WHEN PICTURING THE WORK SITE OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS, THE LAST PLACE TO COME TO MIND IS THE MIDDLE CLASS HOME OF AN AMERICAN WORKING FAMILY. BUT THAT IS EXACTLY WHERE CENTER ON EVERYDAY LIVES OF FAMILIES (CELF) CORE FACULTY JEANNE ARNOLD AND ADVANCED PHD STUDENT ANTHONY GRAESCH HAVE SET THEIR “SITES” FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS. THEY MAY HAVE LEFT THEIR TROWELS AND BRUSHES AT HOME FOR TECHNOLOGICALLY SAVVY HANDHELD COMPUTERS AND VIDEO EQUIPMENT, BUT THEIR RIGOROUS METHODS STILL HAVE ROOTS IN ARCHAEOLOGY. COMBINING DATA GATHERING STRATEGIES USED ON EXCAVATIONS WITH INNOVATIVE COLLABORATIVE MEASURES, THEY ARE “UNCOVERING” THE STRUGGLES OF CONTEMPORARY WORKING FAMILY LIFE.

For the last 25 years Professor Jeanne Arnold (UCLA Department of Anthropology) has been studying more traditional sites in the Great Lakes, California Channel Islands, coastal California, British Columbia, and Northern Europe. Anthony Graesch, a doctoral student of anthropology at UCLA, has also been conducting original archaeological fieldwork at a First Nations village site in southern British Columbia. Both researchers have focused their investigations during the last few years on the contents and remains of Native North American houses in village sites dating to the 18th and 19th centuries.

Central to archaeological research is the study of objects, how objects are positioned in relation to other objects, and the manner in which they came to be left behind. “Houses are typically the largest of a family’s possessions,” Graesch notes. “The structural remains of houses and their contents provide a window onto household organization. By studying how houses are designed, the placement of objects on house floors, and the amounts and types of objects thrown in the trash, we [archaeologists] can begin to address many questions regarding household composition, activities, diet, and interaction with other households.”

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Archaeologists “dig up” contemporary issues in working family homes (cont. from p.1)

It is this same focus on households that these archaeologists bring to the CELF study on working families. “We wanted to bring focus to modern material culture,” Arnold reflected. “By bringing the archaeological techniques of systematically measuring, counting, and evaluating things in a material world into a context where you can also observe living people in spaces and how people interact with objects in their homes, we can do something very productive and unique in studying middle class families.”

The study of living people through the lens of archaeology is a method known as ethnoarchaeology. Objects and their role in everyday activities and interactions are still a central research focus, but data are gathered by observing modern-day people and their behavior. The ethnoarchaeology component of the CELF research project is rather unique. “Most ethnoarchaeologists have worked in contemporary societies that have contact with the modern world, yet continue to operate in traditional ways,” says Arnold. With few ethnoarchaeological studies of modern-day North American families to draw upon for inspiration, it was the challenge of both Arnold and Graesch to develop innovative methods to study the very fast-paced everyday lives of working American families.

Some of the ethnoarchaeological methods used by CELF include careful mapping and photographing houses and their holdings. However, the sheer quantity of American family possessions demanded a more intensive approach from CELF researchers. “We initially planned on shooting only 4-5 pictures per home space, capturing the objects in association with each wall of the room,” says Graesch. “The realization that our homes contain thousands of objects compelled us to shoot more. We average 500-600 digital images per family.”

In order to document how families use their home spaces, the ethnoarchaeologists borrowed and modified an observation method that permits researchers to document the type and location of activities as well as the objects involved at timed intervals. “We originally planned a 20-minute interval between tracking observations, but our first in-home visit made apparent that we would capture a mere fraction of family activities and interactions at this rate,” notes Graesch. “I remember being stunned by how mobile people were in their home spaces... how little time was spent in any single home space.” In order to match the pace of modern-day Los Angeles families, Arnold and Graesch shortened the observation interval to 10 minutes and developed a means by which data could be easily recorded on a handheld computer.

Other data collected include video tours of homes narrated by each parent and child. Taken together, this combination of maps, digital images, tracking observations, and video home tours represent some of the richest data on the material world of present-day North American families.

Arnold has focused on an issue few homeowners want to talk about: clutter. Analysis of digital photographs and video home tours has revealed that some homes are overrun with possessions and homeowners express a great deal of stress about the problem. “We are all so tempted by the many inexpensive goods that we have such easy access to,” comments Arnold. “One of the things that we might be able to contribute from the CELF study is a small, but systematic data set that documents the struggles that some of our families are having with accumulating, storing, and organizing their space, so that future families are not so overwhelmed by these things.”

Graesch is currently using tracking data, maps, and video home tours to examine what he describes as a “mismatch” between the design of family homes and the organizationally complex schedules of working families. “Our stock of houses in the Los Angeles region includes houses built anywhere from the early 1900s to the present, the design of each reflecting ideas about the organization of family life in the era that it was built,” Graesch explains. “Given that the pace, organization, and logistical complexity of family life today is very different from that observed two decades ago, does the configuration of our home spaces facilitate or constrain our hectic everyday lives? Because our houses are the places where work, school, and family lives intersect, this is a very important question.” Aside from exploring the range and type of activities that occur in specific home spaces, he is also using home remodeling events as a window onto family perceptions of the “spatial adequacy” of their houses.
CELF researchers conduct interviews with working parents and their children to get their reflections and interpretations of their lives.

CELF firmly believes that examining ordinary moments in which family members are actively engaging each other in social life is a rich enterprise unto itself. We can learn a lot about life by looking at day-to-day interactions between adult partners and between parents and children, as captured through the lens of a video camera. Like a snowflake, an intricate family world is visible in such moments.

CELF relates family interactions to family routines, through this we can tell which moments we capture form part of a working family’s typical day. Not only have we captured ordinary family moments for study, we also have gathered contextual information as well. CELF has used methodologies from the diverse backgrounds of our center members, ranging from socio-cultural anthropologists, linguistic anthropologists, medical anthropologists, archaeologists, clinical psychologists, education scientists, and applied linguists. CELF integrates social and life sciences methodologies, including ethnographic video recording, ethno-archaeological mapping, photographing of family habitats, tracking of family members, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and biological stress sampling. Each piece of information CELF has collected can stand on its own for analysis, as well as complement each other while contributing to a much fuller understanding of working families strategies, perspectives, and issues.

For example, a large collaborative project on family cohesion currently underway integrates methodologies and perspectives from archaeology, linguistic anthropology, and clinical psychology. This project focuses on the moment when families reunite at the end of the day. It documents how working parents return home and transition into family life. In the very brief period after a parent walks through the door, they reunite with their family after having been apart all day. It is a difficult moment for the family, in that they have to find a way to reintegrate as a social unit. We are interested in the quality of family greetings is related to other social qualities of the family. As just one moment in many moments, some may not think of the family moment of reunion as particularly important because it is so brief. However, CELF researchers propose that this transitional moment is potentially consequential.

One of the research activities we have planned is to see if families that are highly welcoming to the returning parent are also families who spend more time together in the same room of the house in the evenings after work and after school. We would like to see if high reunion families correspond to high proximity parents.

Alternatively, we have families who do not greet a returning parent, where a child or a spouse remains in an activity when a parent returns home. For instance, a child who continues to watch TV or play a video game and does not look up to even briefly welcome a parent home. We would like to see if that family is also a family that does not spend much time together in the same space or has very few shared activities together. We do not know just yet if there is a correlation in that but those are the types of questions that we are exploring within the framework of our study’s methodology.
Standing in line at the grocery store, driving in the car through rush hour traffic to soccer practice, waiting for a doctor’s appointment to begin. These mundane moments may be a huge leap from the “quality time” experience that most working families aspire to, but they are the pinnacle of interest for Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF) Director of Research and Post-Doctoral Fellow Tamar Kremer-Sadlik and CELF Post-Doctoral Fellow Amy Paugh. With their collaborative research focusing on what they’ve termed “quality moments,” the researchers hope to bring working families a little relief from the “quality time” pressure.

The term “Quality Time” originated in the 1970’s in response to both parents working more and spending less time with their children. “Quality time” is often defined in the popular media as scheduled blocks of uninterrupted time devoted to a particular child-oriented activity. “Quality time” is viewed as necessary time for families to connect and strengthen their sense of togetherness, thereby increasing the family’s overall sense of well-being.

When Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh began studying the notion of quality time in the CELF working families data, they were aware of research findings that indicated that families felt stress and guilt in trying to achieve adequate “quality time.” “There was a definite difficulty in achieving quality time in our families as well” Kremer-Sadlik observed “this was apparent when we interviewed them about their regular weekly schedules. For example, one family declared that Sundays were their set-in-stone ‘family time’, but at the same time they lamented that they weren’t able to do it last Sunday. On one hand families want to have quality time, but on the other they have competing forces that challenge this goal. These forces can be a parent’s need to work extra hours or even conflicting children’s extra-curricular schedules that require each child, often accompanied by a parent, to be in a different location. For example, one on the soccer field and the other at a birthday party.

Using the daily ethnographic videorecordings, Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh were able to examine quality time in day-to-day interactions of family members. “In reality, we noticed that the families had many moments throughout the day during which they achieved the basic goals of quality time, gaining an increased sense of togetherness and well-being as a family,” Kremer-Sadlik noted “we became very interested in exploring those moments, which we called ‘quality moments’.

These “quality moments” are not scheduled activities, they are spontaneous and can occur even at the most mundane of times. The researchers found occurrences of “quality moments” in such times as while the working families were driving in the car, folding laundry, and waiting in line at the store. “They can happen at any moment of the day,” Kremer-Sadlik found “these are opportunities in which a parent and child can connect with one another.”

In their work, Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh note that “quality moments” can also happen with only a subset of the family present, which strays away from the “quality time” ideals; when people talk about “quality time” they often envision the whole family, father, mother, and children, engaged in an activity together, like a family game night. “Well, we found that ‘quality moments’ often occur between a parent and a child,” Kremer-Sadlik noted “and we were happy to discover that psychological research on family systems supports the idea that strengthening the relationship between subset members of the family positively impacts the relationship of the family as a whole.”

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“Being aware of everyday quality moments may take some of the pressure off parents who try to get everyone together in the same room to have quality time.” Kremer-Sadlik expressed.

“Not that we don’t support the idea that special time spent together on a planned activity, like going to the zoo, is not great, it is very good for the children, their parents, and the family as a whole,” Kremer-Sadlik shared “but in our work we focused on those daily moments when parents connect with their children again and again and showed that everyday interaction is a great opportunity to build strong family relationships.”
Children Benefit from Less Structured Activities, More Creativity from Parents

In contemporary working family life the schedule has become king. Daily routines have sped up to match the demands of two full time work schedules, school work, and the extracurricular activities of growing children. To achieve daily goals, family members must adhere to stringent time limits and hurried lives, bowing to the needs of the almighty clock instead of the needs of the moment. Education, play, and family bonding are all fit into the schedule, each for a bounded and structured period of time. However, after collecting and reviewing Center on the Everyday Lives of Families’ (CELF) video data on working family daily life, CELF Core Faculty and Linguistic Anthropologist Marjorie Goodwin is finding the value in a little rule-bending spontaneity and a lot of imagination.

“On a few occasions in our families, there were the most amazing interactions. The family members would begin discussing a mundane topic and through the developments of ‘word play’, they would evolve the situation to include learning new words and develop far reaching topics.” Goodwin noted “It was as though the discussion itself was an adventure, with each member of the family allotted a turn in the driver’s seat.” For example, in one family they began by mentioning a word relevant to an activity they were engaged in at the time, like “addition” while completing math homework. Even though the other family members were not currently involved in the activity, upon hearing the mentioned word they would respond not by asking for clarification and returning the conversation to the activity at hand, but instead would contribute another related word and begin the word play. “Addition” would become “add-a-ton”, then moving to “a ton of monkeys” and “how much do you think a ton of monkey’s would weigh?” These interactions regularly last for lengthy periods of time and result in discussions covering historical topics, word meanings, and imaginary possibilities. In effect, what begins as an exploration of words becomes an exploration of worlds.

In her research studying these interactions, which she terms “occasioned knowledge exploration”, Goodwin has found environmental factors that foster these moments in families. Firstly, families are more likely to cultivate word play when they engage in activities in the same space. They aren’t required to work on the same activity together, just share the same room for instance. Secondly, families need to have the flexibility of schedule to allow these interactions to blossom, viewing the time not as frivolous, but as an opportunity for learning. Thirdly, family members, especially parents, would need to allow credence of any topic contribution and maintain an age appropriate focus, freeing the conversation for even the smallest child to take a turn directing the journey.

Recent psychological research findings suggest that children raised in a home where their viewpoints are recognized and reciprocated will in turn become more successful both academically and socially. By maintaining limits and parental control amidst an environment where children can express their personal viewpoints on their world’s inner workings, parents can offer personalized guidance in place of generalized corrections. Scholars in education and developmental studies also view spontaneous learning as beneficial. They find that endowing children with an active role in an educational process where play, stories, and personal experience are highlighted contributes to an optimal learning experience.

“Working families who regularly find their schedules too constricting for spontaneous activity might benefit from a less rigorous set of extracurricular obligations” Goodwin remarked “and an increase in less structured time taking walks, going to the beach, telling stories, or even spending the evening working on things in the same room. These activities may not be clearly delineated as time to learn or grow, but are heightened opportunities to explore knowledge creatively and in a fun way.”
Wellness and Well-being: A Universal Concern from the Peruvian Amazon to Here at Home

Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF) Post-Doctoral Fellow Carolina Izquierdo first ventured into the humid tropics of the Peruvian Amazon 10 years ago to conduct fieldwork among the Matsigenka, a horticulturalist, hunter/gather society living in fairly isolated villages. As a Medical anthropologist, for her Ph.D. dissertation, she concentrated on the relationship between physical, personal, and societal well-being.

The field of Medical Anthropology, Izquierdo reflects, “studies illness, health, and well-being as a window into understanding a particular culture.” Her field site selection was based on a desire to study ‘illness episodes’ from initial symptoms to recovery, which would only be possible in a small community. While conducting her fieldwork, she was struck by the fact that people felt very sick, but these illnesses were not reflected in medical exams or doctor’s diagnoses. Many times, physical symptoms would improve, while village member’s feelings of wellness and well-being declined.

Wellness and Well-being may at first seem an enigmatic concept, one inherently rooted in a unique cultural and personal bias and too ambiguous for researchers to pin down systematically. However, through the holistic study of a wide-range of both personal and interpersonal perspectives around the globe, researchers are beginning to unveil the ways in which cultures promote and maintain individual and community well-being. “Well-being is the personal, intrapersonal, and larger socio-cultural view of what constitutes an optimal state. Overall, it can be seen as a positive life experience similar to happiness,” Izquierdo shared “but less fleeting, much more even and long lasting.”

Gaining in popularity over the last decade, wellness and well-being have become common catchphrases in Public Health, Economics, and Psychology research circles. However, in Anthropology, the issue of well-being has been primarily discussed in reference to suffering, illness, and dysfunction highlighting differences in cultural values. Izquierdo’s approach to the study of well-being aims to find ways in which anthropologists can talk about cross-cultural differences and similarities while retaining a particular cultural outlook. She hopes to help develop standardized measures to capture wellness and well-being beyond biology to include subjective experience while respecting cultural context.

It was with this theoretical motivation that Izquierdo approached the CELF data on Middle-Class American working families. Pouring through hours of video-tapes and interviews conducted with parents brought to light clear similarities between her isolated Peruvian site and American working families. She discovered that it wasn’t the cultural, geographical, economic, or social differences that hindered a concise comparison between the two distinct cultures. Instead, the roadblock was a difference in ways of collecting data and approaches to research questions in the field.

The desire to capture similarities between the Matsigenka and Dual-Income American Families inspired Izquierdo to return to the Amazon. This time with the primary intention of collecting data utilizing CELF research methods, including intense interview combined with video-taped observation of daily life in order to capture naturally occurring interactions. With similar video data and similar questions, Izquierdo is now poised for the standardized cross-cultural analysis of well-being for which she has strived.

Building upon her research experience both abroad and at CELF, Izquierdo organized a conference panel and a workshop devoted to wellness and well-being. The attendees were psychologists and anthropologists from around the globe actively engaged in researching and writing on the topic of well-being. Ultimately, Izquierdo and Gordon Mathews invited ten anthropologists, with expertise in a wide variety of cultures, to compile an edited volume. In this volume they present a four level model from which well-being can be viewed universally and they suggest research methods to capture and highlight the following factors

The four levels of well-being as a collective concept include:
- Biological Components
- Interpersonal Societal Factors
- National or Global Impacts
- The Subjective Experience

All humans appear to share these domains in their experience of wellness and well-being, despite their very different day-to-day circumstances and environments.

In a world where cultural, ethnic, and personal differences and especially pathology are more often emphasized, it is an uplifting cause to shed light on facets of life that characterize ways in which societies seek to achieve wellness. Additionally, this method could be more effective. “It is my goal to study well-being not only within a single culture, but across cultures while retaining the understanding and respect, that as anthropologists we most value, of the importance of cultural diversity,” Izquierdo observed. “This would allow my research to focus on cross-cultural comparisons without the overgeneralization or over-differentiation that generally occurs when trying to compare cultures.”
FOUR YEARS AGO WHEN THE CENTER ON EVERYDAY LIVES OF FAMILIES (CELF) WAS JUST GETTING UNDERWAY, GRADUATE STUDENT FELLOW DIANA PASH SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO RECRUIT AND STUDY GAY WORKING FAMILIES AS PART OF THE LARGER CELF STUDY ON WORKING FAMILIES. BY UTILIZING CELF’S VIDEO ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH METHODS TO CAPTURE EVERYDAY FAMILY LIFE AS IT NATURALLY UNFOLDS, PASH HAS BEEN WORKING TOWARD DE-EXOTICIZING GAY FAMILIES BY FOCUSING ON THE PRACTICES RATHER THAN THE POLITICS OF GAY FAMILY LIFE.

An overarching goal in Pash’s research is to highlight the family headed by gay co-fathers as a viable family unit, one that is simultaneously unique yet familiar. However, these families are not being compared to mainstream working families. Pash feels it is important to study them in their own right, as they co-exist among other families, within communities, institutions, and society-at-large. Pash notes, “as minorities, they have a unique perspective on the world and unique insights.”

Oftentimes, when gay male couples choose to start a family their lives shift, becoming more child- and family-centered. They may wish to relocate into more child-friendly communities, to place their children into higher performing school districts, and to be in closer proximity to relatives. Research has found that gay parents also move between both gay and straight communities, and that when they have children, they re-connect with and rely upon biological kin. “Children are sometimes the central catalyst for this,” Pash noted, “Gay families merge and integrate their ‘families of origin’ with their ‘families of choice’.”

Pash is currently analyzing video recorded spontaneous everyday family interaction and routine activities to understand how members of the gay family’s kin network help sustain the family and how they display notions of obligation. Negotiations surrounding responsibilities and care are parsed and analyzed using the ethnographic methods of linguistic anthropology. However, within her research focus Pash finds it imperative to “get behind the video” with in-depth interview data in which gay co-fathered working families have the opportunity to reflect on their personal incorporation of life goals and parenting ideologies. Through the family’s self reports, Pash hopes to understand how they experience larger cultural processes and their place in society.

In her research, Pash has found some unique aspects regarding the negotiation of family care and responsibilities in gay co-fathered working families. When bringing children into their lives (such as through adoption or surrogacy), both fathers are usually working full-time and therefore must negotiate how they will carry out caretaking duties. Gender role responsibilities aren’t assumed, so the couple must decide which of them will take on a larger role with family care. Deciding factors include income, job satisfaction, and employment gap impact on career success. In some cases, the negotiations result with one parent choosing to stay at home and assuming full-time caregiving duties or with both fathers choosing to retain employment and coordinating care between themselves, or through the assistance of a nanny. In either case, it can be an ongoing balance between fathers’ time constraints.

In addition to collecting video, conducting interviews, and engaging in participant-observation for the CELF data set, Pash has recruited additional co-fathered families to add to her dissertation research. Recent fieldwork took her to Provincetown, Massachusetts, where she documented Family Week for gay co-fathered and co-mothered families, coordinated by the Family Pride Coalition. Family workshops offered at the retreat allowed participants to share strategies for living within a majority (heterosexual) mainstream culture, offered families a space to share common experience, and helped socialize them into co-fathered and co-mothered family life. While conducting fieldwork, Pash attended workshops, in addition to shadowing and interviewing three gay father couples. She is now processing these data for her dissertation.

“As minorities, Gay Co-Fathered Families have a unique perspective on the world and unique insights.”
Before joining us, Beck worked as an archaeological project director and ceramic analyst at Statistical Research, Inc., in Tucson and as an instructor at the University of Arizona and Pima Community College. Her dissertation addressed the use and discard of ceramic cooking vessels by modern households in an upland village in northern Luzon, the Philippines. Working as part of the Kalinga Ethnoarchaeological Project, she examined the relationships between kitchen assemblages, household composition, and family diet and linked household activities to the material evidence in village trash deposits. She brings her research interests in food preparation, household labor, and material culture to the CELF data and is currently studying the planning, time investment, and materials involved in dinner preparation in Los Angeles households.

Campos comes to us after two years as a Postdoctoral Fellow at the UCLA Psychology Department. Her research examines how positive emotion processes and cultural values can promote relationship satisfaction and pro-social behavior. In her dissertation, Campos examined how the meaning and expectation assigned to close relationship categories influences emotional experience and behavior. For example, we expect romantic partners to appreciate our physical appearance and family to be there in times of trouble. These findings highlight the importance of the unique expectations associated with family, friend, and romantic partners for understanding relationship behavior and satisfaction. At CELF, she is investigating how the emotional quality of family reunions at the end of a workday influences relationship satisfaction among partners and their children.