates an individual's decision to behave in certain way is not unique; rather it is part of interdependent family processes.

Helping behavior among children is complementary to the well-being of family that will eventually have benefits for actors as well. Obligation of material need among children is preference based as they realize it's time to compensate for parental care. This rational economic choice ensures the utility function of positive relationship with others. In contrast the fulfillment of parental obligations (feeling and attitude) is part of the utility function of marriage, production and rearing of children.

Children have learned material need specific socialization through personal development of dispositions which are further influenced by major social incentives to be in compliance with parents. Dispositions enable children to identify with particular family norms effectively which in turn secures their place within the family. In so doing, they develop the proper conduct in response to demand posed by others. Furthermore, through lapse of time they shape their thought about ongoing family affairs and what is regarded as dominant belief about family relations. For this reason as data in table 4.2 indicates, they are most likely to view helping behavior as an opportunity to make new relations with familiar others and expand the circle of current status of being together. This positive mood toward others is also a reflection of social status achievement within family relations. The combined effects of these factors establish earlier relations through lucid fidelity.

The next most characteristic of the norms of obligation among children is the impact of incentives on the individual to behave in one way or another. The incentive can represent itself in the following conditions:

1. An incentive can embody social sanctions and the fact that an individual is obliged to behave in a certain way given his social conditions. For example, children may become interfered by parents in some affairs as prohibitive because of the negative

outcomes that those actions may lead to, but they will take advantage by means of advice, and guidance regarding their particular problems. This issues brings the subject matter of 'principled behavior' (chong, 2000:142) into forth. He argues that one becomes known as a person by acting upon standards rather than personal interest. In this situation, obligations serve as principled behavior which parents explain in a timely manner to their children during the course of life to ground their behavior upon impersonal bases. The primary impact on children is to make them receptive of their own norms.

2. Children may involve in some activities as an outcome of social pressure. Generally rational societies give worth to children's norm following behaviors. So far as, they are not grown up the pressure takes the form of order which parents dictate as rule of action. The child's dependence on these norms leads to more identification with family norms. In the families where children do not comply with parents they are more likely to seek independence faster and rely on their own interpretation of norms or seek them in neighborhoods and peer groups which may accompany the risk of wrong leanings.
3. Families tend to reward children who fulfill their obligations and engage in reciprocal relations positively. In this continuum, loyal relations with friends are most likely to be a guide to timely emotional and material reward. They can either verbally persuade children in their desirable behavior or support them materially when they have such a capability. These rewards serve as dynamics of action among children towards further progress. This pattern is no exception to parents whose children are followers of their order and in subsequent more inclined to serve them by their request.

4. Finally norm following within the family is simply cooperation within a reproductive process which eventually represents itself into the labor market. In fact the more children are familiar with their norms the better they cooperate. The positive outcome of cooperation at home for both parents and children is productive availability at work, and in school respectively. Consequently efficient performances at the workplace lead to material gains such as higher salary, fringe benefits as well as more respect from colleagues etc.

According to economic theory, altruism is an important function of family life. The utility function of an individual is to make efforts for the well-being of other family members. He takes advantage of actions which are beneficial to others and abstain from actions which are of no advantage. For this reason, family members especially children feel a strong commitment to obligations of feeling and material needs even when the obligations do not match their immediate interests. They realize that to involve in helping behavior will in the long-term secure returns from friends and relatives should they need it. Correlation coefficients in table 4.2 also supports an economic view of family by representing the fact that taking family position into account obligations embody physical and psychological health imperatives that in the long-term will influence responsiveness to helping behavior. This altruism will eventually produce shared views about norms in general within family and will coordinate individual's action across society.

The final outcome of altruism leads to public goods, as parents regard both the interests and needs of others as well as their own children. In addition, social values learned in the family and community encourages family members to engage in altruism as a form of helping behavior. Research in this area also indicates people who do volunteer work generally give altruistic reasons for becoming involved in helping others. Alongside this cooperation, there

are self-oriented reasons such as the desire to gain work experience, enjoyment of social contacts and a specific interest in the type of work that is to be carried out. In the context of family, the mother's involvement with her responsibilities, role behavior and helping behavior confer her prestige and power in the family as well as the self orientation that fathers obtain from employment.

Altruistic parents not only help their children with everyday activities but also provide educational possibilities during the growth of their children. This provision is a multifarious investment that enables the child to achieve his educational goals. A family who moves in this direction increases their chance of success in the future as the child reaches their goals. The support that parents give is the greatest motivation for a child to go ahead since the child needs firm supervision during these ages. This support aside encouragement can include educational tools, tuition and fees and other necessary things for progress at school. In this condition the child realizes that he has a duty in the family as do his parents and makes conscious efforts to go ahead according to designated educational plans. When he attains his goals and obtains an occupation of equal or higher rank than that of his parents, the success of parents on investment in their child is ascertained. He will in turn keep in mind that it's the time to be altruistic in regard to his parents as they become old.

D. PEDAGOGICAL FORMATION OF OBLIGATIONS:

Pre-school children have innate capacity to learn in different ways and produce these learnings on a daily basis. Some forms of learning take place through imitation pattern from peer groups as soon as they find something interesting in the group. The same pattern becomes powerful when they sensibly encounter parental role models. The latter is a major influence on the acquisition and development of role behavior of child, a process which works

both at subconscious and conscious level, molding basic characteristics of his personality. Immediate environment further modifies these characteristics. Any change in these characteristics during the later stages of development requires underlying changes in the value system that one has already learned with subsequent effects on mental processes of the whole organism which can embody physical reactions.

People who have to leave their society for any reason and live in another society are most likely to encounter these irregularities, since this move requires a change in basic norms. As societies differ from each other in application of norms, this change confronts individuals with variations from high level application of norms to low level application of norms or vice versa. The drive among children to follow parents and play group can be partly mediated and then modified by teaching proper rule of conduct. Another part is subject to the impact of the community that varies across and within different societies and has a great by-product to the socialization process. That is to say, if the educational system included pre- and primary school provides systematically necessary teaching for development of mental abilities of children, but deviant peer groups at school, community and the city move it in the opposite direction in the form of perfunctorily view of rules of action, the outcome will be disorder, bewilderment of children, and confusion within particular sections of society.

In other words, as children have a tendency to imitate new things from secondary models other than school and family automatically and if these patterns are careless about norms and social responsibilities, it is most likely that children will also move into a wrong direction. For this reason, socialization at home, pre- and primary school and later secondary education is fundamental to learning their responsibilities in regard to their parents and community that needs consistent action upon order provided by parents and educators without coming under misguided influences of others. It is supposed but empirically not tested that the negative

influence of secondary models if any will in the long run vanish through generational replacement of educated people who have undergone a rigorous process of learning to less educated people.

Pre-school children due to their tender age; do not have the maturity of adults in solid thinking processes. This age related factor leaves their decision making rather in an unsettled manner. During their learning, such a tendency invokes their angriness easily in conflict situations when they play with other children, as well as occasional disobedience from teachers in accepting the orders. They do not follow commands even though they have been taught to do so. This stubbornness occurs alongside their creativity and the education which contributes to both mental abilities and development of children. Educators help them to develop their potential in learning by presenting them necessary educational objects and methods that let them express their inner capabilities frequently. Order can be incorporated into learning materials that most interest children. As they learn through their senses, their behavior adapts to formal character of standards set by the educational system in which they live, and norms of larger society. Pre-school children learn how to conduct their behavior in accordance with the social norms; otherwise they face harsh reactions from their educators, when they disregard those norms. Some of these norms are about the mutual responsibilities in regard to other children.

Acquisition of principled behavior lays a fundamental background for development of normative behavior among children within family. During the stages of development parents at home have the responsibility in regard to feeling, attitude and material needs of children as part of their contribution to the socialization process. In the case of material need, this responsibility revolves around the provision of basic care and nutrition. Even before a child is born, parents think about care responsibilities. During earlier ages, social philosopher Plato

had stressed the importance of post natal care including nutrition and education (Boss et al. 1993). During the lapse of time, the major concern of parents and children toward each other are love and socialization, says Boss et al. (1993: 84-86). As children grow up parents contribute to a parallel socialization at home whose main objective is to bring children under control and make them obey their parents.

Nevertheless, teaching children discipline necessitates to be away from parental tender, anger and misguided influences upon the theoretical model of parent-child relations proposed by Boss et al. An effective socialization consists of inducement of positive factors as well as prohibition of negative factors that will lead to proper upbringing of the child. As a child internalizes these factors, he grows up independent and strong whose needs in adulthood are lesser than those of his parents. Children aged (8-17 years old) in this study in spite of a strong sense of responsibility toward the feeling and material need of their parents, they are still disinclined to be intervened by their parents when it comes to the matter of attitude. Parents are not doing well in this aspect either. Non-conformity among children can be traced back to their earlier mentioned tendency for disobedience and the fact that intervention of parents into their affairs is a thing that challenges their values in this period of time.

However, education makes the main impact. Non-conformity to responsibility of attitude is somehow relevant to pedagogical practices of children during pre-school education. Teaching philosophies are different in methodology. Conservative pedagogy concerns itself with the intellectual status of children, teaching style and curricula. This method of teaching aims to present specific knowledge to children which is usually arranged by educators. The main idea is that heredity and environmental factors determine child's ability in learning. For this reason, teachers determine the curricula. Liberal pedagogy (child-centered), views learning as a process, it is more than just presenting information to children. In so doing, they aim to

guide the development of a child by giving a curriculum that interests him. There have been some reactions from analysts in this field about interpretations of pedagogical methods. These may have relevance to the method of teaching experienced by the age group of 8-17 year olds under study who seek strong autonomy against their parents. While some believe a progressive method provides a teaching whose effect on attitude cannot be found outside of primary school education, others believe child-centered methods emphasize personal autonomy of a child which will eventually undermine his social control (Abercrombie et al. 1994). These variations in methods and the need to supervise care of children of different backgrounds, temperament and stage of development are observable in specific arrangements. Classification of formal care of young children consists of day care centers, nursery schools, family day care homes and after-school facilities. These arrangements differ in terms of sponsorship (voluntary, public, proprietary), programs, objectives and services. It is a complex and costly service which is beyond the abilities of individual families to afford it alone as it is the case with other institutions like hospitals, schools and many other institutions, Ruderman (1968:347).

Another possible explanation is that children at this age do not have well established family life plans such as career, financial investments etc. to feel the seriousness of adult life. Rather their opposition against parents originates from the social relationships which children have with their peer groups. In effect, they still do not have a fully developed adult way of living. Their rationality is merged with self-interest whose major motivation is material and enjoyment of senses. Earlier acquisition of norm following behavior as values and identification with nonconformity against those things that have not been in their interest in the past as well as inadequate knowledge that they have acquired through socialization are major factors influencing calculations of self-interest. Such nonconformity towards parents is not merely the outcome of weak socialization, rather the paradoxical phases of development

among children. Some of them still remain disinterested in conformity even when they reached to their adulthood.

A part of the upbringing of children in the case of obligation of feeling belongs to parents exclusively. Parents for instance can explain to children, life cycle processes that take place in the body from childhood to adulthood, and how in each stage of development, growth of the body is different than at other stages. In regard to sexual matters, a father for his son and a mother for her daughter can explain in a timely manner physical changes that occur at the teenage period that sexual drive starts in the body by changes around genitals which marks the start of puberty. This change may be accompanied by sexual needs toward the opposite sex and appropriate forms of satisfaction like marriage that society has prescribed. If parents do not explain it to children, there is risk that the explanation will be provided by a deviant peer group.

E. DIFFERENCES WITHIN PARENT-CHILD OBLIGATIONS:

Families regard responsibilities as values and an ideal form of behavior. Parents commit themselves to these values which in turn makes them capable to be responsible to demand help from familiar others. Likewise children who internalize these responsibilities are more likely to become independent individuals and capable of developing positive relations with others. As shown in table 4.4 both parents and children commit themselves to their obligations of feeling and material need more frequently as a matter of necessity. They have mostly consensus over these dimensions toward each other above a certain level and realize breach of these values is most likely to result in mutual resentment and possible irregularities in relationship with others. This characteristic of norms makes obligations effective in reality. In other words, high consensus over these values influence not only respect toward each other

but also to face the situation calculably and to facilitate reasonable confrontation with others. They can also expect reciprocal relation in identical situations. However total parental response to the demands of the environment varies upon their level of cohesion to a particular dimension of obligations. Separate response from fathers and mothers to the attitude of their children as well as its relation to helping behavior decreases at an individual level.

Table 4.4 Percentage Distributions of Parents-Children Level of Fulfillment of Obligations

	Feeling		Attitude		Material need	
	P	CH	P	CH	P	CH
Never	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	5.6%	0.4%	0.0%
Sometimes	0.4	8.3	8.3	22.2	1.2	2.9
Occasionally	3.9	13.9	23.2	36.1	8.3	11.4
Often	36.2	38.9	26.8	25.5	20.9	42.9
Always	50.0	36.1	28.0	11.1	49.2	42.9
Valid cases	230	35	227	36	203	35

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Norm of feeling as a characteristic of parents is a coherent subjective interpretation of the situation to coordinate their current relations with others in an organized way. They take account of their past decisions as a guideline for current decisions to engage in helping behavior. This ensures them material benefits and social status among their group of friends and relatives. In other words, helping behavior is the outcome of effective norm familiarity like obligation of feeling toward their offspring (table 4.5) Due to central responsibilities of mothers in child rearing practices and also stronger fulfillment of obligations than those of their husbands, this norm familiarity among them encompasses dimensions of feeling and attitude with consequent positive effects on helping behavior (table 4.5), but it is not statistically proven.

Table 4.5 Bivariate Spearman Correlation between Helping Behavior and Parental Obligations
(The Overall Index)

	Father	Mother
Obligations		
Feeling	.254* (.015) N=92	.258** (.004) N=121
Attitude	.139 (.174) N=97	.192* (.035) N=121

* p<0.05, **p<0.01

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Numbers in parentheses are significant levels.

The interplay of both characteristics among mothers provides them a stronger sense of responsibility. As Chong (2000: 214) suggests they have to take the right dispositions in order to take advantage of opportunities in their environment. This pattern among children follows mixed effects of dispositions such as norm familiarity of feeling and material need. The relation between obligation and helping behavior among them, despite norm of feeling which is similar to that of their parents is different in terms of norm of material need (table 4.2). The reason for discrepancy is that, children get this training from their immediate home environment to be sensitive to the feeling and care of parents and have rational beliefs about other close relatives. In fact, they extend the circle of care to familiar others with the prospect of social and material gains. Additionally the utility of norms for children is to get along with family expectations. This also serves as a kind of background toward understanding larger society as well as the ability to take collective action when necessary.

On the whole, each family member's fulfillment of his respective obligations harmonizes the decision to whether engage in helping behavior or not. These learnings at home are further under influence of major social forces to confront any given situation in which cooperation is

necessary. In fact, timely and appropriate fulfillment of ones obligations keeps normative order within family running and increases ones predictability of social relations with others. Non-conformity with these norms on the other hand reduces stronger ties with familiar others and predictability of others in reciprocal action. The by-product of negative action is mutual resentment in the relations.

Economic theory of family also views the main purpose of family to be the rearing of children. Parents use market goods and services as well as time investment to achieve this goal, (Blossfeld and Drobic. 2001:18-19) In addition, they follow normative standards to make them more specialized in confronting each other. Although proper fulfillment of parental obligations among families will in the long-term contribute to social order across society, the primary tensions between parents and children, appear to children to be to some extent restrictive. This is where usually conflict between parents and children arises over living condition. In spite of this, conflict is subject to resolution because it brings about loss of benefits that conflict cannot afford. Accordingly, children realize that although fulfillment of their obligations of attitude in regard to their parents is restrictive at the end it will be beneficial to the well-being of the family. This compromise leads to reinforcement of altruism among them for the sake of the common goal. In other words, children avoid actions that are egoistically oriented to achieve family progress.

ENDNOTE

¹ During the text, analysis focuses on Chong's model of rational choice unless otherwise stated.

² Concepts of obligation, role behavior and solidarity have been used in the text as components of norms. Parent-child obligations are social norms in which they serve as rules or regulations. Every family member learns through socialization in which he accepts an elaborate set of responsibilities according to his family position and practices them toward other family members. Parents assume responsibility for care and upbringing of their children. Children assume responsibility for care and respect of their parents. In subsequent, since the unit of analysis in this study is the family, obligations of a father toward his child, obligations of a mother toward her child and obligations of children including sons and daughters toward their parents are under investigation. A subjective obligation comprises dimensions of feeling and attitude. An objective obligation comprises dimension of material need.

³ Concepts of obligation and responsibility have been used interchangeably.

⁴ Typology of welfare regime was introduced by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) referring to the allotment of welfare production among state, market and households. Van der Lippe and Van Dijk (2002) argue liberal regimes mainly focus on equality of rights and believe men and women have to be similarly situated and qualified in the market. Conservative regimes encourage mothers to stay at home and policies are developed to confront this. In the socialist regime in which men and women have both the same rights and the same duties, women are expected to work full-time (ILO 1980).

Chapter

V

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

ROLE BEHAVIOR

A. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE BEHAVIOR AND HELPING BEHAVIOR:

From a rational choice perspective, people no longer conform to a behavior which is not beneficial to them following the changes in their life conditions. In this regard, role behavior¹ for the sake of adjustment to living conditions differs among parents. Although fathers are as active as mothers in their roles as parents (table 5.1), these values make only mothers inclined to engage in helping behavior positively (table 5.2). One possible explanation for differences among parents is that mothers have past investment on housework, family relationships and motherly characteristics. This investment among fathers might be that they adjust their efforts at paid work to contribute to the well-being of family. In other words, they have lesser opportunities than mothers to respond to the demand for planned help. The reason for fathers not being supportive does not challenge the notion that helping behavior is self-interested among them. Such an interest apparently focuses on other goals. Parents share almost similar normative expectations concerning their roles but very few other expectations specialize them in their given roles specifically (see below list of expectations for each family position).

Table 5.1 Descriptive Statistics of Role Behavior by Family Position

	Fathers			Mothers			Sons			Daughters		
	N	%	Mode	N	%	Mode	N	%	Mode	N	%	Mode
Considerable role behavior	87	85.3	X	101	89.4	X	13	76.5	X	17	89.5	X
Some role behavior	14	13.7		10	8.8		4	23.5		2	10.5	
Little or no role behavior	1	1.0		2	1.8							
Total	102			113			17			19		

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Due to rounding the columns the percentage does not add up to 100.

Father role;

- Spending time with family.
- Showing family members what is right or wrong to get along with life.
- Telling children what is important in life.
- Discussing events with family.
- Praising family members for accomplishments.

Mother role;

- Showing family members what is right or wrong to get along with life.
- Telling children what is important in life.
- Discussing events with family.
- Aiding children with school work.

Son role;

- Trust the parents.
- Acknowledge the parents in front of others.
- Express his opinion about ongoing affairs within the family.

Daughter role;

- Trust the parents.
- Discussion with parents about problems and experiences.

Another explanation for this discrepancy might be that the relationship between role behavior and helping behavior should not be taken for granted as the expectation that an actor makes a positive effect on outcome. Strong commitment has no necessary behavioral implications. Rather such commitments have partly neutral capacity in regard to one's role and sex in specific situations like helping behavior. Amato (1993:249) for example argued helping behavior varies upon demographic composition. Urban people give and receive help more than rural people. In this case, mother's engagement in helping behavior taking Chong's model into account, beyond fulfillment of her role as a mother is the rational outcome of taking advantage of help in similar conditions, positive relationship with others and conformity to social prescriptions in adherence to beliefs about the role of the father as the breadwinner and the role of the mother as a home maker. These factors tend to influence parental decisions to share household duties.

Table 5.2 Chi-square Test and Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Helping Behavior and Parental Role Behavior (The Overall Index)

	Chi-sq.	df	Sig.	N	Coefficient	Sig.
Father role	1.203	2	.548	97	.104	.309
Mother role				101	.304**	.002

**p<0.01.

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Chi-square for mother role has lower frequency in one cell.

Brines (1993:307) in an analysis about assumptions of the resource-bargaining model states that, partners adjust family affairs depending on either party's resources (e.g. income). For this reason, parents may coordinate relationships with others on the basis of who can best serve the situation. It is also necessary to mention that, inclination towards helping behavior is not an inclusive determinant of this particular condition of life. Rather it originates from the mother's attachment to other influences such as responsibility of feeling regarding her children (table 4.5). Contributions that mothers make in this regard are still greater than that of fathers. By investing in the role expectations that are regarded by larger society as an ideal form of behavior and experiencing them during the course of life, mothers keep a favorable position and are therefore more responsive to planned help. Mothers involve in helping behavior because they are individual actors who can afford to help friends and maintain aggregate well-being of family.

Table 5.3 Bivariate Spearman Correlations between Helping Behavior and Parental Role Behavior Controlling for Employment Status

	N	Coefficient	Sig
Father			
Employed	74	.116	.324
Unemployed	20	.205	.385
Mother			
Employed	55	.283*	.036
Unemployed	40	.305	.056

* P<0.05

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

To verify why fathers do not engage in helping behavior and take this point into account that it was already attributed to their paid work outside of home, it is necessary to control whether fathers due to employment reasons do not have the possibility to help in reality or there are some other reasons. But when the impact of employment on the relationship between role behavior and helping behavior is scrutinized, we reach at different results. As shown in table 5.3 only mothers who are employed, not only perform their role at work and at home appropriately but also they are ready to help relatives in case of demand. The group of mothers, who are homemakers, though engage in their role behavior properly, there is no contribution on behalf of them on helping behavior. Consequently, there is a specific difference between employed and unemployed mothers.

Presence of this difference is attributable to employment status of mothers. In other words, employed mothers as they are economically independent, more educated and the status of having a job grants them prestige, they have greater network of social relations in subsequent they are more capable to help friends and relatives by demand. This favorable condition has put them in a suitable position. In the meantime, it should be noted that, unemployed mothers do unpaid work at home not outside in the domain of paid work. They do not have solid

economical capabilities either. Consequently they do not share equal status and are less likely to be available in the case of helping others. However, the reason that fathers, regardless of their employment status do not engage in helping behavior is attributable to a self-interest motive among them rather than group will. Output in table 5.5, also strengthens this statement. Men in regard to women (in West Germany) regardless of their education level still do less housework. In addition to self-interest there may be some other factors like desire to gain work experience enjoy social contacts and show particular interest to the paid work that all indulge them in self-orientation.

On the other hand, employed mothers gain prestige, power and self-fulfillment when helping others. An opportunity that employed fathers may look for in employment. What is overt is the fact that, unemployed fathers have only motive of self-interest. In regard to economic theory, this lack of cooperation is attributable to the idea that helping others will not necessarily bring about utility. But as they live either within their own family or they live alone but related to their family of origin, they take advantage of the contributions of other family members. Presence of this motive among this group of fathers is somehow related to the free-rider effect. Although they realize their role as father, they are not in harmony with doing housework and helping others effectively.

Differences in family positions and employment status in dealing with role expectations as well as social relations with others, taking economic theory into account is explainable through the economic purposes of employed mothers. That is to say, aside implementing their role expectations at home they are concerned with increasing their income potentials with paid labor. This group of mothers is also responsible in case of demand for helping behavior from relatives. This action fosters solidarity with others and the positive outcome of that eventually strengthen some aspects of social order. They prefer to engage in their roles as

mother and breadwinner and develop relations with relatives for instrumental reasons. This is an optional action based on active presence of employed mothers in family life. To view the same problem by Chong's perspective, it is possible to say that, unemployed fathers do not have enough material and social motivation to deal with others. Their subjective calculations lag behind necessary socialization in this norm of social relations. While mothers engage in their normative role expectations within this system effectively, they are concerned about their family. Mothers, especially those employed attach to some rights and duties as part of structural accounts of their position within this system. These rights have been learned both personally through development of identifying with family values, ideology and traits and socially through legal status of family incentives as well as the social pressure and material benefits that may ensue. They also develop positive relations with relatives as part of relational account of their position, which ascertain social and material gains. The coincidence of both patterns among employed mothers represents social structure² of society.

Other research in this area suggests there are heredity and genetic factors that affect this motive in humans. An individual through genetic transmission carries heredity characteristics which affect his personality to behave in certain ways which he is not consciously aware of them as well as his intelligence to think faster and efficiently. Whether the outcome is good or not primarily depends on genetic factors which one carries and later accelerated by identical patterns represented by parents through routine activities. That is to say, an individual inherits a particular way of thinking that is latent to him. Additional factor to genetics is the contribution of the environment on human characteristics and behavior. The type of people with which the person lives and cultural values prevailing in society, can modify or worsen the presence of certain characteristics. Individual similarities are explainable by environment and genetics. In an environment where there is a high degree of similarity, passing down of similar characteristics from one generation to the next is in

consequent higher. According to sociologists, all animal and human behavior is dependant upon genetic encoding which has roots in evolutionary history by the process of selection. In fact the impact of heredity on sex, gender role and altruism cannot be ruled out since humans are a continuation of history. Both personality and intelligence can undergo positive feedback to reduce possible negative effects of heredity. Among adults, latent pattern may become overt to the individual himself through higher levels of consciousness and behavioral repercussions to him of his way of thinking across time and space by knowledgeable others. Also, solid early primary education and supervised parenting is likely to modify negative genetic factors and direct the child's self toward independence, away from his genetic make-up.

Family members including fathers, mothers, sons and daughters engage in their respective roles effectively. As shown in table 5.1, classification of role behavior consists of considerable, some and little involvement. These expectations alongside the evidence based on data suggest that, family members put into effect what is regarded as one crucial aspect of normative constraints. This aspect is namely, role behavior. It includes a range of indicators that are particular for both parents and children. They all engage in role behavior considerably but in differential levels. Mothers in contrast to fathers and daughters in contrasts to sons have partially higher role involvement.

Parental role expectations are differentially modified throughout society. Some of these expectations have a joint value. Although an expectation of the father's role at home is for instance to spend time with family members, this for mothers is to aid children with school work. In other words, their role somehow encompasses specialization in terms of duties. Bielby and Bielby (1984) who developed the identity³ formation model during their analysis concluded that "in contrast, for men, the normative expectations of the 'husband' and 'father'

roles do not include fully shared responsibility and involvement in household and child care activities” , Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001:32).Even though role behavior is not equally experienced by all family members due to the variations on the amount of preparation for these expectations, there is a considerable share of attachment to any given role by actors.

As shown in table 5.4, effects of categorical divisions of role behavior on helping behavior is tangible among parents but there is no corresponding effects on divisions of helping behavior given divisions of role engagement. For example, 34.0 percent of fathers engage in their roles considerably whereas 42.6 percent of mothers do, this in turn has some relationship with helping behavior. Furthermore mothers nearly in contrast with fathers represent helping behavior and engage in role behavior more effectively. In spite of this, peculiar to this behavior is that, even though 12.9 percent of mothers and 21.6 percent of fathers are active in their roles both provide little or no help. The lack of cooperation among this proportion of families especially among mothers is most likely to be attributable to their age. Elderly due to less physical capabilities do not tend to contribute in this aspect of household duties which demand movement and strength.

Table 5.4 Cross tabulation of Helping Behavior by Parental Role Behavior (The Overall Index)

Helping Behavior	Father Role Behavior				Mother Role Behavior			
	Father Role Behavior		Father Role Behavior		Mother Role Behavior		Mother Role Behavior	
	Fre.	% Total	Fre.	% Total	Fre.	% Total	Fre.	% Total
	Little or some	Considerable	Little or some	Considerable				
Little or no	5	5.2	21	21.6	5	5.0	13	12.9
Some	7	7.2	33	34.0	6	5.9	43	42.6
Considerable	3	3.1	28	28.9	0	0.0	34	33.7
Total	15		82		11		90	

Missing values:
 Father=15, Mother=14.

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Role behavior finds its realization within the context of family, where in German society men are mainly responsible for paid work in the labor market and women are mainly responsible for unpaid work at home. Descriptive statistics from International Social Survey Program⁴ (2002) shows that German men with a college education spend on average 6.22 hours on housework⁵ per week. This for men without college education equals to an average of 7.17 hours of housework. On the contrary, the mean hours of work at home for educated women are 19.36 and for uneducated women 23.16 respectively (table 5.5).

Regarding the above facts and variability of parental role in terms of helping behavior, it appears as an appropriate decision among partners to deal with both internal family affairs as well as keeping ties with others positively. They are making rational decisions but in different directions to maximize the well-being of family as a whole. That is to say, an employed mother's positive response to help toward relatives is asymmetrical to a father's efforts for the family's economic gains. Abell (1991:217) in his book quotes from Friedman (1987) that the rational choice model is appropriate for explaining and predicting collective action only under conditions of objective certainty-that is, when the future can be predicted with some degrees of confidence. As such, supporting others is not explainable among fathers due to their role behavior since it is not a reciprocal action with immediate gain of benefit in the short run in contrast to paid work, rather involvement in helping behavior can to a certain degree depend on particular circumstances that are less frequent with the condition that mothers especially those employed are in a favorable position to engage in helping behavior.

Table 5.5 Descriptive Statistics of Housework by Sex, Education, and Country

Variable		Mean	SD.	Min.	Max.
Education					
No college education					
West Germany	Men	7.17	6.650	1	40
	Women	23.16	14.180	2	90
East Germany	Men	7.79	5.861	1	28
	Women	18.24	10.268	3	56
USA	Men	8.55	9.212	0	56
	Women	13.80	11.658	0	72
Finland	Men	6.93	6.437	0	40
	Women	13.94	9.979	1	65
College education					
West Germany	Men	6.22	3.750	1	20
	Women	19.36	12.178	5	60
East Germany	Men	10.04	9.142	1	45
	Women	14.32	11.176	3	45
USA	Men	8.03	10.753	0	60
	Women	11.78	10.521	2	60
Finland	Men	6.21	5.009	1	30
	Women	11.09	6.660	1	28

N: Men=941, Women=1173

Source: Raw data from ISSP (2002).

In the whole, the data suggests the decision to engage in helping behavior by mother strengthens her position as a mother. In fact in the framework of economic approach to family, a mother optimizes her family position through a positive relationship with relatives. Social and physical conditions at home predispose her to behave positively. This choice involves some sort of subjective evaluations like cost and benefit of current demand and the ability of an individual to offer help. Although fathers due to efficient sexual definition of labor at home are as active as their wives in their role (table 5.1), role specialization among fathers encompasses similar and more specific expectations than those of their wives. Accordingly, this difference makes them view helping behavior in rather different way. For example, 21.6 percent of fathers engage in their role considerably but provide little or no help (table 5.4) whereas mothers in this condition allot 12.9 percent of relationship. In addition, given the conservative character of German society, there are also differences among parents

in terms of role specialization for mothers at home and for fathers in the labor market in their common household objective function.

Blossfeld and Drobic (2001:24) in an analysis of economic approach quote from Oppenheimer (1993) that specialization involves a potentially serious loss of flexibility in dealing with changes in both family's internal composition and the stresses posed by its environment. That is to say, a mother's contribution at home affairs and a father's contribution to work are individually led but they take advantage of utility provided at collective level. The reason for fathers who are active in their role but not being supportive is most likely to be due to rational production of household utility outside of home through paid work.

After all, West and Zimmerman (1987:128) in an analysis about cultural perspectives regarding psychological and behavioral propensities of sex and gender argue that; differences between men and women are natural and rooted in biology with further profound psychological, behavioral, and social consequences. They regard structural arrangements of society responsive of these differences. There are many activities in different jobs within industry in which mostly men are able to do those hard tasks. The presence of women in this sector is either rare or non-existent. For instance, hard jobs in assembly lines that demand strength are predominantly male centered. On the contrary, females mainly biologically inherit feminine characteristics that makes them fit to particular tasks at home such as doing housework and at work such as service sector.

In accordance with the above view on sex and gender, economic theory of family regards this as comparative advantage that women have over men rooted in the biology that make them susceptible to certain tasks, but parents converge their efforts to reach at a common goal,

(Blossfeld and Drobic, 2001: 18-19). For this reason household division of labor forms to cope with the demands of a family such as a new born child as well as the efforts in the labor market. Children learn role specific socialization as major incentives to respect parents. Attachment to one's assigned role equals to gain material and moral benefits and secures one's place within family and vice versa. The same pattern applies to the norm of obligation. Children may for example, become bothered by parents in some affairs but in turn they will take advantage through advice, and guidance to their particular problems.

B. PARENTAL ROLE IDENTITY AND HELPING BEHAVIOR:

The term identity has a long history and had been derived from the Latin root 'idem'. This implies sameness and continuity. Its popular usage started at the beginning of the 20th century with major discussions in the fields of psychodynamic and sociology. For these fields essentialist understanding of the concept was a challenge, and proposed the invented and constructed character of identity. Essentialists assume a unique core or essence to identity- the 'real me'- which is coherent and remains roughly the same throughout life. The psychodynamic tradition emerges with Freud's theory of identification through which a child assimilates external persons or objects usually the superego of the parents. This theory stresses on the inner core of a psychic structure as having a continuous (though often conflicting) identity. The psycho-historian Erik Erikson believed identity is attributable to the 'individual's core' and his communal culture. He developed the term identity crisis referring to patients who suffered from a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity. Subsequently, youth was identified as a universal crisis of potential identity confusion.

The sociological tradition has links with symbolic interactions and emerges from the pragmatic theory of the self discussed by William James and George Herbert Mead. Here the

self is regarded as distinct human capacity which enables people to reflect their nature over the social world through communication and language. Dimensions of 'I' and 'me' construct the self. The 'I' is the knower, inner, subjective, creative, determining and unknowable and the 'me' which is the more known, outer, determined and social phase. Identification is the process of naming, of placing ourselves in socially constructed categories in which language holds a central position. The structuralism and post-structuralism explanation of the phenomena emphasize the constitutive or deeply formative role of language and representation in the making of identity. As rational choice theory emphasizes the impact of socialization on the internalization of social values, accordingly parental role identity comes from knowing one's expectations attached to the social roles that one occupies. The way they refer to their sense of self, their feelings and ideas about themselves. That is to say, whether a father or a mother thinks of himself or herself as a father or as a mother is part of role identity which in turn dictates how they should behave. It becomes necessary to realize how role identity influences the situation.

As data in table 5.6 indicates there is strong enough acquisition among parents in regard to level of identity. Role identity among parents regardless of their marital status allots 88.0 percent for mothers and 80.6 percent for fathers which are relatively high. Data in this table also supports the evidence that, the ratio of mothers concerning role identity varies more than fathers do. For every given 100 fathers, 134 mothers identify themselves with their role positively. That is to say, they have familiarity with what is expected from an individual in order to be a particular type of person. It is a mental state based on awareness of one's expectations and deemed in accordance with standards set by society that makes one deal with issues seriously. For both parents role identity has the same indicators but for mothers it embodies a greater number of identifications (see below items for difference). This in turn

makes them capable to carry out role behavior which is in association with specific duties at home.

- Father role identity;
- To know and to be aware of his rights and responsibilities.
 - Consciousness of certain duties towards other family members.
 - Be strong and brave.
- Mother role identity;
- Expected to cook.
 - Expected to clean up.
 - To be aware of her place within family.
 - To know and to be aware of her rights and responsibilities.
 - Consciousness of certain duties towards other family members.
 - Be strong and brave.

Table 5.6 Descriptive Statistics of Role Identity (The Overall Index) by Family Position

Role Identity	Father			Mother		
	Fre.	V. Per.	Ratio F/M	Fre.	V. Per.	Ratio M/F
Little or no role identity	1	1.0	0.5	2	1.9	2.0
Some role identity	18	18.4	1.64	11	10.2	0.61
Considerable role identity	79	80.6	0.83	95	88.0	1.20

Valid cases: Father=98, Mother=108.
Missing values: Father=14, Mother=34.

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

The conditions that lead to identity formation beside past investment in socialization on a larger part depend on one's social origin (socioeconomic background). For instance, the community in which an individual lives makes some impacts on individual's level of identity. The same goes with intergenerational transfer of knowledge and experience to children making their life progressive for those whose parents have these abilities and vice versa. For this reason children upon social origin either proceed in their plans or have to modify internal

values in confrontation with problematic situations during their own experiences. In so doing, they make further adjustments in new experiences during their life cycle.

In this connection, personal development seems to be an important factor in identity formation. This development largely depends on the individual's goals, effort, economic capabilities and guidance of intellectual others. In this process the individual decides whether to follow the existing common pattern or whether can he proceed toward higher development. The move in this direction poses some degrees of risk for unforeseen events on the individual. During the life cycle, puberty for instance brings about not only great biological transformations to the body but also confronts an individual with a mixture of new values orienting his life cycle, like tendency toward early marriage than late marriage, work in the free market than pursuance of higher education and adherence to life in the city of origin than across country job seeking movements.

In general research shows role identity is the aftermath of engaging in one's role. The level of identity varies depending on the individual's experiences. That is to say, one has a commitment to his role as long as this role becomes a source of meaning. A married couple for instance, acquires adequate skills and knowledge to adapt within their role. In other words, marriage increases one's flexibility to adapt with his new role as a father or as a mother. They have to adapt their behavior to the new situation. Otherwise, they encounter loss of benefits. For this reason, marriage can be seen as a transition phase towards normative change. The inclination towards normative change is not merely the outcome of effective identity. Rather, the motivation associated with the new status of being married increases one's adaptation to new norms as well.

As shown in table 5.7 data confirms the statement that in the whole regardless of marital status, the more parents identify with their roles the more they involve in those roles. In other words, role identity is certainly accountable as the major cause of suitable role performance. This relationship is still much greater controlling for the effects of personal characteristics. The spearman correlation coefficients in this table show that, both married fathers and mothers represent corresponding relationships between involving in one's role and identification with expectations of an assigned role. Unlike married parents, there is no strong relationship between the role of non-married individuals and their subsequent role identity. Non-married individuals have a lower role performance due to lower identity and vice versa.

A stable pattern also exists between fathers' considerable role behavior 85.3 percent (table 5.1) and their considerable role identity 80.6 percent (table 5.6) which is representative of almost equal compliance in either normative expectation. This pattern due to marital status among mothers represents somehow a different view. Even though mothers have much greater role identity (88.0 percent) than that of their husbands accordingly they engage in their role considerably higher (89.4 percent) too. The discrepancy between married and non-married individuals is mainly due to their marital status. For instance, the relationship between aforementioned dimensions among married mothers is positive whereas there is no representation among non-married females (table 5.7). The finding in this table reaffirms the importance of understanding role behavior in the context of role identity. Alert identity enhances individual's consciousness and therefore provides the ground for rational action.

Table 5.7 Bivariate Spearman Correlation between Parental Role Behavior and Role Identity (The Overall Index)

Controlling for Marital Status

		Coefficient	Sig.
Father	(N=98)	.402**	.000
Married	(N=71)	.400**	.001
Non-married	(N=27)	.328	.095
Mother	(N=103)	.207*	.036
Married	(N=57)	.400**	.002
Non-married	(N=46)	.024	.874

*P<0.05, **P<0.01

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

In spite of this, there is no corresponding increase in one's role identity and his subsequent response to help. This condition keeps remaining even under different marital statuses. Provision of help by non-married females has the greatest dependence on role identity and the least dependence on role identity is observable among married mothers even though these values are not statistically significant for all parties (table 5.8). Doubled number of expectations for mother role identity in comparison to father role identity shows that mother's identification aside other responsibilities is household centered.

Table 5.8 Spearman Correlation between Helping Behavior and Parental Role Identity Controlling for Marital Status (The Overall Index)

Marital status		Coefficient	Sig.
Married father	(N=72)	.114	.342
Non-married	(N=26)	.135	.512
Married mother	(N=61)	-.004	.976
Non-married	(N=47)	.189	.204

P<0.05

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Controlling for another personal characteristic like education reveals that, contrary to general assumption concerning the inevitable impact of education on role identity, the statistics

indicate that the opposite trend is likely to overcast on this view. For each level of education there is an opposite trend about role identity (chapter X, tables 10.12 and 10.13). The relationship between education and role identity tends to be negative but to claim education undermines role identity for parents is not valid either (see chapter X, table 10.14). In the whole, to view role identity as part of rationality associated with role behavior without further behavioral implications for helping behavior, and ambiguity concerning the impact of education on role identity it leaves this understanding just as a matter of knowledge, which calls for extensive research in this area.

C. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CONCERNING GENDER ROLE IDENTITY⁶:

Almost in all human beings there exist an internal force which enables them to achieve their ideals but acting on this force depends on proper acquisition of gender role identity. For the identity to emerge there is a need for a healthy developed mind which is foundational in molding identity. Since all people do not possess a healthy developed mind due to varying stages of mental development, and also the need and effort to develop identity is different among individuals, for this reason identity takes wholly different levels. The spectrum of identity is variant and its levels fluctuate among individuals. Accordingly, individuals upon their level of gender role identity can be placed in a hierarchy analytically. In general, one knows that a mechanic's role is to perform a check-up, repair and service a car and we identify him as a man who works in a garage wears a uniform and has a wrench in his hand. The extent that people know and exercise this recognition correctly is a basis for discrepancy among them. Role identity in terms of gender is determined by the social status that the person occupies and the role with which one identifies. In consequent people can have different or similar role identity given their role set in any situation.

Another factor which aggravates a weak identity is the occurrence of bitter events in human life. These events create psychological tension for an individual that in turn weakens his subjective calculation. In fact, low mental calculation without support of relevant knowledge contributes to lower levels of gender role identity. The occurrence of these events in an individual who does not have a healthy developed mind is an additional causal factor in weakening of identity. Sexual arousal during puberty without sexual intercourse is a particular point in case. External reaction of the body releases in the form of talkativeness, funniness and harsh response to weak stimuli. Also the worries that the person has in regard to his socio-economic status make a significant impact on identity. That is to say, the effort that people make to run their life economically influences the way they think about particularities of roles and identities in situations. In jobs where there are not many subjective calculations, status of gender role identity remains to a certain extent stagnant. The person is more likely to distance himself from others who pay attention to their identity.

A person who lacks gender role identity does not know enough of human values which affect the capacity to plan for his future. This takes different forms among people. In one group of humans, there is no well-developed identity but an individual is inclined to acquire it since he wishes to make progress in society. This group of humans aims to reach higher goals than those that they currently have reached. For this reason, such a goal must be equipped with higher levels of gender role identity and to be able make contact with top level authorities when it is necessary. However, search for identity is not easily accessible rather it demands obtaining experience in this area. An individual in social relations with others and during interaction with society involves an internal analysis of events which leads one to identify with human values and relevant things in any situation, in the lapse of time. These values in the course of life become modified with appropriate behavioral models and finally are

internalized in the mind. In this condition an individual behaves with others with certainty and is less anxious in going about his affairs.

Common identity over things is the firm ground for social group cohesion. When a man with suitable role identity joins a new group of people but these people are not in the same level, there is a great likelihood for clash of values. Others in regard to a newcomer may get a wrong image of him and judge accordingly. They think he is an outsider because the way he behaves is different from them and the values that he respects are not pleasant for the group as they do not know the right form of action. In this condition, the newcomer is confused and forced to be in accordance with group will so that his behavior adapts with the behavior of others. It will be unpleasant for him too, and there is a risk of disagreement over things with consequent controversy and resentment. Even worse than that is when the person should communicate with a group of people with a low level of identity and be with them for a while. As they have lower levels of identity, and may think the person wants to represent himself as greater than them. In any case, it is not possible to convince them, as identity does not appear over night. He can find common values with the group, identify with them, but evade in a way from activities that are part of group life.

In another group of people, there is low gender role identity and also due to personality type they are not inclined to develop knowledge of role behavior and role identity, since these types of people do not place advanced goals for their future as they do not have the capabilities to do so. Their efforts surround making a living and they prefer to preserve the status-quo. Modern standards of living are not of major interest to them. For this reason, identity does not develop well enough and one's fate becomes a function of which direction larger society moves. In consequent, since an individual does not possess an investment in human values, he becomes subject to group will. His behavior seems inappropriate in the

eyes of others who have the advantage of higher role identity, and may confront an unfortunate outcome contrary to his counterparts, even though he is no less than them in intelligence, creativity and work ethic. The problem with identity is that, there is no direct education of it during socialization. Rather identity emerges from our implicit understanding of who we are, and which values we regard logically appropriate concerning the role of a person in any circumstances. Socialization which is an important process in the development of mind fills out some of the necessary general social and scientific values and improves the thinking process, but is not the sole determinant of gender role identity. Rather it develops when things do not work desirably and an individual is faced with difficulties that have to be resolved independently by him. This leads an individual to leave some actions that undermine his situational thinking and adhere to some actions that improve it. Let's say a biology teacher wants his students to go to the nearby park and collect a bunch of natural objects for an assignment. Students go there and collect leaves, wood, stone, cardboard, oak, seed, a piece of plastic, chestnut, a bottle cap and later the teacher separates the collection by sorting them out according to structure, content and criteria for classification of natural objects and then students can represent only leaves, wood, stone, oak, seed and chestnut as natural objects to the classroom visually.

Training is a prerequisite for any given role. Without training it is most likely that role behavior will not be performed appropriately either. In our society, for instance many mothers automatically learn their role as a mother by observing what other mothers have done for their children but there is no initiative thought behind these actions independently, although many mothers do. When the child is not successful at school in spite of parental care, this problematic situation redemands their evaluation of the situation, and becomes a ground to rethink about their identity again. In addition, there are social conditions that work in the opposite direction of parental care. When other children at school make problems for

the child over tiny things and prevent him from going ahead, the blame of identity is on behalf of others. In this case, the child distorts what parents and teachers requested from him and what other children force him to do. This is a problem for identity development of the child. He knows that his parents have told him to be orderly but other children do not follow a line when requested or make him disturbed at school so that he is not willing to do homework. In other words, parents and teachers teach the child but other children disrupt this process that may remain hidden to parents and teachers as the child does not have the capability to distinguish what and for which purpose other children have done to him. Even worse is when the child is punished for his wrong doings but the others are not. This fact brings urgent attention to the work of the whole school system and how well teachers engage in their role and how effectively they identify with this job. This problem also brings forth why children form stubborn peer group and contradict other children. If this condition is widespread the success of society is under doubt.

As was already mentioned the impact of personality type is no exception to gender role identity development. Typologies of personality aim to separate people on the basis of a certain characteristic such as a relationship between some simple, highly visible or easily determined and expected behavior. Sheldon linked people's physique to their temperament and categorized types of endomorphic (fat, soft, round), mesomorphic (muscular, rectangular, strong), or ectomorphic (thin, long, fragile). Another newer typology by "H.J. Eysenek (1970, 1975) suggested that the two major dimensions of personality are introversion-extraversion and stability-instability (or "neuroticism"). Extraverts are sociable, outgoing, active, impulsive, "tough-minded" people. Introverts are their psychological opposites- "tender-minded", withdrawn, passive, cautious, and reflective, (Zimbardo, 1975)." For this reason reaction of people to circumstances varies according to their personality type. Response and stimuli pattern is differentially experienced among different people. This also affects

personality development through life course experiences. If the person has an introverted personality type and lives in a family where parental role model is not adequate and there is also no other model of role behavior in the community in which the person lives such as that of top level authorities, it is most likely that he does not get sufficient knowledge of social roles and he is not able in reality to behave upon certain behavioral patterns. In this condition, the person behaves in circumstances on the basis of a mixture of right and wrong values. His behavior can also be unacceptable by other laymen. When the personality development does not follow a well-organized pattern; accordingly an individual tends to follow what others do without careful thinking. Identity forms through occasional acquisition of the immediate environment. The process of moving from childhood to an older age when accompanied by such an identity formation make an individual a follower of others which are usually incorrect rather than an independent way of thinking that comes about from focused thinking and making sense of the situation. That is to say, identity appears through organized channeling of a child's needs and ambitions in clearly defined social categories.

The body during stages of physical growth takes different physical and emotional forms. The same happens with sexual drive which emerges during puberty, but mental growth that sexual satisfaction provides is subject to an individual's sexual relationship with the opposite sex. The occurrence of this affair in all humans owing to personality type does not follow an equal status as experience of sexual affairs in their life is not equal. Not all humans owing to personality type react to the same problem equally. Societies with various cultures also differ in dealing with this affair. For many young people, sexual matters are a problem which becomes accelerated by young age needs and lack of enough information and ability about access to sex and still becomes more problematic where an individual suffers from not very good family relations. Identity is made on loose grounds and individual's actions are apt to

failure. Timely suitable guidance of specialists like psychologist, family counselors and social workers can help an individual to survive this critical stage of the life cycle.

There is a strong relation between role identity and normative behavior. A person who has strong identity can better adapt his behavior to normative regulations. How the identity in regard to an issue takes different levels among people is fairly variant through stages of identity formation. An individual who does not have enough gender identity but is really in search of it can pass through low, medium and strong levels of identity during his life course experiences. These levels are not fixed conditions, rather subject to behavior of a person in the situation. For example, one's eating habit is a human drive that can be controlled by him during the day; he can think about how to improve his job requirements through available possibilities as he identifies with the actual status of an employee. All of these are time consuming affairs and necessitates stronger identity acquisition and perception of norms in situations. In fact, balanced body satisfaction enables the mind to develop identity alongside other factors. Suitable identity is partly made up on controlling the body during stages of development. A move in this direction enables the body to achieve health consciousness, as a sign of progress.

Role identity especially parental type is specific in that it emerges from a combination of family life factors such as pleasure of senses, growth of children and the total network of relations. During this process, human consciousness in regard to his environment, social relations with others and dealing with life affairs seriously increases dramatically. Morphology of human body changes as an outcome of the above experiences. There is a gradual change in outer body organs during a certain period of time from simplicity to physical complexity. This also takes effect from social setting in which the person lives. A man no longer thinks about life personally, rather his life is geared with his family which

demands active presence of his consciousness. Mental concentration as a part of identity emerges and serves as an optimum mechanism for decision-making. Communicative abilities with others increase as well. If an individual in the past has developed an appropriate gender role identity, then her marital life is a completion to this process. He thinks more clearly and coordinates his actions logically in particular situations. This perception of the situation is a mental state that emerges mainly from implicit understanding of one's appropriate characteristics of social roles accompanied by positive action upon this understanding. It gives a clear picture of reality to the mind. The person is able to take control of his life rather than act as a passive receiver and be reflective of environment. Physical growth of the body and relevant social and personal experiences concerned with the body depending on the experiences can either foster or undermine identity. In any case, it will develop if the individual has an internal need toward identity improvement or have a very strong need toward identity acquisition because of living alone in the groups of people who suffer from low identity, and match his understanding with socially accepted models. This need is not easy for the person as it demands hard thinking in which there is some stress on the mind in making sense of the world around. When man lives in a community with lower levels of role identity, the move to gain a higher level of identity is much like swimming in a river against the flow of water.

Improved identity aids an individual to use language with thought. This demands higher mental concentration which is the solid ground for use of language with thought. Those confusing situations that disturb the person reduce this ability. In fact, by mental concentration individual is able to articulate his speech clearly. This also enables him to talk with a slower pace securely. In subsequent, the person abstains from using of any negative words that describe him and others. This prevents him from using of offensive words as well. Individuals even avoid talking loudly in front of others. He controls his expressions and in

case of a mistake and use of negative words controls its occurrence and makes no further repetition of such words .On the contrary less developed identity makes the individual disinterested with learning and using language in the context effectively. Learning one's native language academically and for official purposes through free will can be a sign of identity development. Progress of both dimensions of language and identity occurs simultaneously and has mutual effect on the development of one another. Improved identity facilitates learning of both native and foreign languages. In this case, an individual uses language correctly with those with whom he interacts, even in informal settings such as with relatives even though they may not be willing to do so. The tendency to use language in informal settings easily without much care about improved form of expressions directs the person into slang. So far as the person lives in his local community informal use of language may be all right but contact with larger society especially authorities becomes problematic. In this situation he has difficulties in expressing himself and saying what he wants. The difference between individuals over proper use of language in the context effectively is the basis for a level of identification with the situation so far as environmental influences such as warm, cold, fear and any other relevant factor is not intervening in that situation. Individuals with higher levels of identity development are active receivers of norms in conversations such turn taking in conversation. This ability enables individuals to be patient during discourse even though the content of talks is not pleasant for him. That is to say, the person expresses what he wants to say and listens to another party without misunderstanding and tiredness from too much speaking.

Effective communication is in relation with improved identity. In consequent the person with developed identity gives appropriate response to a message that is presented by a definite agent. This ability is wholly state of mind rather than a practical action, even though the latter may ensue as well. A person who is able to make effective communication with others, can

easily realize the message and act upon it, because communication with others aside the language is a mental state that has to be undergone by cognitive processes. He knows that through listening and observing a message what the content of the message is and what he should do. Lack of such ability in a human being makes him view the message but then he does not give a proper response. The type of message differs by the situation in which he acts. This ability comes about when the person is able to respond effectively even when the action is not in accordance with his wishes. For instance, somebody enters a building and views that there is a notice around which say 'caution, doors are being painted'. He immediately understands that he should not touch the doors as paint may get on his hand and then he moves around carefully, since this action is beneficial to him. In another situation, the message is not beneficial to the person. Here the ability to be a good viewer is subject to the level of identity of the person. To give another example, the person wants to make a phone call. When he dials the number, a secretary answers and says the person he is trying to reach is busy right now, and he should call back in half an hour. But he keeps dialing every ten minutes until the person he is trying to reach is available. The person listens to what the secretary tells him but is disinclined to act upon as the message contradicts his immediate interest, whereas he should have been waiting for half an hour to call again. With high levels of identity, an individual has the ability to give a valid response to a message that is sent by an agent. Communication can take simple to complicated forms in which identity mediates a corresponding response. In the messages that the subjects of communication are abstract issues, lower identity is a passive receiver of messages. It is also possible that the individual interprets the message mistakenly and acts upon a wrong image.

Ups and downs of life make a human become more aware of his identity. This makes man adapt his cognition to his stage of physical growth. That is to say, a human being during the aging process takes different physical forms as well as a cognition that is particular to each

stage of ageing and physical development. Nevertheless, values during this development vary from each stage to the next one. The consciousness in the childhood stage is in the process of taking form and is not reliable as a fixed condition. The consciousness takes more stability as one becomes young and during adulthood it is usually expected to reach its perfection. On the other hand, the mental development during stages of growth depends on the individual's life cycle experiences. Lack of positive function in these stages may produce resentment in interpersonal relations among friends and produce bitter experiences such as separation. Later when stimuli is reduced and new experiences produce new images in the mind a form of regret overcasts the mind. This event works inside the mind of an individual as experience and monitors consciousness from further mistakes. In a well developed identity behavioral patterns adapt to the age and stage of growth in which the person lives. Passing down to the next stage accompanies new values entitled to that stage.

Although a part of gender role identity emerges after marriage the mental background that the individual has relied on so far, make a vital impact in the evolution of identity. In fact, to a great extent, the background of role identity depends on past leanings in life. Marriage is only a part of completion of human identity. A person who has undergone an appropriate socialization as well as has experienced some sweet and bitter experiences in his efforts for success, it is most likely that his role identity is completed after marriage. It is also necessary to mention that, bitter experiences do not refer to those groups of experiences in which the person has been kept away from going ahead, rather to those experiences during life that have been unsuccessful but served as guidance for his future. A particular case with identity development can be the following. Almost unlimited access to what one wishes creates a sense of attachment to earlier life values, though the person may be an incumbent of an important job in society. The mind is educated but lacks the ability to perform self-evaluation in behaviors and also does not have the ability to recognize and perhaps foresee motivation

behind behavior of another person. In this case, they develop prejudice against a newcomer without knowing him at all. In the whole, it is not a major block in carrying out their job, but when people of similar ranks with higher identity interact with them, they seem imperfect in the eyes of others. In subsequent when they act wrongly simply due to false prejudice and are faced with problems, they appear as incompetent person in their jobs.

Marriage helps individuals to attain higher levels of identity against non-marital life, but it's not the main factor for it. A person whose past life has not been subject to normative things, behaviors and events and egoistic behavior without regard to norms motivated him to reach goals if any, the dimension of identity will not be completed after marriage either. Static psychological status, lack of normative experiences and access to whatever man needs in the family without regard to the needs of other members, reduces identity.

D. LABOR MARKET SYSTEM, CARE AND WORK:

A mother's role of active participation brings into forth the question of how differently they perform in the labor market compared to their husbands. Generally women's work is not a fixed condition and is relevant to the amount of work that they do as full-time or part-time employment. Mothers for instance spend some time on maternity leave during employment. In the meantime, the presence of children makes some opportunities to stay at home and take care of her children. The same goes with the character of institutional factors like the welfare regime in this country which provide child care availabilities to some extent to the families that in turn affect their employment. Women with various socio-economic statuses can afford professional childcare. This availability increases their chance for pursuing their career in the labor market rather than staying at home.

In the near past, Germany followed a middle level family policy as a field rather than as an explicit or reluctant family policy⁷, in contrast to other European countries (Kammerman and Kahn, 1978). Currently, the objective of family policy is to tackle uncertainties and changing demands faced by family in a proper way (Christensen and von der Leyen, 2007). Women's employment is subject to efforts to balance the care provided for children (whose average per family is two) and gives parents enough time for their duties in this respect as well as to be responsive to the employment. In other words, as mothers are expected primarily to attend care, be responsible for housework and be more responsive to family relations, paid work therefore becomes dependent on time availability. In a study about care and work in Great Britain, William (2004: 57) researched the process in which mothers make balance between care and work according to the needs of their children and working conditions. While mothers may have a different job status such as full-time, part-time or not at all, they try to do the right thing for their children, whether they have a partner or not. So, if for example a mother needs to 'be there' at home and take care of her child, it is most likely that she will attend a part-time job. That is to say, mothers try to be good mothers given their work status.

The majority of women who are willing to participate in the labor market, provided that they meet the demands of the job requirements, can take advantage of child-rearing services offered by nursery schools. Accordingly, more organized families except those who do not have a fixed legal status like immigrants can easily fill out the gap in the education of children created by employment while using secondary sources such as nursery schools as the state provides child allowances to families. The presence of grandfathers and grandmothers is another domestic support. In fact, insurance provided by the state to the family although aims to help mothers to deal with the situation, this is a comparative advantage among them which still makes women's employment secondary than those of men in this society. Women are regarded as more responsible for home affairs than men are.

A bivariate test of the impact of sex and education on one of the indicators economic activity⁸ status in table 5.5 shows that women have more responsibility for housework than men do. Contrary to women who are not college graduates, men contribute to less housework in Germany. Generally, for each country the mean hours of work at home for women are less than the mean hours for their less educated counterparts too. Nevertheless, women with or without a college degree still do more housework than men do. Such a discrepancy tends to be the highest among German women and men with college degrees. In some cases, women work at home as many as 90 hours per week. Consequently, gender gap in earnings is most likely to be a reflection of differences in the amount of work at home plus paid labor. Gender segregation is usually measured by occupation than by industrial sector (agriculture, industry, services) but occupational data has been used strictly at an international level and this leaves the question of comparability of such data open to debate (van der Lippe and van Dijk, 2002). In the whole, the findings suggest, Western European countries occupational structure is less segregated and in an industrial country like Germany, the expectation is that women represent themselves in this sector considerably though not as much as men do. Besides this, women are largely active in service sectors that make their work more suitable in this area.

D.1 Adjustment to Social Class:

Gender specific division of labor is also effectible by social class. Research indicates that for parents to develop their income potentials on middle and upper-class is preferable to keep a dual-earner working status. In other words, as they are better equipped by knowledge and wealth they have the possibility to attend a dual-earner working status. Working-class families due to economic reasons for instance in the United States of America, a representative of a liberal regime are happy with full-time jobs and the reason to quit a job is not to become a

homemaker, but is rather due to un-standard working conditions (Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2001:35). In this case, partners have an equal inclination to share the paid work according to gender capabilities.

Research in this area also indicates that the middle class dual earner and occupationally successful families are less satisfied by their marriage and personal lives. Dissatisfaction is primarily caused by tiredness created at work and lack of preparation at home by one of the partners especially women. Some husbands accuse their wives for working for their own benefit whereas wives in upper-middle-class families believe major family work like maintaining clothing and entertaining colleagues is done alone without being noticed. In either case, since partners work outside the home some duties are left undone unless a third party like a maid does the work. In addition, as women increasingly get involved in the labor market, the characteristics of women as homemaker to some extent erode. This fact is observable among highly educated and employed women who become less inclined to do housework, due to psychological reasons created mainly by a formal status of paid work.

Although work at home is effectible by a gender specific division of labor, social class still cast its shadow on women specifically on mothers to be responsible for normative arrangement of family relations whose main cause is attributable and supported by a conservative welfare regime. They are expected to stay at home and take the responsibility for care etc. Furthermore, socio-demographic factors like the number of children, the number of close relatives, education and even to a great extent culture affect the whole process. For instance, upper class families who are highly educated, have less willingness and possibly less time for frequent contacts within a greater network of relatives whose number is also another additional determinant factor.

The lower number of children among sample families gives parents more freedom to arrange family affairs easier. For home affairs, they have enough suitable resources to rear children, be responsive to the economic needs of children and organize their life upon focused plans as they have better resources. That is to say, social classes affect the plans for having fewer children and spend more time on children's affairs. In addition when parents do not have to worry much about their income, they can think about their own affairs in a more organized way. The whole effect of social class in the case of upper class is to take almost everything into control without problems and the vice versa for working class. However this statement is not absolutely true, as knowledgeable working class families can also take advantage of opportunities alongside programmed actions to repay for the difference. While social class affect working status of family but the above socio-demographic factors when accompanied by culture can moderate the situation. In other words, if a dual-earner family does not gain sufficient income and does not have enough wealth they can plan to have fewer children, limit contacts with relatives and plan job related educational programs for themselves to be able to serve the job demands efficiently.

Under this type of welfare regime, when they are fired they do not have much worry about joblessness as state support provides a minimum salary and care services while being out of a job. People in this condition reorganize their plans and resources to fill out the requirements of a better job. This can be regarded as the main effect of a welfare regime that prevents risk across society. The state insurance to the unemployed serves as the main basement for rational action. Every family affair goes ahead with a slower pace and the possibility to improve ones condition toward a desirable next possible employment which ascertains higher income. In fact, there is no need for rushing toward a job that is not compatible with ones ambitions, whose results are unpredictable. Rather one or both partners plan their time for the long run with the intention of working and making a good future for their offspring.

The role of the state in consultation and mediation between the employer and employee is another vital characteristic of the labor market system that mobilize labor forces across different segments of society based on needs, skills and socio-economic conditions like the place of living etc. Professional mediation reduces vain efforts by an employee in the areas where his talent is not profitable. This helps the state to control stability in the labor market and also helps individuals to match his capabilities with ongoing demands of the labor market. In this way, labor market is to some extent specialized. In addition, pre job training enables employees to professionally meet the demands of the job. In fact, almost no person remains jobless for a long period of time without any logical reasons though some jobs do not guarantee high payments.

D.2 The Influence of Culture on Care:

Culture⁹ empowers people to reach at real values of behavior and objects that are culturally produced. Perception, understanding and application of culture are long-term processes which need human effort for its acquisition. A great part of such acquisitions occur mentally and undergo internalization during a variety of life events and personal experiences. Also this fact should be taken into consideration that dependence on traditional values makes a direct impact on production and application of cultural values across society. Following this, modern cultural ideas are difficult to be accepted socially as clash of values hampers this process. Likewise, acquisition of culture ensues either as in depth understanding or superficial view of the events depending on the individual. New cultural values need thoughtful understanding that make human progress more efficiently in society in communication with any intellectual type of people that one interacts and variety of events without loosing what he was as a nice human being at the start. When this deep internal

mental analysis occurs, the person is not misled by cultural aspects that are new for him as these aspects affect humans in a certain way. In other words, the impact of paying attention to morals in dealing with others in the application of cultural aspects increases one's dignity. In other groups of people who do not have an interest toward the logic of culture, there is no active move to learn and attend to cultural events. Such values are more likely to appear superficial to them. Cultural values like any other type of knowledge has to be acquired and used effectively with the condition that these values make a positive impact on the mental and physical health. Human being goes through variety of such values, but these leanings should contribute to his well-being and those values that appear to make a negative impact on the body are to be filtered out. A person, who has such a strong motivation to move alongside positive values of his society and has a strong capacity to assimilate cultural values of another society that contain valuable insight, will approach perfection in cultural understanding. He is not only in search of cultural values and traits but also makes an active effort to take advantage of these values in the circumstances. This will take time to realize such values through in depth thought and knowing material and abstract values associated with a given culture.

When a person reaches a higher level of cultural understanding, his behavior changes accordingly. He tries to make changes in his environment to organize his life according to new standards and enjoy a better life. But this acquisition which demands corresponding application is subject to society in which one lives. Cultural acquisition at individual level can become high but there may not be similar efforts in the society in which he lives. Then this understanding is a matter of knowledge as there is no place for social acceptance. In a very powerful case an individual seeks to live with people who share these values in another society. In other words, acquisition of cultural values that enhance a mental and physical development proceed a human being in his social life and enable him to reach a higher stage

of behavior than the former one. For instance, smoking cigarettes follows a cultural pattern that differs across societies. Smoking in a room where others especially children who do not smoke are present imposes a negative physical impact on them. Children cannot defend their right unless adults aim to do so. A primary symptom of such symbiotic living emerges in breathing problems. Those who follow culture of health, provide certain condition for others so that those who do not smoke are safe from this affair. The values that one adheres to in this regard primarily guarantee his personal health. Very many cultural phenomena follow the same pattern. Recognition of values as culture is different among people but in the whole, it is socially understood and practiced. Any aspect that is subject to cultural recognition is fruitful so far as it donates a certain type of calm, recreation and health in designated limits.

A great part of effects on people in regard to internalization of cultural values comes about from rule of law in society. Behavior based on law enables people to distinguish the differences as well as similarities between him, others and the environment and to make sense of reality upon certain criteria. Accordingly, the relation that others make as friends is to be based on a clear cut pattern and in each pattern the person behaves upon the rule of conduct in that situation. The relations with friends should take a definite pattern otherwise the term friendship does not apply to these relations. The move in either status follows its own special timing, the emotions being expressed and the behavior presented. In fact, acting upon one's understanding of who is a friend and who is not whenever there are some types of interaction and the decision to remain friend is a cultural pattern that takes its basic laws from the society in which the individual lives. When such values are weakly realized, it is possible for this pattern to erode. This action distorts the boundary of real behavior based on norm and non-normative behavior and provides the ground for insults. That is to say, an individual who lives with others and has to develop some type of interaction with others who cannot develop a relationship based on trust become quasi friends ambiguously. There are almost always

some people with whom the person lives but are indifferent to him, as the mutual relations are subject to neutral laws.

Advanced culture gives special order to the rule of conduct in social relations. High cultural standards make people attentive to care both within family and in relations with others. This knowledge leads to enforcement of orderly behaviors that make a positive impact on both people and affairs. In this condition, attachment to cultural values enables people to preserve their material heritage according to scientific standards and pass it to next generations. The total organization of social behavior that is based on law may appear unfamiliar to a stranger who has no grasp of such values because he may have neither a strict grasp of law nor independency in living alone. Where people have not much dependency on the network of friends and relatives, their affective needs from others tend to be function of special order as greater part of care is rendered to social institutions. Even though the behavior of people based on rule of law may appear cold in social relations with others but ascertain a special order which derives from a well-defined pattern. Therefore, rule of law as part of culture produces certain type of people that may appear odd to strangers, whose culture is different. On the contrary, when people live together and the issue of friendship and conflict does not follow a clear-cut pattern, they are superficially friends with each other and the relations are based on absurd content.

Application of art in everyday life is although expression of certain value has to take origin from certain pattern of use in order to make its own impact. Art when followed by certain artistic style rather than individual and group purposes is more able to show its worth, since the content of the work is not interrupted by other things. In addition, precision on the type of art at work promotes its aim to be an expression of particular artistic ideas about everything in reality that has worth to be represented. The artistic work is used by people for different

purposes wherever there is a need for presence of art. The effect of this presence is either that of mental relief during leisure time or external contribution toward objective beauty of the environment. Nevertheless when this application by people takes a very emotional form beyond leisure time and even extreme of that, then it is possible to have a negative affect on the body. In other words, application of art in everyday life when it becomes a function of time appropriate occasions as a recreation during specific lapse of time can be responsive to human need for this aspect. In addition, the type of art being represented, the amount of time spent on making it a masterpiece and the use of relevant education in the production of that, contribute to its perfection which the audience can take advantage of during free time occasions.

Development of right belief and knowledge makes an individual have logical recognition of art. Attendance to artistic works is an expression of people who have particular type of belief and are motivated by a special kind of interest. Aside application to the art knowledge as a cultural value enable people to do the things according to their standards and distance themselves from irregularities, as each task has its own method of use. Without attention to method of use, everyday activities do not have desirable output. A value which culture specifies represents certain period of time, well developed and produced and aims to preserve and continue well-being and cultural heritage contribute to society effectively.

In a society where culture has a limited place and there is superficial application of norms across society, in subsequent mutual care between parents and children does not follow a well-defined pattern although parents play their role a breadwinner and homemaker effectively. As a rule, for knowledgeable in regard to social and culture to emerge, there should be certain degree of education. Without education people cannot relate the ongoing things that they see with those of mental processes and knowledge sources such as books.

The perception and meaning pattern becomes limited to personal experiences or the right and wrong things that others have said about an issue. For this reason, usage of men's cultural understanding that originates from the need to find symbolic relations among events and switch to socially acquired knowledge needs a deep and integrated thinking which comes about from a multiplicity of learnings purported by Tylor in 1871.

Many aspects of culture should be mentally learned and through personal experiences objectively felt. In an imaginary society, where it prescribes fathers attend work, mothers attend the household and children attend school and this plan is socially successful but not accompanied by cultural values, this success is apt to disharmony. An example of this irregularity can take the following form; parents take the child to a public ceremony where he is not supposed to be, there is no active motivation by members to think about furnishing the house with more advanced equipment etc.

Susceptibility to cultural traits, values and activities of a larger society even those of universal but shared at national level can highly affect one's role behavior in his immediate vicinity and in relationship with others. These cultural values have much to do with the general organization of life. People have a calm living phase in this city in which there is no need to rush at what they need to achieve. Almost everyday affairs become accessible by state support through management of time, self-interest and effort. This possibility helps them to not take hasty decisions in regard to their work and family which may embody negative outcomes with little prospect for success. In other words, there is integrity of cultural values with those of social goals. This integration makes future plans better accessible by forethought. Long-term plans for social goals emerge only in tiny optimal fractions of social changes as well as long-term continuation of today's optimal level during lapse of time.

Parental familiarity with culture especially those which have to do with intelligence and making sense of the world around can fairly improve their socio-economic status by taking part in activities that increases one's status. Failure or success of family in ups and downs of life in localities somehow is affected by a local culture that hinders or gives values to rationality and the ability to fit in line with movement of larger society. In this situation, family unwittingly supports a status-quo for children to follow parental model in life for themselves too rather than bring their attention to a personal initiative which lay upon thoughtfully developed plans. In regard to parenting William (2004: 56-57) argued "this understanding of what it means to be a good mother is also influenced by her social networks, ethnicity and culture, as well as by the local conditions and customs of male and female employment and caring".

In the whole, culture makes people put much thought on the value under consideration and consequent action to be taken. Action in accordance with cultural values follows the place in which it takes place and the rules of interaction that it specifies. For this to be implemented, there should be not only a pattern for action, but also this pattern is a representation of certain laws which culture targets that are accompanied by ideal beauties that it has in mind about the true nature of things and affairs. Specific cultural patterns as experienced in West European societies enable people to come near to what they wish the reality be according to some rich standards which they have leaned from their cultural heritage, because they like to have things done properly. Culture is principally thought-centered. To say that something is cultural, there is a need for a certain degree of deep understanding that comes about precise thinking and making sense of cultural events and values. As this understanding takes place, an individual comes to the point to turn thought into action. The action regulates ongoing affairs and contributes to a well-defined order in which care about things and affairs is central. Following this, the deeper and more valuable the cultural pattern, trait and symbol the more

care is to be taken to the issue that it aims to target. An individual equipped with deep cultural values takes a careful orientation in dealing with others and prevents things that are contrary to society. Although each society has its own culture, some of the cultural values are shared internationally. Acquisition of cultural values in specific society in which the individual lives according to high standards, make an individual get knowledge of new cultural standards in another society that are higher in terms of values and progress in new culture.

ENDNOTE

¹ “The sociological concept of norms is closely allied to that of role. It highlights the social expectations attached to particular social positions” (Scott & Marshall). Other social scientists (Callero et al., 1987:248) defined it as the behavior that includes a set of normative expectations, rights or duties attached to specific positions or statuses in the social structure. Typical roles of father, mother, son and daughter concerning their relationship, contents and effects are to be examined.

² Social structure consists of both institutional structure and relational structure. In the institutional structure (social system) people hold roles and develop expectations in regard to each other. As they act upon these roles, patterned social behaviors emerge, but there is rarely a perfect pattern that is formed by both institutionalized expectations and actual social relations.

³ The extent that parents know and place themselves in their roles as socially defined categories.

⁴ International social survey Program (ISSP) 2002 module ‘Family and changing gender roles’ including Germany (West and East), Finland and USA is representative sample from Germany (963 questionnaires in Western and 431 questionnaires in Eastern Federal States) collected by ALLBUS plan (Die allgemeine Bevölkerung Umfrage der Sozialwissenschaften) from the adult population living in private accommodations. Data for Finland was collected in cooperation with the University of Tampere and the Finish Social Science Data Archive. It contained systematic random sampling of the population register in which 1353 people answered questionnaires. Data from the USA was collected together by General Social Survey (GSS). 1171 individuals filled out questionnaires. Altogether, the sample consists of 3891 cases. The same questions were asked in each country for the aim of comparative research.

⁵ Housework in this data set is measured by the amount of hours worked at home per week.

⁶ This section has been written without much theoretical speculation.

⁷ Indicators often used to measure family policy are the level of public child care, parental leave arrangements and other financial child-related support (van der Lippe and van Dijk, 2002).

⁸ Ibid. 223 They present indicators of number of hours worked, gender segregation and wage difference as measurement of women’s work.

⁹ In social science, culture consists of all aspects of learned behavior that are not biologically transmitted, whereas in common sense knowledge of culture refers to the arts. This culture is a combination of learned and symbolic aspects of human society. Among many definitions of culture, the one provided by Scott and Marshall (2005) from social anthropologists, Edward Tylor (1871) seem more convincing in that it is a learned complex of knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law and custom.

Chapter

VI

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

FAMILY SOLIDARITY

A. GENERAL VIEWS ON SOLIDARITY:

In Durkheim's theory the function of the division of labor is to achieve the order, harmony, and social solidarity that society needs. He later presented the idea of social facts which comprise of social order, parental obligations as a social fact that lies on values within this particular social system can accordingly be attributed to parental tasks as part of division of labor. This harmony will in the end secure family solidarity¹. Namely, with regard to Durkheim's theory of social solidarity, the relation between obligations and family solidarity forms on the basis of interconnection among these facts and outcomes that are represented by data. For this reason its function is to harmonize family relationships with its environment as well as integration in the whole network of social systems. He found simple correlations among social facts and attributed them to both functional and causal interconnections and regarded society to be an organic whole whose parts were harmoniously interconnected.

Solidarity in theory is of a common goal for all members of a family, a community, a society and even to a group of societies. This takes place when people represent this feeling in their actions for this goal since it will bring benefits for all of them. If people live together but do not respect to their citizens, life becomes difficult in that society and chaotic relations dominate different aspects of life. In the end, reaching social goals certainly will be faced by problems. This situation takes on different forms in different societies. Accordingly, societies which represent high social solidarity make advances in their social affairs too. In such a condition people not only live independently but also respect the rights of their citizens in a variety of social settings. A great portion of these rights are set by law and another portion is implemented through widespread application of norms that lead to procurement of sense of community among people, whereby an individual renounces actions that disturb others.

Family solidarity takes a vital effect from obligations in regard to family life and the background which society already in regard to family life for parents has provided. Parents usually like the members to show solidarity over things that they say and the commands that they give to children more or less have a direct link with this wish. Nevertheless in many cases, particularly parents of working class do not engage this need in a principled manner since they have not experienced it in principle. This weakness in the family relegates itself to school where new problems come about between the teacher and child. The burden of problems at school make the child quit studying. To a great extent school dropout is attributable to weakness of families to bring up and rear children. The same problem can represent itself at home. A particular case is when siblings quarrel and do not behave friendly toward one another. Whether the source of disparity is something at home or comes from outside of the home, it is not pleasant for human dignity; something entirely contrary to family solidarity. For a family to adapt itself to its environment and fit into the whole network of social systems there should be an internal integrity based on sense of respect and mutual understanding and a procurement of sense of belonging to each other through introduction and support of the following values; be considerate to each other, understanding accompanied by patience when another member is upset, mitigate earlier resentments, mutual aid when necessary and explain emerging problems so that a solution can be found.

Parsons on the other hand views solidarity beside value consensus to be related to coercion, money and influence to secure social order as an outcome of solidarity. However the concept of social order needs much consideration to reach a commonly agreed upon meaning, says Ritzer and Smart (2001:158). Social scientists believe it has a normative status whose meaning is subject to situation and observers own interpretation of the situation whether it is social order or not. To one person status quo may seem as social order whereas to another one who feels excluded it seems different. The analysis of solidarity within family although is no

exception to the above conditions as data indicated there is a high consensus over solidarity taking dimension of obligation of feeling into account. This will lead to social order within family as the primary goal and also across society as the secondary goal. Both of which are collective goals.

In order to provide a comprehensive account of social order Parsons viewed it as a combination of the following schools of thought: 1. The tradition of Hobbes and Marx that stress on coercion where no importance is given to the significance of beliefs. 2. The tradition of utilitarianism that stresses on harmony of interests where no account of the processes is given whereby harmony of interests merges within social institutions. Accordingly, power emerges as a capacity to secure the work of binding obligations by units in a system of collective organization whose legitimacy belongs to bearing on collective goals (parsons, 1967:308)². In this condition, the issue of force and consent are intertwined. This power serves as a medium to move across and between the four functional subsystems³ of any social system.

In regard to Parson's view, it is possible to say obligations of family members in three levels when put into effect collectively lead to formation of power within family. In subsequent, emergence of power helps a family to deal with its environment effectively, and be powerful in mutual interaction when demanded. When a family has this ability to really put obligations into action, a family achieves a certain level of power. Accordingly, the efforts to reach at its collective goals like improving socio-economic status of members decisively, obligations take a legitimate form to itself and receive valuable worth. In other words, the other social systems which have systemic relations with family, form social structure of society, whereby a family can achieve integrity, which enables it to reproduce itself for social relations

effectively. In the meantime, proper function of family affairs during lapse of time creates latent patterns across society by enforcing social order.

The issue of family wealth as a dimension of money in making economic capabilities especially investment for the future of children into account plays a vital role. The things related to secondary activities like vacation after lengthy work for adults as well as making of capabilities for education of children are dependent on both family income and family wealth. Insecurity in relation to income make family weak in movement toward its goals. Those families who have a fixed monthly income and take advantage of the social security system can plan their lives more regularly. In principle sufficient income makes a solid background for the social development of a family. Well-off families who are not highly dependent on their financial affairs can better think and act on social aspects of life. Poor social order is to a great extent attributable to weakness of family to bring up and rear children who are concerned with positive social relations with their fellow countrymen.

In a society where there is no systematic social order, this affair primarily aside putting law into effect necessitates recognition of norms for all social groupings. Since the implementation of norms absolutely through value consensus is a long-term project and also some individuals due to a variety of reasons have no tendency to obey social order, then procurement of social order taking Parson's view into account takes various forms of implementation. Preservation, enforcement and increase of value consensus among all social strata is improvable through the following; state provided regulations for families so that they can rear children according to social goals, enforcement and proliferation of norms through relevant educational methods and social implementation of it throughout generations. Non-normative behavior in consequent has no place in the circle of followers. In fact, the behavior that does not follow norms in the positive phase after confronting an individual with

difficulties and thereafter he perceives the norms is forced to be in harmony with others. In the negative phase, continuation of non-normative behavior will lead at the end to breach of law in which case the individual encounters law enforcement agencies. In the whole, advanced societies are those which organize the social arena with high levels of social norms and widespread application of normative behavior.

Social order has societal roots embedded in the history of society. In a society where people have been taught to behave normatively across generations, enjoy sufficient economic welfare, and have internalized strong commitment to the norms, they do so even though those conditions that lead to justify non-normative behavior either on behalf of authorities or on behalf of people will be rejected. These beliefs about maintenance of norms will also be strengthened by strong ethics toward order which comes about from clear cut identity alongside vested interests that we have about society as a place in which we live as well as the concern about the future generations who will live in this society. Exceptions to non-normative behavior happen in emergencies very rarely. Frequent occurrences of this type of behavior are due to disregard toward norms and possibly other social problems.

The view on solidarity proposed by Bourne surrounds the idea that solidarity should not be used in equivocal situations. That is to say, solidarity in general should serve its purpose in uniting people over a problem rather than engaging in solidarity as a matter of togetherness but use of it in negative ways. For instance, he believed war does not contribute to solidarity even though society comes together to defend itself. In fact, strict use of liberalism and scientism confuses the ideal of liberty and the real (reality of an issue), a problem which disregards American life. A group of new right Nietzscheans who deployed this view criticizes economic insecurity and class division and defended social solidarity against bourgeois individualism and capitalist's instrumentalism. This idea lies upon the fact that,

human focus of attention takes effect through, cultivating, preserving, and empowering of this aspect at national level. For this reason, they called for legitimate hierarchy that revives an ‘organic community’(Ritzer and Smart, 2001).

In accordance with the above view, specific context of family solidarity specifies actions to be taken in favor of family members. Any change within this participation has to be sought in factors like normative beliefs, individual needs and past actions in favor of solidarity that give rise to changes in family solidarity. Distrust can reduce this participation dramatically. If family members commit themselves to solidarity but do not follow other duties at this level then it is an equivocal situation. Namely, solidarity varies upon past relationships that are influenced by norms. A particular case is when, as a child one knows that he should contribute to family solidarity but he does not know the norm of behaving toward another member of the family, in consequent this solidarity is apt to breakdown and conflict where solidarity is necessary for defending family rights against threats. Then there is appeal for formal status of law and legal actions to be taken in this direction.

There are other situations as well that can lead to inefficient solidarity. A particular case takes the form of helping other members whose cause is the conflict between family members themselves. The purpose of this solidarity is to solve current problems in which well-informed and experienced family members especially adults can contribute to this problem effectively. If these adults are aware of their obligations and have strong commitment, they can better solve the problems. However obligations need equal status among members, otherwise they can generate new problems. An instance of that could be, when an individual enters higher education where it is likely that his way of thinking changes and realizes that his family life in many aspects differ and are worse than others. When he takes action to improve this situation he will be confronted with a mixture of negative reactions. Since other family members do

not have a tangible view of the situation, they cannot feel this way of thinking and consequently there is a possibility for conflict over topics of interest, as understanding of these issues amount them is difficult. As a result the solution to current problems necessitates to be solved over time in the long run. In order to prevent conflict between the person who wants to bring focus of attention of his family toward specific issue and his family, making friendly contact and creation of mutual trust is necessary. The individual aims to convince others, the purpose of debate is to help them improve existing condition of family life in any aspect not for the sake of personal considerations, although the overall positive actions will also benefit him. Opposite of this relationship leads to tension that is itself generative of more conflict. The relation between an individual and his family over solidarity can represent itself in society which varies by the personality of the individual(s).

Respect is a strong basis upon which solidarity can rely. This has been referred as an important human drive alongside the sex by sociologist. Humans regardless of their social status like to be respected where there are some kinds of interactions between them. It is the core of making positive contacts with others. That is to say, it is most likely to live with people of different ideas and prevent conflict but show respect to them. The issues that lead to conflict in this case easily become scrutinized and find an appropriate solution. Life in family is a situation that the person should live with parents and siblings together. When there is high disagreement among members logic based on respect and law will take the final decision that is safe for all relevant parties. Those with wrong ideas at the end will face problems as they stress on their way of thinking and go ahead by these ideas. The outcome of their mistakes returns to themselves. In other words, right or wrong ideas will show themselves in the outcome. A person who stressed on his idea unilaterally in reality may realize that his action has been wrong. In this case, family members can be together with

patience until a solution is found. When no common solution is found, separation without conflict is an alternative way to deal with the problem.

Irregularities in solidarity in the whole regardless of social causes are consequent of lack of cooperation over a well defined social goal. Definition of social goal comes about from the general understanding of people who live together. This understanding enables them to realize the limits of their action and make efforts to apply this understanding. This takes three different paths. Many people have this general understanding in regard to goal and move into this direction. Some others have this general understanding but they do not know how to put it into effect. These people need knowledge about their rights as well as the norms and laws that social institutions prescribe. Still the least common group even though they know that there is a common goal but they do not accompany. These problems can have various roots. Psychological problems are the major factors at the individual level. These problems differ from each other depending on the form of solidarity that society takes to itself. When society provides basic availabilities in education, accommodation and health and also there is socially defined law for social goals, then disharmony with social solidarity may be a matter of psychological problems. In this case, an individual has no control over right action since his present action is in his benefit without regard to others. In other words, there is no cognitive mechanism to analyze the current situation in terms of right action and respect toward others rather to egoistic wishes. Even if the society does not have this capability to support its members for the above availabilities, a normal citizen respects the rights of others in the family, neighborhood, community etc. An individual feels that the rights of others are his rights and knows that breach of solidarity is to go beyond the limits of one's right. Breach of solidarity upon individual's psychological status takes two different paths. When an individual makes excessive problems for others he faces punishment from law enforcement agencies. Another path is medical treatment of the person who suffers from mental disorder.

It is necessary to mention that there are some people who are neither considerate nor can be located in classification of mental disorders defined by psychologists. Problems related to solidarity mainly belong to this type of disorders. As the logic of solidarity in the context is not clearly understood and the individual suffers from the above disorders, then personal wishes dominate interpersonal relations. Many family disagreements with consequent resentment can be traced back to these personal disorders.

When social solidarity does not follow an orderly and organized pattern like rule of law for citizens that ascertain social justice for all people, then social relations are subject to a special type of disorder and life in the neighborhood and the city become problematic. People who live in these conditions, certainly during the day due to tiredness and unhappiness created by others cannot perform their duties at work effectively. In fact, problems of people who suffer personal disorders transform it into social problems for others as those who become unhappy lose their trust in regard to others. For this reason they do not participate in social program very well as it is expected from them. Accordingly the outcome of social action is not desirable either. To return this condition to its earlier position demands to resolve problems related to displaced solidarity and establishment of mutual trust between individual(s) and groups with which they live together. Life in a family is no exception to these conditions. In a family the person lives with a group who are very close to him. The person can better resolve the problems due to his near contact, familiarity and past knowledge about the members with whom he has problems. This ensures the attitude that the relation between the person and family is particular and there is no reason to quarrel over things. They are not strangers to each other, and can solve their problems if they feel that they have a common goal. As this attitude dominates the logic of solidarity among members, problems become marginal things.

Reverse of the above logic mostly leads to lack of family solidarity among parents which in the severe form causes a high divorce rate. When parental expectations in regard to each other are more than their actual abilities and they interact accordingly but these expectations are not true, it will lead to disagreement among them. The same problem is attributable to lack of precision before partner selection. In many cases, they are either too precise or not precise enough in this affair. Problems of family solidarity for children is primarily related to their age, since young children become easily agitated by minor things that conflict their interest and again become friends with each other with exchange of the things that interest them. All of the above factors that somehow affect the human body are in a certain way linked with the mechanism that internal body organs work during the circumstances. In accordance with this, the action that an individual takes regardless of the outcome is an effect of the biological processes that takes place in the body.

B. BIOLOGICAL BASES OF BEHAVIOR IN SOLIDARITY:

B.1. Physiological Bases of Behavior;

The assumptions about involuntary activities within our bodies have changed. In the past, it has not been possible to determine blood pressure, but it is now possible to alter it consciously. Human organisms work as an integrated system of specialized parts. For example, smell receptors in the body detect the chemical changes in the environment and the body goes away as a reaction to this change. The hypothalamus as a specialized part of the brain (located in the brain stem and in the reticular formation) is responsible for instigation and satiation of hunger. It interprets the chemical changes in the blood and instigates the

motive of hunger. In other words, all behavior is to achieve the goal of an organism through organized organs across time and space.

In the same way, organisms react to the conditions that demand the body to engage in family solidarity as an event. The function of the hypothalamus also regulates emotions as conscious feelings and those relevant things to the feeling like obligation in the form of wakefulness and response to stimuli. Injury to the reticular formation produces apathy, lethargy, sleepiness and distortion in distinguishing between weak and strong stimuli. The organism senses this event across time and space interprets it and leads to responses of another kind such as the decision whether to contribute to solidarity or not. Body organs also work together. The hypothalamus alongside other structures of the brain controls the circadian rhythm whose function is to set a 24 hour wake and sleep rhythm.

B.2. Neurological Bases of Behavior;

The nervous system helps organisms to conduct information and take control of body parts. The nerve cell or neuron has a specialized capacity to respond to stimulation and to transmit messages, or excitations. Accordingly, the neuron constitutes the structural unit of the nervous system. Each neuron has a nucleus around which cell bodies exist. Both in and around the cell body there are ions which are electrically charged amounting about 70 millivolts. When a cell is stimulated, neuron discharges electrical potential and transmits nerve impulses through axon across neuron length. Each neuron usually has an elongated axon and several dendrites. The function of the dendrites is to receive stimulation and pass it to neural impulses along the axon to effectors (muscles and glands) or to other neurons.

Sensor and motor neurons are both transmission neurons. Sensory receptors lead to the spinal cord or brain. Motor neurons lead from the spinal cord to the effectors. There are also connectors which form plenty of in between cells. A neural impulse travels according to the all-or-none law. That is to say, when a neuron is stimulated during a refractory phase the neuron transmits chemical energy if the stimulus is more than the original threshold value. Specialized cells in the body of individuals during solidarity are primarily able to respond to stimuli and transform it into neural events. Examples of receptors are for skin senses, internal body movements and position of the body in space. In fact, with the aid of receptors an individual makes contact with his environment. Receptor cells which exist in various sense organs convert physical events into neural events. Then with effectors which include muscles and glands, an individual becomes able to respond both physically and emotionally. In the whole, 12 billion neurons form the human nervous system. About 2.5 million serve as receptors, about 0.5 million as effectors and the remaining 99 percent serve as connectors, Wrightsman and Sanford (1975:185). Connectors substitute receptors and effectors during emergencies.

B.3. Feeling as Internal and External Response;

Human beings seek the presence or absence of certain goals such as the responsibilities that parents feel in regard to the development of their children. They arrange standards to meet these responsibilities as an outcome of conscious feelings which they have about the situation. Consequently, the responsible parents are those who know for sure what they feel. For a careful observer objective behavioral presence of responsibility is seen as an internal state of parents. For this reason they try to transform these subjective feelings into objectively measured responses, a process which occurs both internally and externally.

The internal change in feeling is mediated by the autonomic nervous system and presented in several changes such as the secretion of adrenalin, an enlargement of the pupils, an increase in sweating etc. (Wrightsmann and Sanford. 1975) in an outlook about research done by (Hoisington, 1928) report that people usually feel pressures in the abdominal region for unpleasantness and near the upper part of the body near the shoulders for pleasantness. In effect verbal description of feeling is a reflection of sensory images of internal responses. Behavioral responses to the feeling, on the other hand, occur together with subjective feeling. The parents' reaction toward children against harmful things is to prevent them from involving in those actions such as fighting with other children or use of metallic devices to attack somebody by explaining the conditions that lead to these conditions. The range of these reactions is varied.

This responsibility also takes other forms such as obligation of attitude and material need. These external responses of human organisms are socially learned behaviors. Strong feeling can exert energy over a longer period than normal. Research indicates an enthusiastic scholar about a scientific discovery works in the early hours of the morning when other people are asleep. Emotion being represented to us as conscious feeling is a complicated phenomenon which involves so many functions and structures. A combination of intricate neurological and physiological processes is at work to form conscious feeling. Each of these processes make body organs move or work in a certain way. In those conditions, that there is a need for response of feeling, the sympathetic nervous system becomes active with the expenditure of bodily energy.

The energizing effects of emotions are presentable in three forms: a) the exertion of energy over a long period. b) The exertion of greater energy in a short period. c) The capacity to be indifferent to pain. It accounts for an increased heart rate and other similar bodily emotional

reactions which occur in sequence. Some devices have been invented to measure internal emotional states. In a normal state, the brain receives the stimuli and connects it to the stored past experiences and send it through the nerve fibers to the glands and muscles of the body. In a relaxed form, the brain emits waves with a frequency of about 10 oscillations per second, a pattern known as brain potentials or alpha rhythm.

In the whole, there is no single idea to explain emotion as a conscious experience beyond description of facts. Rather the attempt to explain emotion varies from relating emotion to the physiological events as well as exclusively inter-related physiological and neurological phenomena. Peripheral theory put forward by William James and others deals with the relation between emotion and the body's emotional reactions. This theory postulates that our emotions are in arousal due to stressful situations. As an example, we run because we are afraid. The James-Lange theory gives priority to physiological processes in preparation of organism for action, while conscious feeling is left to take care of itself. Cognitive theory, put forward by Conan and Bard puts a stress on brain processes. Since the central theme revolves around brain activities, it has also been called centralist. Wrightsman and Sanford (1975) in explanation of this process quote from Bard (1934, 1950) that, by a series of operations, that after a cat's entire cerebral cortex had been removed, the animal could be evoked into anger by simply stroking its fur. Yet in another theory known as cognitive determinants of emotional states, Schachter et al. propose that cognitive factors and social situations have a determining impact on the emotional state. They believe physiological states and emotional states do not always function together. For this reason, perception of an emotional state comes as a wider influence of our present situation and our past experience, rather than physiology alone. Accordingly, conscious arousal of responsibility of feeling becomes active in response to family solidarity and what an individual has gained as past experience. This

cognitive process along with physiological process determines individual's action in solidarity.

C. COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL ACTION IN SOLIDARITY:

In order for an individual to achieve his goals he may need the support that is related to family solidarity. From an economic point of view, the utility of solidarity for each member is to get advantage of family possibilities in guidance and care during the times of need. The more the individual is ready to spend time on family affairs, fulfill his obligation of feeling in regard to each other, show respect to each other, the more he is capable of producing and consuming solidarity whenever necessary. In other words, solidarity is an outcome of positive relations among family members. Today's cohesive family solidarity fosters similar patterns in the future, even when weak family relations shadow over solidarity. They expect positive responses in the future, as they have contributed to this affair in the moment positively. Nevertheless, this expectation is subject to the new situation and family possibilities, plus cost and benefit of the situation.

Lack of contribution to this affair for no reasonable ground will generate a like response, since solidarity is collectively working. Environmental influences as well as human capital in the production and consumption of solidarity are education, attentiveness to the needs of one's family and the amount of time to spend on required tasks. These are mainly under the control and investments of parents. In subsequent, parents who have invested in these areas effectively can expect effective contribution from children in solidarity. In fact, desirable upbringing of children both physically and mentally leads to higher return in the case of solidarity. As shown in table 6.1, children contribute to solidarity effectively, taking into account their obligation of feeling. Children also contribute to solidarity effectively taking their obligations of attitude and material need into account so far as it is not the matter of

situational constraint for them. The typical characteristics of each dimension are the following:

Affective Support comprises;

- Giving comfort.
- Sending postcards.
- Sending letters.

Medical Support comprises;

- Talk with doctors and hospitals when they are ill.
- Tell family members about necessary medical care.
- Arrange timetable for medical care such as vaccination, search for specialists.
- Search for means of healing.
- When they are ill individual cooks and buys medicine for another family member.

Financial Support comprises;

- Try to give advice on where to save money.
- Try to give advice on how to spend money economically.

As shown in table 6.1 each member's fulfillment of obligation of feeling except the mothers in terms of financial creates relatively homogenous effects on affective, medical and financial aspects of solidarity. By attention to this mechanism which operates at a collective level, chapter X (table 10.15) and also with attention to the theoretical statement of economic approach which views the family at the collective level the main place of socialization (see Quah and Sales, 2006:68), it can be said that obligation of feeling is central to the socialization process. During this process individuals learn basic values in relation to each other as particular members of the family and the way they should behave appropriately. The more members fulfill the obligations of feeling, the more solidarity they represent. On the individual level in terms of obligation of attitude and material need members take advantage of social approval and physical health of these dimensions as preferences mainly emerging from individual division of labor based on family position with consequent positive effects on

solidarity. Specifically, particular aspect of solidarity, such as medical care, is a reflection of this need.

Table 6.1 Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Dimensions of Family Solidarity by Dimensions of Obligation (The Overall Index) Controlling for Family Position

	Family Solidarity								
	Affective			Medical care			Financial		
	Father	Mother	Child	Father	Mother	Child	Father	Mother	Child
Obligations									
Feeling	.211* (.041) N=94	.242** (.006) N=129	.575** (.000) N=35	.281** (.010) N=84	.371** (.000) N=108	.498** (.002) N=35	.311** (.002) N=96	.120 (.180) N=127	.625** (.000) N=35
Attitude	.160 (.097) N=108	.133 (.121) N=137	.479** (.003) N=36	.053 (.609) N=94	.342** (.000) N=114	-.008 (.965) N=36	.128 (.179) N=111	.102 (.239) N=135	.368* (.027) N=36
Material Need	.196 (.073) N=85	.089 (.352) N=112	.165 (.336) N=36	.371** (.001) N=78	.126 (.215) N=98	.379* (.023) N=36	.175 (.106) N=87	.006 (.952) N=110	.198 (.247) N=36

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Numbers in parentheses are significant levels.

Medical care based solidarity is an outcome of efficient division of labor. This type of solidarity for mothers is an outcome of fulfillment of obligation of attitude toward children. The same solidarity for fathers is an outcome of fulfillment of obligation of material need toward children. As fathers, because of wage earning capabilities are responsible for taking care of their children, this responsibility has a positive significant relation with taking care of children medically (table 6.1). Concerned children take care of their parents during emergencies effectively too. The difference among rational family members when it comes to the matter of choice is due to preference based decisions in regard to current situation and the cost and benefit calculations in response to a particular type of solidarity. In the whole, the efforts both at collective level and at individual level when followed by consequent commitments to obligations aim to contribute to the common household production of solidarity as utility. Individual(s) who has more time to spend at home duties and is more

inclined to make efforts at the will of family is the most likely to be responsive to the demand of solidarity from other members. For instance, in German society where mothers are supported by state to contribute to the household duties and fathers are mainly responsible for paid work, the latter has more economic capabilities to exercise when it comes to the matter of medical care. This contribution to the household division of labor can be influenced by other factors like biological differences among members and different investments in human capital (Becker, 1981:30).

Parents and children engage in family solidarity to get their problems solved in a timely manner. As they search for aid from other members they also keep in mind that when other members have similar demands, it would be wise to respond positively. In this way, they are doing some kind of cost benefit calculations within a family setting. The actor who supports reaffirms his earlier relationships and increases his opportunity to offer a possible solution to the problem with attention to his own limitations. This calls for a selection among different paths to a solution. When the best action is chosen with a beneficial outcome it has the character of optimal action. In other words, optimal action emerges from the rationality associated with norm familiarity that an individual brings into the situation.

According to data analysis, the values which members have learned through the socialization process in viewing their feelings and relevant responsibilities toward other family members proves the function of this obligation in collective action during solidarity. The total impact of parents and children is a representation of the fact that they are not only aware of responsibility of feeling but also it influences the decision to support each other at the time of necessities. This is the background upon which assisting others during solidarity lies. It emerges from a lucid perception of norm and contributes to a common goal. In the meantime, although mothers have a pleasant attitude toward children to take care of them when they are

ill, the same attitude does not urge parents to equip children with necessary financial information. That is to say, solidarity in terms of financial matters in reality is mainly the outcome of fulfillment of relevant responsibilities of feeling by fathers and children.

Family solidarity from a rational choice model forms through actions that increase cohesion and interdependence among family members. The advantage of family solidarity is to get benefits from collective actions which individuals cannot get alone. In addition, every family also needs a certain degree of solidarity to perform its function as a productive unit and to survive in the ups and downs of living conditions. In order to achieve this goal, society in turn prescribes appropriate means through social values. Anyone who takes advantage of these values realizes that obligations are institutionalized means that can lay the ground to achieve family solidarity as a proper socially defined goal. In so doing, they conform to the norm of society.

Family norm of obligation of feeling serves the interest of almost each member by coordinating their expectations in regard to each other and by making choices that are particular to each member in every given circumstance demanding solidarity from other members. During the course of life for example, it may happen that they have to help another family member through advice on how to spend money economically. This knowledge emerges from experience and is reinforced by the need to improve another member's economic independence. Then the decision of each member to put this advice into effect through efficient methods totally contributes to the well-being of family, because this support fosters necessary information. In fact, their fulfillment of the norm of obligation of feeling toward each other is not the only guideline for positive action within the family but also background that makes them view financial support as part of completing solidarity. Nevertheless conflict situations among members reduce the level of cooperation.

Concerning these beliefs by each family member to form strong solidarity is in accordance with ‘methodological individualism’⁴ principle of rational choice theory. Each individual member, depending on his situational constraint, takes positive action to raise the overall interdependence which in turn provides the support at the time of need. This commitment on behalf of each member and as an outcome of collective action by family will produce public goods. In other words, this is a dynamic force based on the actions of rational individuals that transforms itself into social and economic situations. More precisely the mechanism upon which society is the receiver of changes within family goes back to the socialization process at home that fosters essential knowledge to strengthen their reasoning about the means and ends and to use relevant information. Optimally, with consequent effects on the family process and finally with reciprocations across society again. This kind of mutual relationship between family and society, in which attachment to the current norm of feeling consolidates the existing solidarity and makes further progress in solidarity across society.

This impact is nevertheless loosely tied with the obligations of attitude and material need mainly due to lack of information about a particular type of solidarity by members as well as no strong commitment to the aforementioned obligations, that reduce the cooperation to the individual level of cost and benefit of the situation. Also fulfillments of these types of obligations aside family position and associated responsibilities are dependant on the nature of the relationship between dimensions of obligations and dimensions of solidarity. In these relationships some family positions are better informed about their responsibilities and can offer help by demand. In fact family solidarity is a condition that varies according to the kind of obligations that one fulfills and knowing what to do in certain situations. As data already in (chapter IV, table 4.4) pointed out children have greater representation of obligations of material needs to that of their parents in regard to each other, for this reason they limit this

cooperation at this level to an urgent case of medical support. The importance of medical support in regard to other types of support is obvious. For differences across three dimensions of support during solidarity at a collective level, refer to chapter X (tables 10.16, 10.17, 10.18).

The choice to represent one's solidarity with other family members varies with one's family position and the values which he fulfils as obligations. Such values are long-term developments which combine with the incentive of the current situation. According to Chong (2000:49) "much value formation is not a product of conscious maximization of immediate material benefits." Although value formation begins in early life socialization, the learning of values of obligations for adults is not fully formed until the family life comes into being. Under this circumstance is the individual informed and bounded to behave normatively. In subsequent, the values that an individual learns are not directly in association with other behaviors. Rather they are the background upon which other behaviors like family solidarity may lean to. This acquisition further enables individual to respond positively to the demand of solidarity.

Bawin-Legros (2001:60) in an argument with the idea from other scholars who did research in this field, that family solidarity is not endangered in Europe rather stated "family solidarity is alive still but convey chronic weakness which turns it into a tool that is particularly delicate to maneuver." Accordingly as the data in this case shows the solidarity is both almost weakly established and variant given the level of fulfilling family obligations. They act somehow rationally because their actions are founded on the choices that they made in the past in support of solidarity plus the rational beliefs which they adhere to about obligations and with regard to their (economic) limitations. However, data in table 6.1 does not support Chong's model that feeling and attitude as subjective calculations influence decision-making in

solidarity. Rather the outcome fits at best to an economic model in explaining the phenomenon both at the collective level and individual level.

In the whole, families follow norm of obligation of feeling since they realize the worth of these values personally and the way other people view that norm socially. The outcome of this type of solidarity is a common goal which assures social and economical benefits for them. In this condition, fathers, mothers and children submit their inclination to improve interdependence upon request. This is a mechanism which works partly at the individual level subject to their beliefs, type of solidarity and level of obligation, chapter X (tables 10.19, 10.20, 10.21) and totally at the collective level subject to obligation of feeling, (table 6.1 and chapter X table 10.15). The overall effect of norms on family solidarity is sensible through the coordinations they make in their choices and behaviors to comply with solidarity. In the meantime, they have learned that solidarity is not only a social goal and a standard set by larger society but also recognize that norm following will bring about the benefits that they desire.

D. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSING AMENITIES AND FAMILY SOLIDARITY:

Family as a normative system, aside from its normative regulation, largely depends on its housing amenities⁵ which members have access to. In this condition, amenities are combined products of family efforts that have undergone a selection process of either preference on economic choices or as an adaptation to meet social and material goals. Following the economic approach, as Stella and Arnaud (2000:68) regard it, to be concerned with behavior of family members in a market-oriented framework. In this respect, self-interested individuals, as they try to maximize their utility through the use of material means by the

selections they make of amenities, have the expectation that amenities will have some positive effects on family life. In either approach, beside material benefits that come from housing amenities, there is certain kind of prestige and social values associated with getting access to particular amenities, both spatially and instrumentally.

In the meantime, members participate in family solidarity in order to increase a goal-oriented sense of interdependence. In this process they take advantage of services provided by other members the success of which is likely to make solidarity stronger by future demands. Since this process requires certain amenities, the assumption is that, a rational behavior in solidarity relies on how to use available housing amenities. For behavior in solidarity to be rational, there is most likely to be a need for access to complete amenities as Elster (1998:83) pointed out to speak of rational behavior is the choice of best means to achieve a given end.

Proper choice of amenities and access to quality and well-equipped items may increase ones possibility to participate in actions which demand some material capability. Nevertheless, as data in table 6.2 indicates, there are no behavioral implications taking the effects of housing amenities into account. Development of family solidarity through use of these amenities is not the result of amenities on a family as was originally assumed. Instead the logic of solidarity should be seen in its values among family members and how far they identify with this aspect of life. Moreover, services offered to others through solidarity on a large part beside amenities should be sought on other non-material and material aspects.

Table 6.2 Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Family Solidarity (The Overall Index) by Levels of Access to Housing Amenities

	N	Coefficient	Sig.
Affective support	246	-.001	.989
Medical support	210	-.024	.727
Financial support	248	-.004	.949

p<0.05

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

For several reasons conditions related to housing amenities may affect the way an individual and a group in this regard think. First, housing arrangement is usually in such a condition that the individual has more time to spend at and consequently think about their relations. As their time frame is vast for those things which are not in an urgent condition they can thus think about ongoing problems like solidarity in a rather relaxed form. Accordingly, with a fresh mind they can make firm decisions about actions to be taken. Second, by an analysis of individual contribution to the affairs that require solidarity it is possible to deduce the impact that amenities in this regard have on solidarity as well as other outcomes. For instance, an individual who has more time, economic capabilities and physical strength is easily available to contribute to a collective goal.

Third, solidarity is a circumstance that depends on how family members experience their current living arrangements. For this reason, the support that comes from family is somehow based on ongoing social arrangements at home; whether they experience good relationships with other members who in turn may affect their decision subsequently. The same goes with economic relations with other members based on mutual trust and reciprocation of similar relationships in the past. When the outcomes have been mutually beneficial, continuity of these relations are further possible. In addition, social and economic relations outside of home can affect an individual's beliefs about his participation in solidarity. Intellectual

individuals with knowledge of high standards of living and fixed employment tend to deal with the issue of solidarity in a rather organized way in which rationality plays an important role. These are mainly an outcome of societal impact that transforms itself within family. A person may give an advanced plan about how a modern house looks like to his family which when accepted by other members leads to mobilization, displacement and adaptability to amenities at home.

ENDNOTE

¹ The belief about solidarism is to share aims and interests. It is a goal in itself. Bawin-Legros and Stassen (2002:243) defined family solidarity as “the whole range of affective, domestic, and financial services that are shared by those connected by kinship links, the limits of which are still poorly defined. In spite of this, the expression communicates the idea of mutual aid within families- one that is both simplified (the family is the material translation of harmony) and inclusive (solidarity means the whole family acting for the whole family, rather than one member for another).” Family solidarity by these authors has been reviewed for political and demographic reasons. In addition to the idea put forward by these authors I felt it was necessary to look at medical support as an important dimension of family solidarity because this phenomena is also social and with rational choice approach this refers to those actions taken during emergencies for the sake of family members rather than everyday activities.

² Ibid., 158

³ Namely, they stand for: Adaptive (A), Goal attainment (G), Integration (I), and latent pattern-maintenance (L).

⁴ Chong (2000:14) defines this principle as “people’s actions are in turn explained by their preferences, beliefs, opportunities, and choices. Rational choice theory thus reframes many conventional research questions by asking how rational individuals would behave in different environments of choice and what the collective outcome of those choices will be.”

⁵ Housing amenities are physical objects both spatially and instrumentally, altogether known as resources.

Chapter
VIII

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

PRIVACY

A. EFFECTS OF HOUSING AMENITIES ON PRIVACY:

Privacy¹ besides attachment to a legal concept (Hollander, 2001:5) follows the shared views of family members, concerning how to organize life in private. In accordance with this idea and the quotation from Margalit (2001:262) from Wessley that; privacy, family, and home are intimately connected spheres an analysis of interaction among these spheres requires examining the extent that housing amenities as intertwined parts of these spheres and as material interests if any complements to privacy. Categorical division of privacy in table 7.1 indicates privacy consists of particular activities, dispositions and relationships in which family members experience some of their rights at home. These aspects of privacy are also crucial in the development of relationships with others as well as personal development that motivate members to contribute to the well-being of family effectively. Rationalization process in this case is part of an accustomed way of living through the selections they make across dimensions of privacy and the way they modify their preferences given the limitations that they have in access to complete amenities.

Empirical evidence in table 7.1 also supports the argument that, for every dimension of privacy families mostly do particular things in which high-level engagement is prominent. Engagement at this level is characteristic of certain activities and relationships that take place above 47 percent. Medium level engagement is remarkable among activities and relationships that form 13 to 29 percent of those activities specifically. Low level engagement occurs within various ranges of up to 29 percent. In material aspect of privacy such as housework, although their activities allocate above 47 percent there is still a considerable share of low engagement (12-29 percent). The range of variations within high engagement is 14.6 percent. This indicates that, families do certain domestic tasks on a regular basis in which setting the table is most frequently used.

Table 7.1 Percentage Distribution of Privacy by Three Engagement Levels

Privacy	Description	Engagement Level			Total
		High	Medium	Low	
Housework	• Meal cleanup (N=372, 21)	59.9	21.2	13.2	94.3
	• Using vacuum cleaner (N=372, 20)	56.4	23.7	14.6	94.7
	• Cooking meals (N=372, 19)	50.8	20.4	23.6	94.8
	• Setting the table (N=372, 25)	61.6	18.8	12.9	93.3
	• Bedroom cleaning (N=372, 20)	54.3	21.0	19.3	94.6
	• House cleaning (N=371, 22)	48.4	22.0	23.4	93.8
	• Bathroom cleaning (N=372, 18)	47.0	18.8	29.0	94.8
	Mean:	54.0	20.8	19.4	94.2
Self	• Control over access to the self (N=372, 18)	79.0	13.2	3.0	95.2
	• Control over interaction with others and self (N=372, 26)	67.5	20.2	5.3	93.0
	• Exchanging news with family members whom I haven't seen for a while (N=372, 16)	61.1	23.7	11.0	95.8
	• To be patient (N=372, 18)	64.3	21.8	9.1	95.2
	Mean:	68.0	20.0	7.1	95.1
Friendship	• Visit friends at home at regular times (N=372, 11)	59.7	29.3	8.1	97.1
	• Make telephone calls with friends (N=372, 11)	64.8	24.5	7.8	97.1
	• Support friends in a situation of need (N=372, 13)	76.3	15.9	4.3	96.5
	Mean:	67.0	23.2	6.7	96.9

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: The right numbers in parentheses are missing values.

Psychological and behavioral aspects of privacy, namely self² and friendship³ still are more favourable among them. At best, a little more than ¾ of families respond to friends' demand for help in a situation of helplessness. Yet in friendship dimension a considerable share of activities occurs within a medium level of engagement. This aspect of privacy is widely practiced as people aim to develop ties with others either to rely on friends as the source of everyday support or to invoke the quality of relationships marked by closeness, confiding, sharing, and equality, William (2004:55). For every indicator of privacy, families enjoy almost a fruitful life by involving in activities and behaviors, which are above certain levels of

engagement. Despite this in low-level engagement, especially in housework duties they have high percentages.

Bawin-Legros (2001:51) in a study of the change in the way family is perceived identifies three major transformations. In an analysis concerning the transformation of norms Bawin-Legros regarded “the private sphere then is made of both the quest for self and the concern for others; the fulfillment of self would concern the relationship with others and especially with those who belong to the private universe”. As can be seen in this table dimensions of self and friendship are more active at the engagement level and almost prioritized to housework activities. Accordingly, it can be expected that, the dimension of self produces similar joint effects on family members who belong to private life, as well.

Housing amenities and whatever sources of access to them families follow either as structural property of the family system or adjustments to economic constraints does not produce some impacts on dimensions of privacy (table 7.2). Although data to a certain extent indicates, the effect of housing amenities on dimensions of privacy exist, but it cannot be taken for granted as a fact with statistical test of significance. A complete access to amenities marked by possession of important items, for instance mainly affect dimension of self negatively. In this dimension not only does an individual have a higher engagement level but also is he less receptive of the effects of amenities in comparison to other dimensions. Specifically, individual shows greater control over interactions with others as well as the self without being affected by amenities at home. In fact, in this way he thinks on himself and interacts with others more independently. It primarily leads to psychic benefits for the individual, the way he thinks about himself and organizing interaction with others.

Table 7.2 Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Privacy (The Overall Index) by Levels of Access to Housing Amenities

	N	Coefficient	Sig.
Housework	218	.049	.469
Self	218	-.130	.055
Friendship	232	.076	.247

p<0.05

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

In a critical evaluation of Altman's definition of privacy as a dialectical process, Foddy (1985:1133) proposed core notions in this regard as; "control over access to the self and control over interaction with others and self". These aspects of self are for a large part based on values, identifications, and knowledge that an individual has internalized during the socialization process and make him capable of rational decision-making. On the other hand, some other scholars believe additional factors contribute to rational decision making. That is to say, it is not a direct outcome of self-regard but rather the effects that one's self receives across circumstances. For example, Szostak (2003:43) quotes from (Abell, 2000) that the following assumptions surround rational decision making; self regard and optimality of decision making which both relax on occasion. Accordingly, although housing amenities are frequently exposable things to members, they cannot produce a determinant impact primarily on self among other dimensions of privacy. Rather, the self develops through interaction with others. During this process an individual learns subjectively how he regards himself and in relation with others.

The decision about how privacy should be is in many ways a reflection of identifying with family norms, beliefs and symbolic importance of privacy for society. The incentive to get material benefits and quality services from housework, relief of self from the pressure created

by the outside world and the reward of having good friends who can help one in the situation of need, increase their potential on labor force participation to improve privacy either by purchase of a better house (physical amenities) and upgrade of instrumental amenities that are removable parts of a house. Those families who possess improved housing amenities and take advantage of behavioral and objective norms supported by education and superior ideology of social class can organize their privacy more efficiently.

Ideology as a belief and value system varies across class relationships. For this reason, the upper middle and lower class have different views about organization of privacy. A great deal of private arrangement of life is set by what families think and how they reproduce it. For instance, children of upper class families tend to use house equipments properly according to etiquette as well as the obligation that it belongs to other family members too and protect it for future usage. Putting this norm into action primarily saves money, keeps the house neat, and leaves a good image on guests who may for a variety of events visit the family. On the contrary, bad usage of housing amenities, misuse of equipments and perfunctorily treatment of rule of conduct in these aspects leads to get insufficient service, which the amenity is designed to provide. In this condition, to a great extent, this leads to disorganized privacy. Applying normative values to housing amenities improves life conditions at home and reproduces family members in readiness for public domain. This helps them to have better control over their relationships with others and become receptive to the norms of larger society. This normative behavior which converts itself into other social and material goals is in accordance with Broom and Selznick's (1956) view of "family a unit in the organization of society as well as itself."

In the dimension of housework, it is more likely that access to better amenities increase the amount of work at home. Taking advantage of an equipped kitchen, besides making food

faster than the traditional method of using an oven is much more efficient when applied to joint operation of other amenities. In an equipped kitchen outfitted with modern cooking facilities a housewife can make cookies based on manual instructions that are as good as bakery made. This joint operation of tools needs more work and the end product is professional. As (Chong, 2000) stated that resources increase our attachment to the norms. This statement in its very specific form can be interpreted as the better housing amenities (resources) can affect normative behavior positively. But data in (chapter X, table 10.22) suggests there is no relation between norms (obligations and role behavior) and levels of access to housing amenities. Rather, the effort by family members to use housing amenities in their standard forms and to keep the home in order and in a neat condition is a reflection of each members need for adaptation to both the objective norms and the behavioral norms much of that comes from well planned education. That is to say, positive use of amenities according to their instructions helps families to approach normative requirements of larger society in having a nice home and clean environment.

Concerning the amount of housework, data in chapter X (tables 10.23, 10.24) indicates regardless of sex, parental status and employment status inequality between men and women is a persistent pattern. Earlier analysis also showed that the same pattern remains constant controlling for the effect of educational level. The difference can be primarily related to welfare state regime that affects ideological beliefs about gender role stratification across society which in turn expects women to identify with family life and her assigned role within the family which in the whole, make her responsible to do greater share of housework. That is to say, partners share domestic division of labor upon a man's active participation in the paid labor force which ascertain him wider opportunity for higher income versus household centered duties with consequent relative income for women.

Gender role expectations in this society accompany the rational process of meeting the objectives of the household and labor market demands. Women do a greater share of housework because it is part of their work at home as the partner who has less earning potential in the labor market as well as act upon what they are expected to do as a mother socially. Namely, mother's role is a complement to her responsibility as homemaker. As was earlier shown, these normative beliefs are very positive among mothers. The above argument rules out the sole importance of less earning potential of married women in regard to their husbands with consequent economic dependency of women on men making them most suitable for domestic tasks as has been explained by Brines (1993:308, 1994:655) in the economic dependency model while educated women in this study with better economic position based on higher education still do a greater share of housework. Since the focus of this study is on normative aspects accordingly income data for educated men and women is not available. Further, Bianchi et al. (2000:192) argue that "housework is an inevitable condition of family life which is subject to cooperation, negotiation and conflict among members and has to be done to maintain a 'livable home' ". In fact, even though partners depending on conditions of life do housework instead of one another but it is not regular plan of household. Employed male partners whether being a father or not are almost disinterested to share in housework. Extreme disagreement between partners in regard to their role and household duties undermines parental relations. Although higher education and access to skilled labor force increase women's participation in labor market, housework makes them reduce this participation. This fact leads them to work in part-time jobs as a response to this condition. Research in this area, indicates from, the late 1950's and the mid 1970's there has been a growing proportion of part-time jobs among married women in Germany, Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001:39) in which women aim to balance demands of paid labor force and housework. In other words, women have made adjustments in either domain upon the requirements of tasks to be done.

As Schauer (2001:228) stated, “although privacy is socially constructed it is subject to normative evaluations.” Consequently, the choice based on the reason for an individual to spend his time doing housework, thinking about relations with friends or a combination of the above dimensions therefore relies on the non-objective values associated with the norms of larger society that one has acquired as well as the effects of economic constraints. In these values, the emphasis is on the importance of privacy. Chong (2000:46) in support of his model believes people’s response to circumstances varies from matter of habit to objective interest. For this reason the joint effect of value-based decisions and instrumental choices are at work.

In the dimension of friendship, for several reasons perfect housing amenities creates more opportunities for members to spend their time on certain activities that are related to the application of amenities. For example, the habit of studying at home, using a computer, and watching television leaves more time to visit friends frequently. However, this fact is not proven statistically. In addition, efficient use of some of the amenities is a time consuming process that demands attendance of members to have the things done appropriately. In subsequent, to keep amenities working for a longer time they should be serviced, cleaned etc. In other words, to have a desirable house demands looking after the amenities and using them according to manuals and household specific education such as use of different disinfectant chemicals especially in bathrooms, yards, and kitchens etc. which are offered by family health institutions. Similar education by culinary schools improves the process of making quality foods and etiquette of serving them. A great deal of work on household affairs depends on the housewife’s interest, motivation, and the need to perform these duties in accordance with designated household standards. The above factors when followed by objective norms are likely to affect relationships with others. An exception in this case is when upper class

families can afford to hire maids, cooks, and servicemen to do these things for them regularly. In this position, they have more time and perhaps willingness to expand their relationship with friends and relatives.

Based on statistics and the above argument, it can be said that the dimension of housework does not have a balanced status mainly owing to lack of right dispositions and incentives deemed necessary for a trim output from housework. Putting the concept of friendship into effect as another dimension of privacy is socially acceptable but it is more important with whom one becomes friends. This comes about from self-recognition that has reached to mental maturity away from immature thinking and others recognition which emerges from experience rather than access to complete housing amenities. Friends are most likely to view each other based in their house, place of residence and housing amenities but they are not directly related to friendship. The latter is a personal issue that emerges and continues by human values. The youth are likely not to do well in this dimension because of emotional tendencies and an unevaluated attitude of being a group follower rather than a personal decision which come about from a precise selection. Nevertheless, in many life situations a human does not have such a possibility and is forced to select a friend in order to not remain alone even though they are not what he looks for. This situation makes one have fewer friends.

B. AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF PRIVACY AND HOUSING AMENITIES:

Relying on Becker's view and taking into consideration that selection of housing amenities follows preferences of self-interested individual(s), in subsequent there should be some positive impacts on dimensions of privacy. The impact of economic limits on behavior urges individuals to evaluate the information and options available to them by improving their

condition through alternative economical solutions. This is where, preferences play a complementary role to the economic constraints. Families may for example, decide to reduce expenses on luxuries and purchase market goods at reduced prices to increase improved access to better housing amenities. The same occurs when well-paid jobs for a partner can improve family income and realization of one's preferences by access to desirable housing amenities.

In fact, the way that family members, especially parents, aim to get improved housing amenities if they do not have access to enough of them, and on the other hand to improve their privacy as an outcome of these amenities and come to a decision to take a particular course of action, can be regarded as optimal action. In other words, they aim to rationalize the choice of housing amenities according to their earning potentials in the labor market and maximization of utility function of privacy. For this reason, they try to adapt their preferences upon their limitations while comparing other alternatives to reach this goal. When this goal is achievable through rationality, they optimize their position within family and can take advantage of privacy as much as they want. Accordingly, utility is maximized as parents apply their cost-benefit calculations and make adjustments to their economic capabilities to have a desirable home but possibly more housework to do. Every person by taking care and wise use of resources can contribute to this process. In other words, efficient households have better amenities but more housework. Housing amenities are parts of physical conditions at home as this theory specifies. They have marginal effects in the whole production of household tasks.

For Elster (1986:73) who also put forward an alternative economic view of rational choice theory "preferences are both determinant of behavior and a basis for welfare judgments." Objectively, the development of house parts through purchase of a new house and necessary equipments which undergo a selection process induce consequential changes in behavior as an

effect of those things that have been preferred. In fact, human behavior is effectible by instrumental calculations associated with preferences that modify economic capabilities. But the reason for amenities not influencing privacy unequivocally can belong to other non-material changes within family like particular beliefs about organization of privacy and objective norm familiarity in application of amenities merged with material facts like the amount of income to get possession of these amenities.

Concerning housework as a part of privacy in this theoretical perspective, partners divide housework to achieve economic efficiency through specialization in either non-market or market labor. They rationalize this task by evaluating their skills and the fact of who can best serve in either labor. The partner equipped with necessary skills for the labor market invests in this area and the partner equipped with skills for the household do a larger share of housework. Following this statement, housework is not subject to gender relations rather to time and effort spent at paid labor. Geist (2005:24) in regard to Becker's explanation of housework as a rational process suggested "here, gender role expectations are irrelevant, as all actors are thought to be driven by the maximization of economic outcomes."

Data in chapter X (table 10.7) suggests there are slight differences between men and women in terms of higher education. Males have slightly higher education than females. A requirement that is necessary for specialization in the labor market. The differences support to explain the phenomena as part of rationality to household production but not adequately accountable for large difference between men and women in doing housework regardless of marital status. Other scientist like Bianchi et al. (2000:194) in an empirical analysis in the framework of relative resources perspective, which draws on Becker's view of microeconomic theory, on the dimension of housework, argued that, this sphere is subject to a division of labor and specialization of partners to maximize efficiency at home. In accordance

with this view, women largely as a result of mother role and men due to comparative advantage in wage earning capabilities and higher education share housework differentially. However, in this perspective amenities at home are not accountable in doing housework. As data indicates families differ in the level of access to and possession of amenities (table 7.3). Accordingly, rich families are well off in life and can plan other welfare programs for their families whereas working class and middle class families need to do more to enhance their amenities. In this case, both partners may decide to do paid work and pay less attention to specialization at housework. In fact, whether they have housing amenities or not can affect the way that partners view domestic work and paid work dramatically.

Table 7.3 Descriptive Statistics of Categorical Possession of Housing Amenities by Families

Category	Frequency	Valid Percent	Proportion
Complete	60	23.6	0.23
Sufficient	176	69.3	0.69
Insufficient	18	7.1	0.07
Valid cases: 254.			

Source: Survey data from the City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

It can be said that families aim to either improve their housing amenities by the maximization of economic means such as labor force participation or when they have complete access to amenities, aim to reach at higher standards in household affairs and realization of other goals. In subsequent, constituting dimensions of privacy are subject to fluctuations on the level of access to better paid work with consequent effects on housing amenities. That is to say, differential access to amenities produces proportional effects on dimensions of privacy. For instance, access to complete amenities is likely to increase the amount of work on certain domestic tasks and the need toward frequent contact with friends. But lack of a current relationship between amenities and privacy takes our attention to the fact, that privacy

belongs to family members rather than only partners and time and effort spent at dimensions of privacy is a reflection of rational arrangements among families in respect to evaluations they make about their earnings and whether or not there is a need for upgrading housing amenities and the amount of time to be spent at private life.

C. CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING AMENITIES:

A closer look at what families have at home as amenities shows that, normative arrangements in respect to dimension of housework are somehow apt to underestimation. As ranking of amenities in (chapter X, table 10.27) indicates families do not regard the kitchen (simple and equipped) as a highly important amenity and subsequently their use of it in contrast to other housework duties like cooking meals is below average as well (table 7.1). Specifically, there is little concern about the relevant norm, which distinguishes a simple kitchen from an equipped kitchen, why it should be regarded as an amenity with low importance, and how a standard kitchen can when equipped by cook books provide healthy and quality foods. In fact, use of complete amenities alongside objective norms is more likely to affect the dimension of privacy substantially. Yet, some other amenities like a swimming pool are not popular among people in this city due to climatic factors.

As shown in table 7.3 there is differential distribution of amenity categories among families. Only $\frac{1}{4}$ of families including 23.6 percent of the population have access to complete amenities. Those with sufficient amenities form 69.3 percent of the population and those who have insufficient access to amenities form 7.1 percent of the population. The relative proportion of three categories of housing amenities is quite dissimilar. The proportion of families in the sufficient category belongs to the majority of the population. As a majority due to economic reasons have limitations on possession of complete housing amenities, a quarter

of families have almost complete possessions, a majority of families enjoy a sufficient level of possessions, and less than 10 percent of families still have a much lower share of possessions. This may have been for a variety of reasons like income dependent on easy to difficult access to housing amenities.

The characteristics of possession of complete level amenities are to have a large share of prominent amenities. The sufficient level amenities characterize necessary items at home but without having enough of the prominent amenities. The insufficient level of amenities characterizes below average standards of housing amenities. Considering these differences, an important way of organizing family life in terms of both preferences and norms is to make choices that improve possession of housing amenities. Since the range of income for families varies, a rational action from the family's point of view can be to prioritize the purchase of items of amenities according to disposable income. From an economic point of view, the order of necessity of a resource prioritizes its importance as a purchasable good. A family with limited income preferably buys the instrumental amenity that they need urgently rather than an amenity which is still needed but with lower necessity than the former one.

Moreover, from a normative point of view it is possible to get a substantial share of services from application of objective norms to even an insufficient category of amenities. This requires knowledgeability of usage and maintenance of amenities. Following this, families think if they take care of their instrumental amenities based on manuals and use them with care etiquette, instruments work for a longer period of time and this leads to saving money, which allows them to buy the next urgent instrumental amenity later. A particular instance would be when a family has a washing machine at home and follows the instructions when using it as well as washing clothes according to attached care etiquette then the machine provides its designated service and clothes appear neat and last a longer amount of time.

D. INTERRELATION AMONG DIMENSIONS OF PRIVACY:

With regard to Becker's theory which analyses family affairs as a rational process, the utility function of levels of access to housing amenities in the dimension of housework is to have quality on everyday activities such as meal clean up, etc. The combined effects of each dimension enable members to reproduce themselves for both the labor market system and home affairs, which will lead to a favorable outcome. The knowledge that parents have in relation to organization of private life such as how to organize the three dimensions of privacy mediates this effect. Acquisition of this knowledge is a lengthy process that takes effect from lifelong experiences. Although families may know a complete access to instrumental amenities will most likely improve living conditions especially housework and friendship, such effects on self is not easily foreseeable by them. Friends with different social backgrounds view one's house and amenities differentially.

Worth of keeping ties with friends can be susceptible by the idea of how strong available family amenities are, which in turn depend on certain constraints but empirical evidence in table 7.2 does not support the argument that, the more complete the housing amenities, the more contacts with friends, nor can the opposite relation be true. To be more precise, in either case, friends can serve the expectation that family members will refer to them in the situation of need. In addition, data shows that no unitary effect of amenities on housework, self, and friendship is perceivable. Rather, the effect of amenities on housework and friendship are asymmetrical and this effect on self is symmetrical somehow but not complementary to the well-being of individual(s). Namely, without statistical test of significance to a certain extent it is possible to say those families who possess a complete share of amenities as a result of their preferences, beliefs and economic capabilities and take advantage of amenities rationally in what is expected as normative, assure the needs of the family as a collective entity.

Taking Chong's model into account, amenities are to reproduce family member's need for social aspects of family life on the dimension of self and friendship as well as material dimension of housework. These dimensions even though different, aim to contribute to welfare at home. In fact, each dimension can affect another one in a certain way. Various incentives affect the way that families get access to housing amenities and various dispositions affect the way that families take advantage of privacy. In other words, privacy takes form through normative arrangements that have its root in such beliefs, needs and use of objects as cultural traits. The latter factor necessitates that one should use amenities according to manuals as to get quality output with an improved social image. This type of normative behavior is socially defined

ENDNOTE

¹ This concept comprises individual preferences in which family members prefer to spend time on private affairs rather than outside home activities. (Bailey, 2002) defined “private is what the public is not. The family, the domestic, self, friendship and personal are dimensions of privacy. The state, civil society, the market, and community are dimensions of public.” Domestic in the literature is being viewed as domestic labor or housework. In subsequent, the concept of housework has been used in this study.

² This concept derives from symbolic interactionism philosophies and refers to the reflective and reflexive ability of the human mind to become an object of its own thought.

³ The definition of this concept varies across cultures. In Europe, it has wider effects than in North America and its meaning still becomes deeper in Non-Western cultures. It refers to structured relations among people other than kin. This in turn necessitates reciprocity between unrelated individuals, which is subject to situation, and context. Friendship range varies from casual meeting to enduring relations of mutual support, of which the latter is of major concern in this study.

Chapter

VIII

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

CONCLUSION

My research found that, relying on Chong's model of rational choice, with the following conditions it is possible to conclude that helping behavior is a fulfillment of norms. Quah and Sales (2000:61) in a rational choice approach to norms also argued that norms always hold to certain conditions. That is to say, families engage in ways that are prosocial with the aim of benefiting either family members or friends and other relatives. The behavior takes the form of doing favors, giving assistance and being cooperative. By providing helping behavior to friends and relatives prosocial behavior promotes positive interpersonal relationships. According to Gazzaniga and Heatherton (2003:644) prosocial behaviors such as sharing and cooperating may be a central human survival strategy. Following this statement, it can be said that a social group, like family, in its proper function becomes strong and able to benefit other members. Specific Parent-child obligations are normative constraints binding these members to their specialized responsibilities and make them susceptible to respond positively to the demand for help from friends and relatives. This choice is not only a matter of preference, rather the choice of a mean which embodies material as well as social benefit which dominate parent-child obligations.

Obligations of feeling among both parents and children are an effective means at a collective level that influence the circumstance. They show high consensus over mutual responsibility of feeling. This internal feeling represents itself into external actions as overt responsibilities which are subject to practice on certain vital circumstances. In this regard, mothers are more active than fathers. Although there is a relationship between parental obligation of attitude and the decision to engage in helping behavior, this does not hold true for fathers alone. This condition is still much lower for children in regard to their responsibility of attitude toward their parents as well as the effect on helping behavior. Methods of education in pre-and primary school possibly reinforce orientation in regard to each other. Taken their third level of obligation into account, children are easily available to take care of parents when they are ill.

The obligation of material need toward parents, also urge children to engage in helping behavior. In so doing, they are respectable among parents, relatives and friends. Based on this theoretical model, norms are being used alongside preferences and household input factors to produce helping behavior. This is what society prescribes through the socialization mechanism. Likewise William (2004:70) believes much of this knowledge about norms comes from the local neighborhood and school networks as reference groups.

In an economic approach to the family put forward by G. Becker, the positive relation between specific parent-child obligations and helping behavior can be seen as source of utility. Due to input factors such as human capital, social and physical conditions at home fulfillment of dimensions of obligations are variant among parents and children in regard to helping behavior. For example, diffusion of responsibility of feeling among parents and children is observably more effective which in turn make them susceptible to helping behavior. Responsibility of attitude and material need among parents and children respectively, vary upon the motive of the present situation and one's family position. In other words, dimensions of responsibilities and home environment inputs make families mainly at the collective level and partially at the individual level commit to their duties as well as securing a safer place in respect to familiar others.

That is to say, a positive respond to planned help optimizes their relations with friends and relatives and increases the likelihood of future gains for receiving help in the case of need. In this sense, it can be said that family members are behaving rationally. The decision to put the family norm of obligation into effect is reflection of the goal-oriented behavior of its members toward unity. Similarly, taking this framework into consideration, a woman as a mother optimizes her role as a mother by engaging in helping behavior. Although parents contribute to a common household production as well, social and physical conditions at home put the

mother in a more suitable position than the father to respond to demand for planned help. The social outcome of optimization is a positive relationship with others. Although fathers are active in their role as a father at home, they are not available in the case of helping others partly due to economic reasons and partly due to self-orientation. There is also evidence that, social factors like welfare regimes influence parental role in regard to home affairs differently.

Efficient division of labor based on the role within the family makes mothers eligible in their engagement in helping behavior. This eligibility is a complement to a collective level of fulfillment of obligation of feeling which is based on the main values learned during the socialization process. Obligation of material need among children which is objectively based motivates them to engage in helping behavior with the objective goal of gaining prestige among their circle of friends and relatives and getting support when needed. This value of a positive relationship with others is effectible by objective instrumental reasons as well as physical and psychological benefits associated with help. The physical and psychological values associated with three dimensions of obligations relevant to family position predispose each of them to instrumental reasoning with a consequent response to the demand of the environment. In other words, organization of household duties in respect to various dimensions of obligations is mainly to maximize their common objective utility through offering help to others by demand. In effect, individuals who decide voluntary to engage in helping behavior will in turn take advantage of the positive reciprocal relationship. Expectation of advantages or disadvantages in the future as well as the possibilities of solving the problem personally determines the stability, reduction or elimination of this relationship. Another factor like insufficient information among relevant parties about the situation leads to the breakdown of relationships.

In addition, there is another theoretical explanation put forward by Chong, through which the phenomena can be analyzed. The various social and material incentives associated with the situation enables individuals to deal with the circumstance on the basis of subjective calculations by the fact that they may possibly have similar reciprocal demands in the future and confirm their social status within their circle of friends. Accordingly for parents commitment to obligations of feeling and attitude as social incentives make this goal realizable. The same obligation for children surrounds feeling and material need as social and material incentives. These are rational thought that have roots in both personal dispositions as well as the impact obtained from socialization. That is to say, the decision to engage in helping behavior is affectable through ideology, group identity, traits and rewards. Discrepancy in fulfillment of obligations among parents and children with consequent effects on helping behavior is primarily attributable to one's family position in which each member has differential acquisition of values and beliefs about obligations, a diffusion of responsibility alongside some other macro level effects like national plans for family support and the socioeconomic status of the family. In fact, family obligations and social obligations are interdependent processes. It is not possible to sustain obligations as values within family without experiencing commitment to social obligations across society (Coontz, 2004). The latter due to multiplicity of arenas has a much larger effect on family, making it a subset of larger societal processes in economy such as organization of a labor market system and polity in which family policies are being planned.

Concerning role behavior, fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters realize normative expectations, rights and duties according to their family position. Their knowledge about this aspect of the norm is high enough in which daughters allot the highest position and sons the lowest position. Mothers not only act more tangibly in their role but also possess greater role

identity. In other words, mothers contribute to normative order of family life in all aspects more effectively than fathers do. Although parents are highly active in a given role, only the employed mothers' knowledge of her role positively relates with engagement in helping behavior specifically. The investment of expectations regarding the role among mothers in general at home affairs alongside fulfillment of their obligations put them in a favorable position to be responsive to the demand for planned help from familiar others. In fact, mothers are predominantly responsible for internal normative order of life and coordination of positive relationships with others. This is also in accordance with societal effects of a conservative welfare regime. Household duties are a specialized sphere in which each member depending on the situation plays his own part. An employed mother's engagement in her role both at work and at home is a reflection of self-fulfillment as a mother and the values that confer her power and prestige. Furthermore it is part of adaptation to the dominant norm of society. In this aspects of norms, employed fathers because of self-oriented reasons in which paid work is possibly the main determinant, are not engaging in helping behavior as part of their role though both make efforts for a common goal. Unemployed fathers represent a motive of self-interest; they contribute to neither aspect of work; at home or at work, nor are they inclined to help others.

Obligations as normative accounts especially those which have to do with feelings, make family members engage in pro-social behavior since these are inherent to the mind and agreed upon social rules of conduct. But role behavior as another normative account which is rather a matter of expectations is related to family position and social status. Nevertheless, Macaulay and Berkowitz (1970:86) state about difficulties with normative changes in the way that people give help that people usually do not think of norms in taking particular course of action. A social structure does not only consist of social relations but rather combines social system relations and actual social relations. Mothers engage in their role behavior as part of

their duties in the family as a social system. They also engage in helping behavior as part of relational structure (social relations). Accordingly, employed mothers represent social structure of society, who have internalized norms during the socialization process but employed fathers perhaps due to cultural reasons have not done well during this process even though both have received similar education.

Next, role behavior among parents varies according to changes in the labor market system. Women's work is mediated by their care responsibilities while men are active in their role as the breadwinner. In order to make a balance between demands of the labor market and demands of family members in particular mothers, the state provides support in various forms to keep the family function and occupational categories into balance. Even though families receive support from the state to balance duties especially in terms of role behavior at home or at work, the final preferences and practices is up to parents to combine work and care in accordance with their own situation. For instance, some of the middle to upper class women use education to improve their work status. Data suggests, families to some extent adhere to the normative system but there are still differential experiences among individuals. In any case, for a family to follow normative duties there is a need for work and economic self-sufficiency (William, 2004). A topic that is of major interest to family policy.

Empirical evidence indicates development of personal characteristics such as age; marital status, role identity etc. predispose people to respond to the demands of the environment. Role behavior for example, is highly affected by role identity in which marriage is a determinant factor. Married parents in contrast to non-married parents experience well-informed role identity which also predisposes them to engage in their role positively. In spite of this fact, role identity does not directly lead to helping behavior. Marriage both as a normative and legal constraint enables parents to achieve conspicuous knowledge of their role. Proper role

performance among mothers will eventually lead to take things under control at home and manage more stability at one's relationship with familiar others. To sum things up, they have the rational beliefs about the relationship between obligations and helping behavior. In the course of life, it has emerged from realizing the distinctions about rational and irrational beliefs. Gender role identity is a unique process in each individual primarily owing to personality type which takes further effects through other factors in which social origin, optimal human models, socialization, body control both mentally and physically, healthy and developed mind, experiences and marital life are other critical factors. For this reason, there is a wide spectrum of different levels of identity among people. This difference is a basis for adapting behavior in different conditions if the individual does not have a higher status than others and make him join groups of people with similar identities.

In other words, individuals engage in helping behavior because the norm of obligation as subjective calculations of self-interest not only motivate individuals to conform to the norm of larger society but also influences one's instrumental calculations in regard to the incentive of the current situation and therefore aim to gain social and material benefits as a consequence of behavior. The difference between preference based decision and preference plus need for social status based decision depends on the type of obligation. Accordingly, those who internalized effective acquisition of the norm of obligation of feeling are more likely to behave positively, according to relevant responsibilities or to make a conscious effort to sustain family as a social institution. Choice under uncertainty has recourse to the norm of larger society which an individual learns at various social institutions as well as the rationality that one brings into the situation.

It is also necessary to mention that, the effect of dominant cultural values and societal impacts on phenomenon should not be ignored since they seem to support or underestimate particular

values among family members especially children. For example, if people have learned to deal with problems mainly from an economic view they may be unwilling to deal with the problem from a normative point of view. For this reason, it becomes crucial to explain the phenomenon specifically from an economic point of view as well.

Family solidarity occurs as a temporary event, when there is a need for cooperation of other members during emergencies. An individual defends group will by doing a form of self-sacrifice to help others. The brain mechanism upon which this cooperation lies begins with the development of physiological and neurological processes that take place in human organisms, as well as external factors like socially relevant learned responsibilities. Feeling forms through sensation and further develops through cognitive evaluations. Normal function of these processes leads to a strong feeling concerning rapid perception of the situation and the necessary action to be taken.

In an economic approach to the situation, the above mutual positive relations between members proceed through cost-benefit calculations whose utility comes about during identical situations. This utility serves as joint household production of solidarity. Optional action takes the form of applying rational beliefs to the means to realize joint family solidarity within confines of one's economic limitations, human capital and willingness to move forward with family goals. Individual differences during solidarity are explainable by their biological differences in acquisition of values of responsibilities. In addition, influence of physical environment like housing amenities were assumed to affect one's responsibilities during interaction with others but are not empirically proven.

Families at the collective level produce and consume solidarity as an ongoing affair that is supported by positive feeling toward other members. In this process, they are willing to spend

more time to solve a problem. Attentiveness at individual level, make members contribute to solidarity according to an efficient division of labor at home. Individuals contribute to solidarity differently due to their position and level of commitment to specific responsibilities in regard to attitude and objective need in urgent situations. That is to say, solidarity at the individual level should be the rational process of both fulfilling three dimensions of norms and specialization at division of labor based on family position, but data hardly supports this view. In fact, family solidarity is a weakly organized sphere of social life. There is not enough motive on attitude and material need as it is for feeling due to lack of group will originating from minor view of solidarity as valuable resources that can protect life uncertainties mainly neglected during the socialization process, as well as some marginal effects from relative economic sufficiency which is supported by state against joblessness to rely on each other for other support that family provides not the individual.

In an approach to the situation developed by Chong, each member's engagement in respective obligations of feeling, coordinates their expectations toward each other and also influences the decision making process in favor of solidarity unilaterally without similar impact from obligation of attitude that is supposed to be part of subjective calculations. In other words there is not enough learning during socialization for three dimensions nor exist strong support in favor of solidarity. In the whole, to some but not a complete extent, the success of this contribution is social approval within family and possibly close relative as well as the economic benefit which one receives by similar demands. Conversion of solidarity to public good across society is the social outcome of togetherness within a social system that is a vital base for society. Other dimensions of obligations are not a strong basis for solidarity and fluctuate in circumstances by family position and the incentives associated with the circumstance, but data does not support this theoretical model that obligations of feeling and attitude as a joint subjective impact influencing family solidarity directly.

Some aspects of informal help are in varying degrees experienced among family members by improved family solidarity. Nevertheless, individuals differ in the level of contribution to and demand for support from the family. This support in turn is related to the actions that are carried out for the sake of other family members. Empirical evidence indicates that, for the dimension of obligation of feeling except mothers in case of financial support there is a corresponding effect for each level of solidarity regardless of family position. These relationships are positive and statistically significant too. The total effect of each single dimension of obligations on medical care as a dimension of solidarity among parents is predominantly positive and represents statistically significant relationships. The relation between mothers' obligation of material need and medical care based solidarity is an exception to this fact. In other words, the more the parents fulfill their obligations in regard to their children, the more likely they are to take actions based on solidarity at the time of an illness that demands urgent attention.

The major advantage of solidarity is to take advantage of social and material benefits that individuals can not afford alone. They also participate in family solidarity in order to increase goal oriented sense of interdependence but at different levels of participation. Discrepancy among members is mainly subject to one's position within family that makes particular members well informed in respect to the dimension and level of participation. Since this process requires certain resources, a rational behavior in solidarity, should be use of available housing amenities. These are combined accumulation of family efforts which individual(s) frequently take advantage of at home. But as data indicates, there is no behavioral implications taking the effects of housing amenities into consideration. Services offered to others through solidarity on a large part alongside amenities might be due to other non-material aspects such as loyalty that one has contributed in favor of solidarity in the past.

The idea of spending a greater part of life in the domain of family is characteristic of advanced industrial societies. In accordance with this idea, privacy is the basis of separation between home and environment which distinguishes the private sphere from the public sphere. This separation has been a basis for traditional gendered division of labor. There are three domains of family life, namely housework, self and friendship. As shown by data, housework is a weakly organized sphere of privacy whereas other domains remain considerably high. These domains are also subject to norms which are primarily socially learned and then further strengthened by a particular type of education which comes about from individual eagerness and the willingness to work on these domains.

Lack of care about the dimension of housework, taking Chong's theory into account, and also the fact that the majority of families have access to sufficient housing amenities is explainable by the following factors; First, they do not regard this dimension of privacy as a valuable property. A thing that has been learned in the past automatically but not is thought about it practically. That is to say, housework is regarded as somehow less important. Second, they do not identify this dimension as a thing that is related to their health. They may have thought a change in housework for the better does not necessarily lead to satisfaction of their needs. Third, they do not have housework related education to increase it as a standard of living. These irregularities in regard to development of right dispositions and incentives in turn make them less careful when it comes to the matter of access to housing amenities. The amount of housework done, no matter which sex, parental status, education and employment of the respondent, differs between men and women. Women are predominantly responsible for doing housework. An unequal division of labor that is partly effectible by normative beliefs about the role of women in society with additional reinforcement through policies set by a welfare state regime. To adapt this condition to their social and economic goals, women seek

jobs (preferably part-time) in the labor market which can best suit the demands of both family and employment.

Taking Becker's theory into account, weak performance in regard to housework can be explained by the following factors; family behavior is not motivated by attractiveness of housework. For this reason, they do not do housework on the basis of comparison across cost and benefit calculations. In other words, they do not produce the optimum outcome from available resources. Subsequently, it is most likely that weak preferences lead to low utility. In this model, housework is a rational arrangement between partners on the basis of specialization in either household tasks or the labor market with the aim to increase their common economic efficiency. For this reason, men should have a much higher educational level in order to do less housework but data only slightly supports this view. Men also, regardless of their educational level still do less housework.

Privacy as a normative arrangement is not subject to variations in level of access to housing amenities. The latter is adjusted by socioeconomic status of family such as the amount of income and preferences they make on particular resources. Data indicates possession of housing amenities are predominantly equal or above the sufficient level among families. Housing amenities affect the dimension of self negatively. That is to say, even though amenities are meant to comfort members, the person in the family thinks about the relations with others rather than himself, perhaps due to increase of impact in other dimensions. In spite of this, the effect of this relationship is not supported by empirical evidence. Housing amenities as resources do not create corresponding effects on normative behavior among families either.

There are some effects on dimensions of housework and friendship but these activities and relationships do not prove empirically either. A low level engagement with an average of 19.4 percent in housework activities among families represents a lack of care in this area and possibly a lack of time to fulfill these tasks. In other words, family health which has its roots in a very specific type of education to organize housework efficiently is below optimum level. Attendance to family health institutions and use of guidelines in relevant literature for sanitation of the home as well as taking advantage of culinary schools can raise the quality of household activities dramatically. Under this condition the expectation is that housing amenities produce significant effects on housework with concomitant effects on other covariates like self and friendship. Nevertheless, access to complete amenities can either increase or decrease the burden of some daily tasks which leaves amenities not a good predictor of privacy. For instance, having several specific rooms at home demands more tasks for their maintenance. The same access can increase the need toward frequent contact with friends. The effect of values about private arrangement of family life to which members adhere is also complementary to this normative process. Accordingly, they may try alternative methods to organize privacy through economic adaptations according to their social class, ideology and use of objects as cultural traits.

Chapter

IX

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

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Chapter

X

FAMILY AS NORMATIVE SYSTEM

University of Hamburg

APPENDIX

A. TABLES:

Table 10.1 Cross tabulation of Helping Behavior by Sex and Age Group (10 year Periods) among Population

	Male						Female					
	Considerable		Some		Little		Considerable		Some		Little	
	Fre.	%	Fre.	%	Fre.	%	Fre.	%	Fre.	%	Fre.	%
Aged 8 to 17	0	0	7	43.8	9	56.3	7	33.3	9	42.9	5	23.8
Aged 18 to 27	4	28.6	8	57.1	2	14.3	12	42.9	8	28.6	8	28.6
Aged 28 to 37	8	28.6	14	50.0	6	21.4	13	37.1	15	42.9	7	20.0
Aged 38 to 47	9	29.0	15	48.4	7	22.6	20	33.3	28	46.7	12	20.0
Aged 48 to 57	5	23.8	7	33.3	9	42.9	7	26.9	13	50.0	6	23.1
Aged 58 to 67	5	38.5	3	23.1	5	38.5	5	35.7	8	57.1	1	7.1
Aged 68 to 77	8	53.3	5	33.3	2	13.3	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0
Aged 78 to 87	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	33.3	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0

Valid cases= 336
Missing values= 36

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.2 Descriptive Statistics of Helping Behavior (The Overall Index)

	Fre.	Valid Percent	Cum Per.
Never	6	0.4	0.4
Sometimes	75	17.8	18.1
Occasionally	147	52.9	71.0
Often	80	24.3	95.3
Always	31	4.7	100.0
Valid cases	339	100.0	
Missing Values	33		

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.3 Inter Item Spearman Correlations of Helping Behavior

1	Bought a present for someone for no formal reason, for example it was not his or her birthday, anniversary, or Christmas.	.499** .000 328
2	Brought food you made to someone.	.534** .000 328
3	Looked after a sick friend or relative.	.634** .000 328
4	Visited a sick friend or relative at home or in the hospital.	.634** .000 328
5	Helped someone move into a house.	.628** .000 328
6	Helped someone make repairs or improvements on his/her house.	.568** .000 328
7	Purchased or picked up an item in town for a person who was not able to pick it up him/herself.	.732** .000 328
8	Had a talk with a friend or relative about a personal problem he or she was experiencing.	.567** .000 328
9	Gave advice or information to a friend or relative about some practical matter.	.554** .000 328
10	Loaned money to a friend or relative.	.590** .000 328
11	Kept an eye on a neighbour's house or property while they were away.	.721** .000 328
12	Looked after a person's plans, mail or pets while they were away.	.724** .000 328
13	Gave a ride to a friend or relative because they were without transportation.	.732** .000 328
14	Spent time teaching a friend or relative a skill that you possess, such as playing a musical instrument, speaking a language, or cooking.	.677** .000 328
15	Visited a person you thought might be lonely.	.700** .000 328
16	Took someone out for a meal with the intention of paying the bill.	.484** .000 328
17	Lent a possession, such as a book, record, or car, to a friend or relative.	.549** .000 328
18	Looked after a friend's or relative's children.	.671** .000 328

Source: Social psychology quarterly (1990).

Note: Items with spearman correlation of above $r=0.60$ were selected to make the overall index of helping behavior.

Table 10.4 Age Distribution of Population (Every 10 Years)

	Fre.	Valid Percent	Cum. Per
Aged 8 to 17	38	10.3	10.3
Aged 18 to 27	47	12.8	23.1
Aged 28 to 37	68	18.5	41.6
Aged 38 to 47	97	26.4	67.9
Aged 48 to 57	53	14.4	82.3
Aged 58 to 67	31	8.4	90.8
Aged 68 to 77	25	6.8	97.6
Aged 78 to 87	9	2.4	100.0
Total	368	100.0	

Valid cases= 368
Missing Values= 4

Mean= 41.293
S.D.= 17.201

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.5 Age Distribution of Population (Five Year Periods)

	Fre.	Percent	Cum. Per.
Aged 8 to 12	8	2.2	2.2
Aged 13 to 17	30	8.1	10.3
Aged 18 to 22	20	5.4	15.8
Aged 23 to 27	27	7.3	23.1
Aged 28 to 32	25	6.7	29.9
Aged 33 to 37	43	11.6	41.6
Aged 38 to 42	54	14.5	56.3
Aged 43 to 47	43	11.6	67.9
Aged 48 to 52	27	7.3	75.3
Aged 53 to 57	26	7.0	82.3
Aged 58 to 62	13	3.5	85.9
Aged 63 to 67	18	4.8	90.8
Aged 68 to 72	17	4.6	95.4
Aged 73 to 77	8	2.2	97.6
Aged 78 to 82	8	2.2	99.7
Aged 83 to 87	1	0.3	100.0
Total	368	98.9	
Missing Values	4	1.1	

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.6 Marital Status by Sex

	Male		Female	
	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent
Married	83	25.8	85	26.4
Single	32	9.9	56	17.4
Divorced	15	4.7	32	9.9
Widow	3	0.9	8	2.5
Cohabitation	0	0.0	6	1.9
Fiancé	1	0.3	0	0.0
Separate	1	0.3	0	0.0
Total	135	41.9	187	58.1

Valid cases=322.

Missing Values=50.

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.7 Educational Level by Sex

	Male		Female	
	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent
Without certificate	8	2.2	9	2.5
Lower secondary school	14	3.8	27	7.4
Middle school (10 years)	20	5.4	55	15.0
Middle school (11-12 years)	18	4.9	17	4.6
High school (Abitur)	32	8.7	54	14.7
Bachelor/Master	45	14.2	52	14.2
Doctoral	11	3.0	5	1.4
Total	148	40.3	219	59.7

Valid cases=367.

Missing values=5.

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.8 Inter Item Spearman Correlation of Children's Obligations

Obligations		
Feeling		.740** (.000) N=35
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If children feel something about parents (physical or non-physical) is wrong, talk about it with parents or other close relatives 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If children realize something against parents outside home happens, then they discuss it with parents 		
Attitude		.761** (.000) N=36
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents have the right to interfere in their children personal affairs so far as they are not in adult age 		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If parents prohibit their children from going outside for any reason and give logical argument for it, children should accept it 		
Material need		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take care of parents when they are ill 		

**p<0.01

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.9 Descriptive Statistics of Family Position

	Fre.	Percent	Proportion
Father	112	30.1	0.30
Mother	142	38.2	0.38
Son	17	4.6	0.05
Daughter	19	5.1	0.05
Other	82	22.0	0.22
Total	372	100.0	

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.10 Cross tabulation of Parental Obligations

	Father						Mother					
	Feeling		Attitude		Material need		Feeling		Attitude		Material need	
	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.
Considerable	90	80.5	141	37.9	181	48.7	129	90.8	141	37.9	181	48.7
Some	6	5.4	60	16.1	21	5.6	4	2.8	60	16.1	21	5.6
Little	1	0.9	29	7.8	4	1.1	0	0.0	29	7.8	4	1.1

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.11 Employment Status of Participant Families

	Fre.	Percent	Valid Percent
Full time	118	31.7	45.7
Part time	44	11.8	17.0
Unemployed	13	3.5	5.0
Housewife/man	35	9.4	13.6
Retired	46	12.4	17.8
Sick/disabled	1	0.3	0.4
Other	1	0.3	0.4
Not applicable	78	21.0	
Total	336	90.4	

Missing values=36

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.12 Cross tabulation of Father Role Identity by Education

	High school or less		Some College		College graduate	
	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent
Little Role Identity	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0
Some Role Identity	8	8.0	9	9.0	2	2.0
Considerable Role Identity	41	41.0	32	32.0	7	7.0
Total	49	49.0	42	42.0	9	9.0

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.13 Cross tabulation of Mother Role Identity by Education

	High School or less		Some College		College graduate	
	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent	Fre.	Percent
Little Role Identity	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Some Role Identity	8	6.7	4	3.4	1	0.0
Considerable Role Identity	75	63.0	25	21.0	4	3.4
Total	85	71.4	29	24.4	5	3.4

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.14 Spearman Correlation between Parental Role Identity and Educational Level

	Coefficient	Sig.
Father Role Identity Valid Cases=106. Missing Values=6.	- 0.006	0.951
Mother Role Identity Valid Cases=134. Missing Values=8.	- 0.009	0.920

P<0.05

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.15 Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Parental Dimensions of Family Solidarity by Dimensions of Obligations (The Overall Index) Concerning Children

Obligations	Family Solidarity		
	Affective	Medical Care	Financial
Feeling	.237** (.000) N=223	.331** (.000) N=192	.200** (.003) N=223
Attitude	.153* (.016) N=245	.210 (.002) N=208	.117 (.067) N=246
Material Need	.161* (.024) N=197	.271** (.000) N=176	.076 (.290) N=197

*P<0.05, **P<0.01

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.16 Descriptive Statistics of Family Solidarity (Affective Support)- The Overall Index

	Fre.	Valid Percent	Cum. Per.
Little Solidarity	88	24.6	24.6
Some Solidarity	140	39.1	63.7
Considerable Solidarity	130	36.3	100.0
Total	358	100.0	

Missing Values= 14.

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.17 Descriptive Statistics of Family Solidarity (Medical Support)- The Overall Index

	Fre.	Valid Percent	Cum Per.
Little Solidarity	59	19.2	19.2
Some Solidarity	51	16.6	35.7
Considerable Solidarity	198	64.3	100.0
Total	308	100.0	

Missing Values=64.

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.18 Descriptive Statistics of Family Solidarity (Financial Support)- The Overall Index

	Fre.	Valid Percent	Cum Per.
Little Solidarity	114	31.7	31.7
Some Solidarity	107	29.7	61.4
Considerable Solidarity	139	38.6	100.0
Total	372	100.0	

Missing Values= 12

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.19 Cross tabulation of Family Solidarity by Fathers

	Affective		Medical		Financial	
	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.
Considerable	30	26.8	58	51.8	52	46.4
Some	46	41.1	22	19.6	38	33.9
Little	32	28.6	14	12.5	21	18.8

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Due to rounding the column Percentages do not add up to 100.

Table 10.20 Cross Tabulation of Family Solidarity by Mothers

	Affective		Medical		Financial	
	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.
Considerable	66	46.5	103	72.5	58	40.8
Some	55	38.7	9	6.3	34	23.9
Little	16	11.3	2	1.4	43	30.8

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Due to rounding the column Percentages do not add up to 100.

Table 10.21 Cross Tabulation of Family Solidarity by Children

	Affective		Medical		Financial	
	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.	Fre.	Per.
Considerable	9	25.0	9	25.0	4	11.1
Some	13	36.1	9	25.0	10	27.8
Little	14	38.9	18	50.0	22	61.1

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Due to rounding the column Percentages do not add up to 100.

Table 10.22 Bivariate Spearman Correlations of Parental Norms and Levels of Access to Housing Amenities

	N	Coefficient	Sig.
Father role behavior	96	.010	.923
Mother role behavior	109	.102	.290
Parental obligation of feeling	224	.036	.594
Parental obligation of attitude	219	.075	.268
Parental obligation of material need	197	.103	.148

P < 0.05

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.23 Housework (The Overall Index) by Sex, and Employment Status (Percentages)

Engagement level	Employed		Unemployed	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
High	26.3	80.6	61.9	81.8
Medium	50.0	16.4	23.8	14.5
Low	23.7	3.0	14.3	3.6

Valid cases (males=97, females=122)

Missing values (males=53, females=99).

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.24 Housework (The Overall Index) by Family Position and Employment Status (Percentages)

Engagement Level	Employed		Unemployed	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
High	26.3	83.9	61.9	81.1
Medium	51.3	14.5	23.8	15.1
Low	22.4	1.6	14.3	3.8

Valid cases (fathers=97, mothers=115)
 Missing values (fathers=15, mothers=27).

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.25 Cross tabulation of Privacy by Parental Status

	Housework				Self				Friendship			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
High	33	29.5	98	69.0	87	77.7	107	75.4	69	61.6	99	69.7
Medium	45	40.2	14	13.4	9	8.0	14	9.9	26	23.2	25	17.6
Low	22	19.6	3	2.1	1	0.9	2	1.4	8	7.1	5	3.5

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Table 10.26 General Summary of Main Results by Family Position

		Fathers	Mothers	Children
Relationship between obligation and helping behavior	Feeling	Positive	Positive	Positive
	Attitude	No effect	Positive	No effect
	Material need	No effect	No effect	Positive
Relationship between role behavior and helping behavior		Negative	Positive	
Relationship between obligation and family solidarity	Feeling - Affective	Positive	Positive	Positive
	Feeling - Medical	Positive	Positive	Positive
	Feeling - Financial	Positive	No effect	Positive
	Attitude - Affective	No effect	No effect	Positive
	Attitude - Medical	No effect	Positive	No effect
	Attitude - Financial	No effect	No effect	Positive
	Mat. - Affective	No effect	No effect	No effect
	Mat. - Medical	Positive	No effect	Positive
Mat. - Financial	No effect	No effect	No effect	
Variable	Dimension	Level		
Role behavior		Considerable	Considerable	Considerable
Helping behavior		Little	Some	Little
Parent-child obligations	Feeling	Considerable	Considerable	Some
	Attitude	Little	Little	Little
	Material need	Some	Some	Considerable
Family solidarity	Affective	Little	Some	Little
	Medical care	Some	Some	Some
	Financial	Little	Little	Little
Privacy	Housework	Low	Medium	
	Self	High	High	
	Friendship	Medium	Medium	

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

Note: Standardized univariate outcomes are calculated upon the highest percentages for each level and placed in arbitrary range of 1-44 percent little/low, 45-75 percent some/medium and 76 and above percent considerable/high.

Table 10.27 Ranking of Housing Amenities

High		Medium		Low	
Amenity	Score	Amenity	Score	Amenity	Score
Sleeping room	52	Desk	43	Swimming pool	21
Vacuum	55	Garden	43	Air conditioning	22
Furniture	56	Storage	43	Garage	25
Oven	56	Dish washing machine	46	Computer	36
Eating table	57	Sitting room	47	Personal library	39
Telephone	57	Gas	50	Equipped kitchen	39
Washing machine	58			Television	40
Bed	59			Simple kitchen	41
Refrigerator	60			Dinning room	42
Heating	61				
Electricity	62				
Water	62				
Bathroom	63				

Source: Survey data from The City of Hamburg (2005-2006-2007).

B. BASIC QUESTIONNAIRE:

STUDY OF EFFECTS OF OBLIGATIONS ON HELPING BEHAVIOR

Dear Sir/ Madam,

This questionnaire is part of a research project about the impact of obligations on helping behavior within the family. I would appreciate your participation in this study by providing answer to the questions. As the practical capability of this project depends on the accuracy of your answers, please complete the questionnaire by answering questions as precise as possible. In doing so, please follow instructions for each question throughout questionnaire and fill it out to the end. There are some questions for all persons in the family, some questions only for fathers, some questions only for mothers, some questions for both fathers and mothers, some questions only for sons, some questions only for daughters and some questions for both sons and daughters. Supervisor of the project is Professor Dr. Klaus Eichner and researcher is Mahmood Niroobakhsh (Ph.D. candidate).

Thank you for your cooperation.

- 1.1 Date of birth: 19 ____ ____
- 1.2 Sex: Male Female
- 1.3 Your Position in the family: (Please mark only one option)
 Father Mother Son Daughter
 Other, please specify;
- 1.4 What is your highest educational qualification? (please mark only one option)
- Without certificate
 - Lower secondary school (9 years)
 - Middle school (10 years)
 - Middle school (11-12 years)
 - Abitur (13 years)
 - Bachelor (13 years)
 - Master
 - Ph.D. (Doctoral)

- 2.1 Marital status at this time: (Please mark only one option)
- Married
 - Single
 - Divorced
 - Widow
 - Other, Please specify

If you are one of the parents in the family, please answer to the questions 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 otherwise move to the question 2.7.

2.2 Do you have disabled family members? yes no

2.3 Do you have children? yes no
 If no do not answer to question 2.4

2.4 How many children do you have?

2.5 How many family members do you have including children and other relatives living with you?

2.6 What is your employment status?

- Full time employment Part time employment
- Unemployed Retired
- Unable to work because of illness/disability

If you are one of the children answer to the questions 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9. Otherwise fathers move to the question 3.1 and mothers move to the question 5.1.

2.7 Are you the only child in your family? yes no

If yes, do not answer to the questions 2.8 and 2.9.

2.8 Are you the first born among your siblings? yes no

2.9 Are you the youngest child among your siblings? yes no

Only fathers answer to the questions from 3.1 to 4.10. Otherwise sons move to question 10.1 and daughters move to the question 11.1.

As a father, how often do you involve in the following behaviors?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3.1 Being a model for your children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.2 Listening to children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.3 Supporting children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.4 Take care of children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.5 Spend time with family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.6 Give your love to children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.7 Show family members what's right or wrong to get along with life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.8 Tell children what's important in life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.9 Be loyal to your wife | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.10 Participate in house work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.11 Discussing events with family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.12 Aid children with school work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.13 Praise family members for accomplishment | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3.14 Make empathy with your children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

As a Father, how do you identify with your role?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4.1 Be rational in ups and downs of life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4.2 | Responsible for family's safety | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.3 | To be aware of your place within family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.4 | To know and to be aware of your rights & responsibilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.5 | To be sensitive to the social and psychological situations of your children when they are in need | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.6 | Consciousness of certain duties towards other family members | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.7 | Be strong and brave | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.8 | Earn money | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.9 | Expected to cook | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.10 | Expected to clean up | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Only mothers answer to the questions from 5.1 to 6.8.

As a mother, how often do you involve in the following behaviors?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5.1 | Being a model for your children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.2 | Listening to children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.3 | Supporting children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.4 | Give your love to children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.5 | Show family members what's right or wrong to get along with life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.6 | Tell children what's important in life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.7 | Spend time with family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.8 | Be loyal to your husband | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.9 | Discussing events with family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.10 | Aid children with school work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.11 | Praise family members for accomplishment | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.12 | Make empathy with your children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5.13 | Take care of children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

As a mother, how do you identify with your role?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

	5	4	3	2	1
6.1 Expected to cook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.2 Expected to clean up	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.3 To be aware of your place within family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.4 To know and to be aware of your rights & responsibilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.5 To be sensitive to the social and psychological situations of your children when they are in need	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.6 Consciousness of certain duties towards other family members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.7 Be strong and brave	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.8 Responsible for family's safety	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you are one of the parents in the family, please answer questions from 7.1 to 9.8 Otherwise sons move to question 10.1 and daughters move to the question 11.1.

As parents of family, one has obligations towards his family members.

As a parent, how often do you have the following feelings regarding your children?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

	5	4	3	2	1
7.1 Want them to be happy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.2 To have an easy life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.3 Share happiness with them	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.4 To be honest with family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.5 To explain about sexual affairs with children and provide necessary answers to their questions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.6 To give answers to the questions of children about life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 7.7 Prevent children from involving in harmful actions and propose to them correct way
- 7.8 Tell children if you are not sure about something

As a parent , how often do you have have the following attitudes regarding your children?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never
5 4 3 2 1

- 8.1 Tell children what your cultural and political ideas are
- 8.2 If they have different ideas than me, it's not my responsibility to tell them that my ideas are right
- 8.3 If they think something absolutely different , we would have to talk about it and we would have to tell them what we don't like about their thinking
- 8.4 Discuss different opinions openly without disputing
- 8.5 Accept if they are of different opinions
- 8.6 Try to respect attitudes of my family members as they are and not to change them as long as they are happy the way they live
- 8.7 To give advice upon particular issues when requested
- 8.8 To help family members interpret problematic situations and look for solutions
- 8.9 To control times when children are at home or outside
- 8.10 To punish (bodily or non-bodily) children for their wrong actions
- 8.11 Tell children about your own experiences
- 8.12 To explain the reasons for the decisions

▪

As a parent, how often do you involve in the parental obligations, concerning provision of basic needs for your children?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never
5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 9.1 | To provide material support to the young children in the family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.2 | To provide adequate food for them | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.3 | To provide a place to sleep | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.4 | To give money to the children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.5 | To control health condition of children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.6 | To provide material facilities for children so that they can reach to their goal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.7 | To provide educational possibilities for the children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9.8 | To provide separate rooms equipped with facilities for the children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you are son in this family, please answer to the questions from 10.1 to 10.7. Otherwise, move to the question 15.1.

As a son, how often do you involve in the following behaviors?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10.1 | Show respect to the parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.2 | Trust to the parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.3 | Discussion with parents about problems, experiences | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.4 | Acknowledge the parents in front of others | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.5 | help in the kitchen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.6 | Think to become independent in life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10.7 | Express your opinion about ongoing affairs within family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you are daughter in this family, please answer to the questions from 11.1 to 11.6. Otherwise, move to the question 15.1.

As a daughter, how often do you involve in the following behaviors?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11.1 | Show respect to the parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11.2 | Trust to the parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11.3 | Discussion with parents about problems, experiences | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11.4 | Acknowledge the parents in front of others | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11.5 | Have the possibility to help in the kitchen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11.6 | Try to become independent in life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If you are one of the children in family, please answer to the questions from 12.1 to 14.2 . Otherwise parents move to the question 15.1.

How often do you have the following feelings regarding your parents?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally

2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 12.1 | If you feel something about parents (physical or non-physical) is wrong , talk about it with parents or other close relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.2 | I have to pay attention to the points that may make my parents consent or dissatisfied with me | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12.3 | If you realize something against parents happens outside home, discuss it with parents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

How often do have the following attitudes regarding your parents?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally

2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13.1 | In case of dispute with my parents, still I accept their opinion as true | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13.2 | Parents have the right to interfere in their children personal affair so far as they are not in their adolescence | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13.3 | If parents prohibit their children from going outside for any reason and give logical arguments for it, children should accept it | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13.4 | When parents have some good ideas which in reality are legal and logical , children should act accordingly | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

How often do you involve in the children obligations, concerning provision of basic needs for your parents?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never
5 4 3 2 1

14.2 Take care of parents when they are ill

Which kind of below obligations are valid in respect to the following relationships?

Please mark as many options as that are applicable for each specific relationship.

4=Obligations of Feelings 3=Obligations of Attitudes 2=Obligations of Basic needs
0= Don't know

		4	3	2	0
15.1	Mother-father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.2	Mother-son	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.3	Mother-daughter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.4	Father-son	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.5	Father-daughter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15.6	Son-daughter (brother-sister)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What do you do at home as your privacy?

For house work :

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never
5 4 3 2 1

16.1	Dish-washing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.2	Using vacuum cleaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.3	Cooking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.4	Setting the table	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.5	Do gardening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.6	Bedroom cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.7	Clean up the floor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.8	Bring out the trash	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16.9	Bathroom cleaning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

For the self :

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally

2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 17.1 | Control over access to the self | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17.2 | Control over interaction with others and self | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17.3 | Exchanging news with family members whom I haven't seen for a while | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17.4 | To be patient | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

For friendship :

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally

2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 18.1 | Visiting friends at home at regular times | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18.2 | Make telephone calls with friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18.3 | Support friends in a situation of helplessness | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

For personal :

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally

2=Sometimes 1=Never

5 4 3 2 1

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 19.1 | Read books | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.2 | Watch television | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.3 | Letter writing | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.4 | Read newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.5 | Listen to radio | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.6 | Preparing for my affairs that I have to do outside of home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.7 | Eat together with family when you are with them | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19.8 | Talk with the family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

In your family, how often do you involve in the following behaviors as family solidarity?
For affective support:

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 20.1 | Give family members hope when he or she is sad | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.2 | Providing guidance if they have to decide something different | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.3 | Being there | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.4 | Offering an "open ear" | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.5 | Giving comfort | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.6 | Send post cards | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20.7 | Send letters | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

For domestic support & medical care:

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 21.1 | Help with everyday duties when I'm at home | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.2 | Talk with doctors and hospitals when they are ill | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.3 | Tell family members about necessary medical care | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.4 | Arrange timetable for medical care such as vaccination | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.5 | Search for specialists | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.6 | Search for means of healing | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21.7 | When they are ill I cook and buy medicine for them | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

For financial support:

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 22.1 | When having money lend it to family members providing that they will return it to you | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22.2 | Try to give advice on where to save money | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22.3 | Try to give advice on how to spend money economically | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22.4 | When I have something extra give it to another family member | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

How often do you involve in the following helping behaviors?

(Please mark only one option for each question)

5=Always 4=Often 3=Occasionally
2=Sometimes 1=Never

- | | | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|-------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 23.1 | Bought a present for someone for no formal reason, for example it was not his or her birthday, anniversary, or Christmas. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.2 | Brought food you made to someone. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.3 | Looked after a sick friend or relative. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.4 | Visited a sick friend or relative at home or in the hospital. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.5 | Helped someone move into a house. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.6 | Helped someone make repairs or improvements on his/her house. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.7 | Purchased or picked up an item in town for a person who was not able to pick it up him/herself. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.8 | Had a talk with a friend or relative about a personal problem he or she was experiencing. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.9 | Gave advice or information to a friend or relative about some practical matter. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.10 | Loaned money to a friend or relative. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.11 | Kept an eye on a neighbor's house or property while they were away. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 23.12 | Looked after a person's plans, mail or pets while they were away. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.13 | Gave a ride to a friend or relative because they were without transportation. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.14 | Spent time teaching a friend or relative a skill that you possess, such as playing a musical instrument, speaking a language, or cooking. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.15 | Visited a person you thought might be lonely. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.16 | Took someone out for a meal with the intention of paying the bill. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.17 | Lent a possession, such as a book, record, or car, to a friend or relative. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23.18 | Looked after a friend's or relative's children. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Only parents answer to this question.

24. Which of the following home resources, do you have in your house? Please mark only the resources that you have.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Furniture | <input type="checkbox"/> Electricity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personal library | <input type="checkbox"/> Telephone |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Desk | <input type="checkbox"/> Gas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> storage | <input type="checkbox"/> Sitting room |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Refrigerator | <input type="checkbox"/> Sleeping room |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Television | <input type="checkbox"/> Dinning room |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personal computer | <input type="checkbox"/> Simple kitchen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Washing machine | <input type="checkbox"/> Equipped kitchen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dish-washing machine | <input type="checkbox"/> Swimming pool |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vacuum cleaner | <input type="checkbox"/> Garage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oven | <input type="checkbox"/> Bed |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Eating table | <input type="checkbox"/> Garden |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Heating | <input type="checkbox"/> Air conditioning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Water | <input type="checkbox"/> Bathroom |