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Book Reviews

Patrick Heady, Principal Editor, *Family, Kinship and State in Contemporary Europe*. (2010), in 3 Volumes. University of Chicago Press for Campus Verlag. \$57.00 each volume (paperback).

Vol. 1: Hannes Grandits (Ed.), *Eight Countries*.

Vol. 2: Patrick Heady & Peter Schweitzer (Eds.), *The View from Below: Nineteen Localities*.

Vol. 3: Patrick Heady & Martin Kohli (Eds.), *Perspectives on Theory and Policy*.

Exploring variations in family and kinship in Europe, this three-volume set reports the findings of the Kinship and Social Security (KASS) project—an impressive undertaking that collected a wealth of ethnographic and quantitative data on 19 urban and rural localities in eight countries—Italy, Sweden, Germany, France, Austria, Croatia, Poland, and Russia. According to the editors, the project was mostly rooted in history and anthropology, but the resulting volumes have much broader interdisciplinary appeal. Volume one contains country case studies, highlighting variations in history and culture with a focus on how economic and policy changes affected families. Volume two provides ethnographic accounts of urban and rural life in each of the countries. Volume three presents analyses of quantitative data and synthesizes the findings. Despite the broad range of empirical analyses, the study is theoretically driven and integrates universalistic micro-level theories of altruism and exchange with macro-level structural and cultural theories while addressing a number of key debates. Perhaps the most central is the debate on the role of cultural, economic, and policy factors in shaping kinship, where the study concludes that all three are closely linked and frequently operate in tandem.

Addressing cultural patterns, Kohli and Heady (Ch. 17, Vol. 3) argue for a more parsimonious typology than either Laslett's historical macro-regions (West, West-central, Mediterranean,

East) or Esping-Andersen's welfare state regimes (liberal, corporatist-statist, social-democratic). (KASS study did not include any countries with liberal regimes, however.) They identify two clusters: Northwestern cluster, characterized by an emphasis on nuclear family, with kin ties downplayed; and southeastern cluster, that tends to emphasize kin ties more than marriages. This typology is based on patterns of marriage and kinship, but the authors argue that the role of the welfare state closely corresponds to these two types. Other chapters, however, make finer distinctions. Kohli, Albertini, and Künemund (Ch. 9, Vol. 3) theorize the North-South regime axis and identify Nordic, Continental, and Southern regimes; Schlee and Hardy (Ch. 15, Vol. 3) also mention three clusters (Northern, Central, and Southern). Augustins (Ch. 14, Vol. 3) highlights differences within the southeastern cluster and identifies three ideal types: "kinship-oriented" solidarity (southern cluster) characterized by strong kin ties and gendered division of labor; "institution-oriented solidarity" (northwestern cluster) characterized by individualism, isolation of nuclear family, gender egalitarianism, and reliance on broader social institutions for assistance; and "neighbor-oriented solidarity" (eastern cluster) emphasizing nuclear families embedded in local communities. All typologies, however, underscore the inverse link between marriage and kin ties as well as the relationship between strong kin ties and an emphasis on women's domestic roles. The latter relationship is also tied to fertility patterns: Fertility used to be higher in countries with stronger kin ties, but by the end of the 20th century, this correlation reversed. Heady, Gruber, and Ou (Ch. 8, Vol. 3) examine this paradox and find that proximity to kin increases fertility in rural areas, as kin assistance compensates for the lack of men's involvement in domestic tasks, but in urban areas it does not—there, egalitarian division of labor is the key to promoting fertility. In sum, this paradox results from an interaction of economic and cultural trends—urbanization combined with persistent cultural values.

Turning to economic factors more directly, the study focuses on the modernization theory which argues that as economies develop, kin ties are weakened. Cluster differences and historic trends offer some support: Kohli and Heady (Ch. 17, Vol. 3) suggest that the northwestern pattern is better adapted to

modern capitalism, while the southeastern type works better with agriculture. The full picture, however, is quite complicated, leading scholars to debate whether economic changes weaken kin ties or merely transform them. Another prediction of the modernization theory would be a cross-national convergence, yet the trajectories are more complex: Family patterns converged on high levels of marriage and fertility in post-war decades, but then diverged again, reflecting the pre-war differences—albeit in reverse for fertility. The most recent trends suggest a potential for another convergence—a “rediscovery” of kinship accompanying the welfare state retreat (Viazzo, Vol. 3, p. 285). Some also link this trend to the increased instability of marriages, arguing that it leads to increased reliance on kin. Segalen (Ch. 10, Vol. 3) argues, however, that current trends do not look like a return to kinship ties of earlier times. She highlights a shift towards emotion-based, rather than survival-based, kinship—one that parallels the earlier shift to companionate marriages and involves a move from status-based moral obligations to elective relations where both parties have a great deal of autonomy, and assistance depends on emotional closeness. Viazzo (Ch. 11, Vol. 3) agrees that modernization processes can promote elective kin ties, but emphasizes that the cultural differences across clusters will likely persist.

Finally, with regard to social policy, the study emphasizes the “crowding out” versus “crowding in” debate. The “crowding out” perspective assumes that familial assistance is driven primarily by recipients’ needs and suggests that social provisions displace such assistance. The “crowding in” perspective emphasizes the altruistic and reciprocal nature of kin help and argues that state support can actually increase the levels of informal support as it provides people with resources that they can use to assist others. Heady and Kohli (Ch. 1, Vol. 3) find support for both altruism and reciprocal exchanges as key mechanisms behind support transfers—with reciprocity operating both as a wish to reciprocate the help received (by increasing one’s own giving) and as a wish not to be a burden (by reducing what one asks for). As Viazzo (Ch. 11, Vol. 3) argues, however, there may be cultural differences in these mechanisms—in the northwestern cluster, assistance to adult children is often unidirectional and appears to be based more on altruism, while in the southeastern cluster, exchanges

and reciprocity dominate. Ultimately, Kohli and Heady (Ch. 17, Vol. 3) conclude that while some “crowding out” likely happens—financial support of the elderly is now primarily the responsibility of the state—other types of family solidarity and support are encouraged and enabled by the welfare state. The study also concludes that while social policies oftentimes emerge in response to economic changes and existing cultural patterns, they also promote specific goals such as increased fertility and women’s labor force participation, and, in recent years, an effort to shift assistance tasks to families. The latter trend, Kohli and Heady argue, may generate a “care crisis,” unless policies support flexible employment and provide financial support for caregiving, or, as Chevalier (Ch. 13, Vol. 3) shows, it can contribute to gender, class, and ethnic inequalities, as families with resources relegate caregiving to immigrant women, mostly undocumented and poorly paid.

This set of volumes is more integrated than many other edited collections, although numerous chapters with different authors do make it more difficult to identify the main arguments and pinpoint the evidence supporting them, and the quality of the writing is somewhat uneven. Nevertheless, the focus on kinship offers an important albeit underutilized lens for examining cross-national differences in family experiences, gender dynamics, and social policy regimes. The study provides a wealth of information, makes interesting theoretical arguments, and succeeds at preserving the micro-focus while considering macro-level cultural, economic, and social policy forces underlying kin ties. This blend of micro and macro approaches and the emphasis on theory-driven analyses make for an exciting set of volumes that will be of much interest to graduate students and scholars in the areas of family, gender, aging, and social policy.

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James Midgley & David Piachaud (Eds.), *Colonialism and Welfare: Social Policy and the British Imperial Legacy*. (2011). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. \$110.00 (hardcover.)

This new book edited by Midgley and Piachaud addresses the limited attention paid by social policy analysts to the