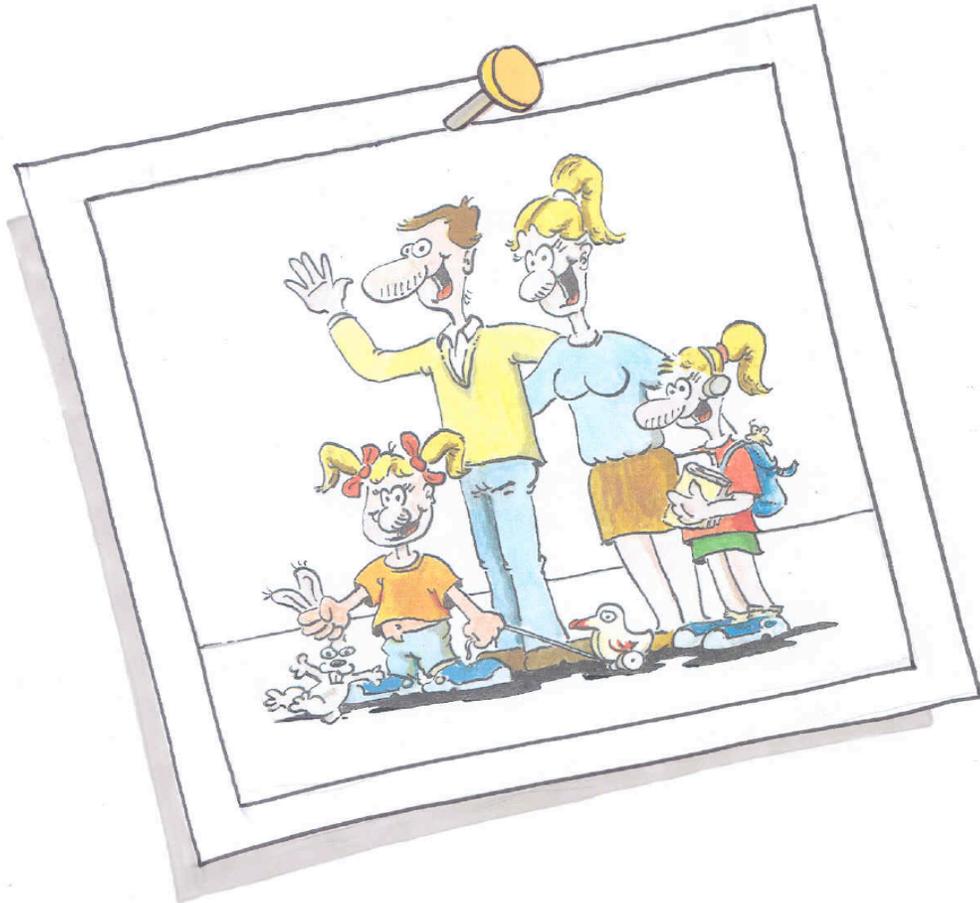


Socializing to time in three Italian families

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The Italian research is part of a collaborative project headed by prof . Ochs at the Sloan Center on Everyday Lives of Families, based in UCLA. It is a comparative research project involving an Italian as well as a Swedish unit, and it is based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork in family households. The families are all composed by two parents and at least two siblings, one of which between 8 and 12 years of age; both parents work outdoors.

The general aim of the project is to understand how the family organizes to carry out manifold activities. The research implies observing (and videorecording) the family members at home during their working and weekend days, and interviewing the parents about the family history, habits and network of relationships, as well as for their views on the matters of health care and children's education.

Extensive observation is dedicated to the organization of the home space, creating house maps and getting a large number of photographs of the home space, objects and storage resources; the point of view of each of the family member as for significant places and objects is obtained by asking individual videorecorded home tours in which they show and explain the different part of the house from their own perspective.

Interviews and field observations are integrally transcribed; an "activity log" is also produced by both ethnographic fieldnotes and recordings, synthetizing the main activities carried out in the settings.

The main part analysis is performed on the transcripts; when relevant passages are identified, they are further examined by going back to the audio and/or video data.

Theoretical framework: time and temporalization.

One function carried out by a community is to socialize its members to a common system of rules. Such rules and expectations constitute the symbolic materials of a culture and can be observed, through a systematic study, both in the way in which they are produced and negotiated, and in the way in which they are appropriated by everyone and constitute personal and collective experiences. Members of communities have repertoires of temporal markers (e.g. calendars, genealogies, etc.) that are historically and institutionally rooted with symbolic and moral meanings (Bretell, 2002). In this sense, “repertoires of timekeeping reflect, legitimate and impact epistemic, moral¹ and social order” (Gingrich, Ochs, Swedlund, 2002).

We could define *temporal culture* as a whole of attitudes and patterns of shared behavior regarding, firstly, conceptions and representations of time, including attitude towards past-present-future and, secondly, the typical experiences of temporality implemented by the actors of a social system (Balbo, May, 1990). The concept of temporal culture is closely connected with the concept of time organization, on which the cultural models and the structural dimension, relating temporality to a specific social system, are delivered. (Talamo, Zucchermaglio, Pirchio, 1999). In fact, according to Zerubavel (1981), all social actions are carried out on the basis of some outlines that specify their *temporal localization* (when they take place), and also *duration, sequence and frequency*. In this perspective, the life of a single community is possible only if there is a “pervasive process of socialization to the quantitative time that stimulates the maintenance of a culture oriented to it, with all its implications in terms of ties and options”. Thus, observing the particular time organization around which family daily life develops, we can reflectively observe the socio-temporal order in which each family is inserted and which it constructs around itself.

¹ “Timekeeping is also a moral matter implicating such notions as truth, authority, origins, memory, desire, progress and anticipation” (Gingrich, Ochs, Swedlund, 2002).

The analysis of daily life activities refers to a truly real place and time, that are full of concrete acts of sense-making present in all the ordinary engagements in order to endow with shape and sense what is making and what is being. In fact, time is not only an object that scholars measure, it is also a “cultural artifact” that organizes our life and discourse (Ochs, Jacoby, 1997).

For the purposes of our research, we refer to the concept of *temporalization* (Merlino & Padiglione, 1993) which rather belongs to constructivism than to the classical qualitative/quantitative dichotomy, since it considers particular interactions of the daily life and is no longer based on static conceptions of the world alone. In this perspective, time is perceived “as a symbolic process continually being produced in everyday practices. People are “in” a sociocultural time of multiple dimension (sequencing, timing, past-present-future relations, etc.) that thus are forming in their projects. In any given instance, particular temporal dimensions may be *foci* of attention or only tacitly known.” (Munn, 1992, p.116). A similar point of view can be found in the concept of *temporality* designated “both as the processual quality of the material world and how beings experience such processual qualities in different contexts, for example, through memory or anticipation” (Gingrich, 1995; Gingrich, Ochs, Swedlund, 2002). Following these suggestions, we consider time both as an argument of discourse and as a family life organizer to be studied within the theoretical framework of the linguistic socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986).

Socializing to time

Referring to the *language socialization theory* we adopt the idea that, “through the social interactions with expert members, the novices learn and are socialized to learn the social and cultural practices, and the values and the ideologies of their community that are necessary in order to participate to the activities and for living in society”(Schieffelin & Ochs 1986).

In fact, the **focus** of this research is on the way children are socialized to become competent members of their community (especially in the families where both parents must balance their time between family and work and children between family, school and other scheduled activities) through the construction and the sharing of a temporally oriented culture.

Italian family members observe their cultural clock and temporal orders through different fields of experience. In particular, children's socialization to social rules and use of time (including the externally imposed temporal conditionings) takes its origins in: school (compulsory school schedules, single lessons, daily and weekly alterations in the school schedules or that dictated by the time-delay of weekends and holidays), family (parents' attitude towards keeping to appointments and deadlines, family plans, waking up on one's own or under someone's control, observing meal time, precipitous departures, free time organizations and vacations), television (evening or afternoon television programs) and other scheduled activities (sports, music, church, etc.).

Since such rules or cultural expectation about time are formed through interactions, the analysis of the conversational interaction is an effective tool to examine the local treatment of the concept of temporalization.

Conversational data

The data used for this paper are drawn from the corpus of family video recordings made by the ICelf at the University of Rome "La Sapienza". The corpus is constituted of families with both parents working and two children (one of which is a preadolescent). Followed by mapping and intensive home photographing, when all family members were at home, the families were being extensively interviewed and videotaped for four days: during the weekend (Saturday morning and Sunday afternoon) and two working-school days. Each day contains two records: one is in

the morning from the getting-up time until leaving to work/school, and the other one is in the afternoon/evening from the moment the first adult came back home). The families belong to middle class and own their houses. Two members of the team (the authors of the present paper) were simultaneously filming what was happening in each space, while the third member of the team was taking regular notes. The videos were then digitised, viewed and transcribed. The transcription and the analysis were performed in accordance with the ethnomethodological approach of *Conversational Analysis* (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974), which examines different aspects of conversation through its ongoing turn-taking, thus allowing us to obtain an accurate description of the process in which temporalization appears and develops. The conversational aspects are:

- *sequentiality*: a progressive development of the conversation through the turn-taking;
- *simultaneity*: the co-presence of various elements - utterance and embodied activities (Goodwin, 2002), such as gesture and prosody - that contribute to the participants co-orientation in the course of their activities;
- *discontinuity*: great consideration of interruptions, changes, collapse and new beginnings which is dialectically related/opposed to continuity (or linearity);
- *synchronicity*: participant's coordination and co-orientation (metacommunication and intersubjectivity) with overlapping phenomena.
- *duration*: as a combination of objective and subjective stance.

Unlike other methods, Conversational Analysis allows us a more heterogeneous and complex understanding of “how a phenomenon appears in the course of its actual production [...] taking into account the manner in which particular participants themselves display that they make sense (meaning) of what occurs”. (Psathas, 1995, p.48).

1- The analysis of Time-Interactions

Family have invariant or multiplex paradigms for conceptualizing and making time. The regularity with which certain activities are repeated (*routines*) allows all family members to program their activities and experiences (Perulli, 1996). The planning in its turn allows to establish the typical family schedules (sleeping, dressing, shopping, cooking and eating, watching TV, etc.). Therefore, time implications are twofold: 1) times to which family has to adapt (hours, days, months, expirations, schedules of the others, etc.) in order to organize their days; 2) times they organize themselves (appointments, routines, planning, deadline organizations).

Besides, all people can prefigure a scenery of a future life in a temporal elsewhere, through a culturally shared expectation about what is retained to be the natural development of the family life cycle (Sue, 1994). Even the temporal structure of the life (or temporal horizon: from the birth to the death) could actually seem a predictable and fixed scheme (typical whims of the infancy, difficulties with entering kindergarten or primary school, etc.) (Bretell, 2002).

The following Excerpt underlines the characteristics of the parental educational intervention and demonstrates how children's activity rhythms are defined through a daily routine.

Excerpt 1 –NAKED routine.

Family GITI - Sunday morning – Living Room

Participants: PA (Paolo) MA (Emma) Alice (1 year 5 months)

[Alice must take a bath. Every time, before it, the parents play a game with her. In

this excerpt the mother uses the meaningless word “nide” that sounds similar to “nuda”, which means naked. In the translation we have used the correct word “naked”]

<p>235 MA: come on, love, mum will help you to have a bath. ALI! (!) ALI! (13.0) run! run::!</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>245 MA: naked! come on we'll do(naked) later! Let's do (naked) to Francesco! he is waiting for you. eh!= eh!= eh! go to dad and say naked! (1.0) wait we always do this it is a game where even ALI (is in). (7.0) (not even) is it a problem for you? ((to the researchers))</p> <p>246 Res: no. not for me.</p> <p>247 (5.0) ((MA and ALI go to the living room where PA is.))</p> <p>248 MA: HERE IS ALI! ((PA turns toward the door)) NAKED::!</p> <p>249 PA: >have a bath! run to have a bath run to have a bath!</p> <p>run=run=run< run run to [have a bath! come on come on have a bath] ((PA plays with Alice who is all naked and ready for having a bath and then goes back to work on computer))</p> <p>250 Elena: [but what are you doing all ↓na:ked!] ((she laughs and catches Alice)) oh::! He'll deal with you, deal with you! UA=UA=UA=UA:::!</p>	<p>dai mamma ti fa fare il bagnetto amore. ALI! (!) ALI! (13.0) corri! corri::!</p> <p>nide! dai poi facciamo (nuda)! facciamo a Francesco (nide)! che lui ti aspetta. eh!=eh!=eh! vai da papà e dici nide! (1.0) aspetta questo lo facciamo sempre è un giochino che (c'è) anche Ali. (7.0) (nemmeno) per voi è un problema?</p> <p>no. per me no.</p> <p>ECCOLA QUI ALI! NUDA::!</p> <p>>fai il bagnetto! corri a fare il bagnetto corri a fare il bagnetto! corri=corri=corri< corri corri a [fare il bagnetto! dai dai a fare il bagnetto.] ((PA gioca con Alice e poi ritorna a lavorare al computer))</p> <p>[ma che fai tutta ↓nu:da!] oh::! ti prende=ti prende! UA=UA=UA=UA:::!</p>
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251	MA:	naked!	nuda!
	.	Did you go around?	hai fatto il giro?
		Carolina? ((: doll)) (.) no	Carolina? (.) no
		Lello ((:doll)) no.	Lello no. (.) Lello
		(.) Lello no Lello no	no= Lello no (5.0)
		(<i>pretending to beg</i>) (5.0)	Lello no.
		Lello no	

These few turns of interaction give us an idea of how parents construct a coherent temporal structure in the child's daily life through a playful routine enjoyed by the child. Alice knows that mother's "naked" in a high-pitched tone of voice means an introduction to a daily routine: she is expected to run fast around the house, to show up naked to the father and finally to have a shower.

In a similar way, the expectation of what could be one "typical morning", with its duties and its predictable variations (e.g. possible whims), constructs people's capacity to organize getting-up, breakfast or shower time in advance. In the centre of this organization there is the awareness that the two concepts of the worldliness: the punctuality and the delay should be daily considered. The "assignment" implicit in each day is to encourage the first and to object to the second. Through the elaboration of a temporal expectation the participants can get organized around the linear and continuous flow of the definite (objective) time.

2- Anticipate yourself

Timing, or keeping to some minimal goals set for the near future, is a way to maintain the rhythm and, at the same time, to satisfy expectations.

The following analysis will focus on a sequence occurred on a Wednesday morning, where the father develops a tutoring action towards the daughter's capacity of time anticipation.

Excerpt 2 –**Take some steps ahead**²

Family CALI - Wednesday morning - Kitchen

Participants: PA (Flavio); Carla (7 years 4 months); Elisa (3 years 5 months)

[PAP has asked Elisa for a kiss but she has not given it, he then addresses his request to the older daughter]

27	PAP:	you >give me< a kiss Unlike your sister.		>dammelo< tu un bacino invece che tua sorella.
28	Carla:	((she kisses PAP)) mh:m mhm I love you so much! gne:: gne=gne=gne=gne. ((singing))		mh:m mhm ti voglio tanto bene! gne:: gne=gne=gne=gne.
29	PAP:	you:: don't you ha:ve anythi:ng to do?		tu:: non devi: fare nie:nite?
30	Carla:	uhm=uhm.		uhm=uhm.
31	PAP:	why, [don't you take,		perché, [non ti prendi,
32	Carla:	[↑to wash: myself], then to dress myself, then to put on sh[o:e]s,		[↑lava:rmi:,] poi vestirmi, poi mettere le sc[a:r]pe,
33	PAP:	[mhm]		[mhm]
34	Carla:	and then all the other things.		e poi tutte le altre cose.
35	Flavio	wha:t? why don't you : take some steps ahead.		co:sa? perché non ti prendi un po' avanti.

² Researchers engaged in the data collection for this day were: Vivian Liberati (Video record and Transcription) Alessandro (Field Notes).

36	(1.0)	
37	Carla: EH?	EH?
38	Flavio < take some steps : : ahead. > [start doing something.]	< prenditi un po' avanti. > [comincia a fare qualcosa].
39	Robert [start by going to the a: bath]room. to [be-] to your bedroom I have prepared the clothes for you, (.) the knickers,	[comincia a andare in bag]no. in ca- in camera tua t'ho preparato i vestiti, (.) le mutandine,=
40	Carla: =mhm=mhm. ((<i>approaching the mother</i>))	=mhm=mhm.
41	Renata only the socks are : missing but I am coming.	mancano solo le calze che adesso arrivo.
42	Carla: <u>okay.</u> ((<i>she leaves the kitchen raising the thumb and whistling</i>))	<u>occhei.</u> ((:OK))

The timing pressure that Flavio puts on her appears as a normative and very small prone to be discussed. Giving in to Flavio's solicitation, Carla gives him a kiss followed by a long series of demonstrations of affection. In line 29, however, the *change of footing* (Goffman, 1974) traces a borderline between two activities: a shift from the affective expression to the timing. Flavio seeks an indirect way of urging the daughter to organize an activity and to hurry up.³ His question is rhetorical, because his aim is to exploit the indirect value of the phrase in order to appeal to the daughter's temporal reflection, whereas an implicit statement would be "the time must not be wasted".

³ Is the affective expression a loss of time? Perhaps, in this case, it is justified as Carla degenerates a real affective demonstration into its parody, which would produce a notable delay unless it gets restrained by the father's intervention.

3- Stay “five minutes” more. Balancing relax time and activity time.

Beyond suggesting time anticipations, the parents suggest repeatedly to the children different ways for "take their own time", a sort of the correct and healthy one in order to relax them, and in which they could take comfort. An example of this, is visible in the following Excerpt, in which we could see as the mother underline, more turned, the specialty of Saturday, that is a day dedicated to a longer rest (also if she is going to work).

Excerpt 3a – **Stay five minutes more**⁴

PICO Family - saturday morning - Children’s bedroom

Participants: PA (Giovanni), MA (Letizia), Daniela (12 years), Serena (10 years),

[While MA prepares breakfast in the kitchen, PA goes to the children’s’ bedroom]

- 30 PA: SPORTS! this morning. SPORT! stamattina.
((to the daughters that are sleeping. Meanwhile approaches the window in order to open the shutters))
- 31 Danie amh::: *((waking up))* amh:::
la:
- 32 PA: AHM::! *((imitating SERENA))* AHM::!
[...] *((PA lifts the automatic shutter up and speaks softly with Daniela. Then MA comes to the bedroom too)).*
- 39 MA: hi. mhm. *((laughing))* hi=hi. | ciao. mhm. ciao=ciao
((embraces and cuddles to Daniela)) | **stai altri cinque minuti=**
stay five minutes more= | **oggi è sabato dai!**
it is Saturday, come on!
((going to the window))
- 40 PA: **five minutes eh!** | **cinque minuti eh!**
- 41 MA: **come on! Poor little ones!** | **dai! ma poverine!**
eh yes 'cause they have to go | **eh sì perché devono andare**

⁴ Researchers: Vivian (cam. Mother and Transcription), Francesco (cam. Father), Sabina (ethnographic notes);

	<p>to the swimming pool otherwise they are going to digest the (bread) mh= a little bit mhm= slower.</p>	<p>in piscina sennò (il pane) lo mh=digeri- scono un po' più mhm=lentamente.</p>
	<p>[...] ((PA kisses SERENA who is waking up and MAM kisses Daniela. Then MA goes to kiss and to cuddle to Serena))</p>	
44	<p>MA: HONE:y: honey=honey. ((embracing her)) (.) ↑did you sleep well? mh?</p>	<p>TESO:ro:. tesoro=tesoro. (.) ↑dormito bene? mh?</p>
45	<p>PA: maybe not enough. ((looking at MAM that cuddles to Serena))</p>	<p>forse poco.</p>
46	<p>MA: all right! but on Saturday, ((going out of the room))</p>	<p>e va be'! ma il sabato, ((uscendo dalla stanza))</p>
	<p>[...] [MA goes to the kitchen and PA plays softly with the daughters giving them the possibility to wake up slowly. Some minutes later MA comes back to the bedroom]</p>	
68	<p>MA: DANIELA! ((entering the bedroom)) (.) the weekend eh? at this point,</p>	<p>DANIELA! ((entrando nella stanza)) (.) il fine settimana eh? ormai,</p>
69	<p>(1.0) ((the daughters stretch))</p>	
70	<p>MA: a relaxation, ((laughs))</p>	<p>un rilassamento, ((ride))</p>

Lines 39 and 40 represent an interesting Italian cultural convention about the temporal locution “five minutes”. This expression is used as a formula to identify a unity of reasonable time that everybody could grant or be granted (e.g. for delay, etc.). In another family from our corpus, this time is used as a regulation of the activity, where these “five minutes” are used as a formula defining “child’s time” to freely manifest childish whims. Besides, the “five minutes” time serve family members in their attempt to resolve the whims. In this sense, the ethnographer Latour (1986) discussed the concept of *temporal crash*, according to which each event

has its ideal duration, as the duration of an event in the principal criteria of categorization. The father of the Excerpt 3a, repeating the mother's utterance, underlines the time limit that is impolite not grant. Despite the mother's idea of Saturday's relaxation, she still justifies in line 41 by showing that this time is defined and can not beyond the "five minutes" minimal culturally shared and accepted limit. This is more evident in the next turns (46 and 70) where she repeats the idea of the Saturday's relaxation.

Therefore, in the next subsequential Excerpt we can see how participants try to balance this acceptable time with the respect of deadlines for not being in late.

Excerpt 3b – **NOW LET'S GO OUT**

PICO Family - Saturday morning - Children's bedroom

Participants: PA (Giovanni), MA (Letizia), Daniela (12 years), Serena (10 years),

[In some turns they talk about a doll that PA has brought and put on the desktop]

<p>89 PA: now we go out. (.) 'otherwise we are late and mhm: the shopping, the swimming pool, mummy that comes back <i>((enumerating))</i> come on! <i>((he caresses Daniela's head))</i></p> <p>90 SEREN one, <i>((waking up))</i> A:</p> <p>91 PA: a:nd two:, <i>((looking at Serena))</i></p> <p>92 [...] <i>((Daniela is standing up and PA looks at her. Then he plays with Serena))</i></p>	<p>adesso usciamo. (.) che sennò facciamo tardi e mhm: la spesa, la piscina, mamma che rientra dai!</p> <p>uno,</p> <p>e: du:e,</p>
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The father starts practicing the *timing* concept in order to persuade the girls to wake up. He strengthens his arguments by counting a series of activities programmed for the morning (89). At the same time, he also shows respect for the others' own time

and instead of threatening the girls, he caresses one of them, uses a very respectful tone of voice and then waits until the children slowly get up, and even plays with them (in some omitted turns). This is therefore only an example of timing and respect for someone else's own time; sometimes children are socialized to respect that time and to wait for their own turn. In general terms, all people have the same amount of time every day, but each person can be distinguished in what he/she does during his/her time (Crouter, Reed 1998). All family members thus define themselves through the modality of spending their personal time, and while they cannot influence its course, they can organize their time: anticipating events, forecasting (in order to manage the monthly money budget, to prepare dinner, etc.) and planning (in order to estimate the results).

4 - Respect the others' times and manage the waiting time in a profitable way

A great worry of our families is the problem of the *waiting time*. Children in our families are often socialized to use the waiting time in a profitable way. Despite, pause and delay are, generally considered less visible times, marginal times that occupy a limit position, but often become long times. And even they could constitute best part of the daily life of the people (the unexpected events that alter the sequences, the rhythms, the scheduled or programmed behaviors, requiring a continuous accommodations). So, parents are very interested in the practices of socializing children to do something while waiting for somewhat.

In the following Excerpt 4, Carla shows a certain awareness of the planning, in fact, she finishes the phrase that the father leaves suspended and reserves some time for herself ("wait" in line 283), separated from the activity that she will do with her father. Its very interesting to note how the father, instead of waiting himself forces his daughter to wait and suggests her what to do.

Excerpt 4 — **When you want we can...**

Family CALI Father Saturday morning – Children’s bedroom

Participants: PA (Flavio); Carla (7 years 4 months); Elisa (3 years 5 months)

[...]

282	PA:	so Carla when you want we can,	allora Carla quando vuoi possiamo,
283	Carla:	yes go down. wait I’m going to tell something to mummy.	sì scendere giù. aspetta vado a dire una cosa a mamma.
284	PA:	but she is in the bathroom.	ma sta in bagno.
.			
285	Carla:	<i>((she complains))</i>	<i>((si lamenta))</i>
286	PA:	don't wait to be asked, it isn't normal. continue to play with Ling if you want <i>((going toward the LR))</i> or start choosing the type of shoes you wish to put on those gymnastics shoes I don't know where they are. Carla?	non mi devi pregare non è normale. continua a giocare con Ling se vuoi oppure comincia a capire che tipo di scarpe ti puoi mettere quelle da ginnastica non lo so dove stanno. Carla?
287	Carla:	yes	sì
288	PA:	come on!	dai!

In this Excerpt, different features of the time negotiation are showed: he had to state (283-284), that there are times that can’t be touched (the physiological times of rest, taking care of oneself in physical sense, line 284. The mother has the right to the exclusive use of her own time - at least in the bathroom!), there are activities for passing time (e.g. playing video games, anticipating the job, etc.) in order to not let waiting remain void but rather be somehow used in a profitably way.

5- “What time is it mummy?” Becoming competent in planning the family time.

An interesting aspect of talk around time is that they are intersected harmoniously with other talks to undertake a “walk on the border”. In this Excerpt,

in fact, we can see this boundary, becoming implicitly a conversational device to manifest the competence of the child in the participation to the family planning. In more, talking about time can be used as a strategical device in order to be introduced into a conversation.

Excerpt 5- What time is it mummy?

Family CALI Mother Wednesday morning – Kitchen

Participants: MA (Renata); Carla (7 years 4 months); Elisa (3 years 5 months)

[Elisa wakes up after in the morning, because all the family wait for her whims]

<p>1 (5.0) ((Renata pours the milk into the cup and stir it))</p> <p>2 Carla: what time is it mummy?</p> <p>3 MA: (3.0) ((Renata stops mixing her milk and coffee and looks at the watch)) beh soon, she wa- will get u:p and if she doesn't get up we'll go to ch-</p> <p>4 Carla: (to change) .</p> <p>5 MA: to wake up. ((in a solemn tone))</p> <p>6 Carla: to calm down.</p> <p>7 (2.0) ((perhaps the mother looks at her with a reproaching look))</p> <p>8 MA: you say it. '()' ((she repeats in caricatured tone any typical mother's phrase of about Elisa's whims))</p>	<p>((Renata versa il latte nella tazza e lo gira)) che ora è mamma?</p> <p>(3.0) ((finisce di girare il caffelatte e guarda l'orologio)) beh fra poco, si sv- si alzerà: e se non s'alza andremo a cam- (cambiare) . a svegliare. ((in tono solenne)) a calma:re. ((forse la madre la guarda con rimprovero)) tu lo dici. '()' ((riporta in tono caricaturale qualche frase tipica della madre riguardo ai capricci di Elisa))</p>
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The question about time interrupts the silence and begins the conversation (2). They are silently having breakfast when Carla asks the question, but the mother

doesn't answer in the way that was "expected". As we can see further, firstly Renata expects that it is the clock (here retained as a reliable tool)⁵ that measures the adherence to the expectation of *punctuality* (Clayman, 1989) that the family has elaborated. Then, refusing to provide a sequentially relevant action, she underlines the multiple sense of Carla's question. "The text are not just temporally related but each text contains reflections of forms from prior texts, shadows of previous meanings, and echoes of earlier voices" connected to a variety of audiences (Schiffrin, 2002, p.132). Carla doesn't simply ask "what time is it", but also shows her interest for the family planning and she is anticipating the morning family program too.

In particular, she shows her awareness of the fact that at a certain time the family will wake up the younger sister who, almost surely, will do the whims and will have to be calmed down(6). We could *reflexively* (Garfinkel, 1967) understand that they are preparing to wake up the younger child but also to calm her down (the "five minutes"). This moment of the demonstration of the uneasiness and of the necessary procedure to calm her down will require some time that all the family must consider in their planning.

Conclusion

This paper examines how the cultural clock of three Italian families conditions the activities and can become a *pro* or *against* element in the course of the everyday life. We have seen how the family members try to organize it, to manipulate it, in spite of being conditioned by it. The relevance of grasping these aspects, such as the temporal orientation, resides in the fact that they also become a part of the

⁵ The time is measured in an objective way: the scannings are mechanical and repetitive. The aid of these objective measurers of time allows us to sustain all tuned in of a same temporal scanning and of program activity and appointments in the society in general. It is therefore possible to formulate the schedules (job, scholastic, etc.), the television planning, someone's aim to wake up, etc. Additionally, the clock has a symbolic character: its recurrent TAC TIC is a concrete activity that fills the same time, beyond what measures it. And on the graduated quadrant the hands articulate in a circularity of hours and of minutes that seem to be repeated unchangeably to the endless. An other symbolic aspect of the clock is the reassuring illusion of once that returns on itself (Servan-Scheiber, 2000).

general process of socialization. In particular, we have seen that, primarily, the members of a community must be socialized to the culture of temporalization.

The discussion underlines the features of the educational intervention of the parents in articulating, through the daily routines and timing the children's activities according to defined rhythms. Through the elaboration of a temporal expectation children succeed in setting around a definite time and construct their expectations about typical events. At the same time they are socialized to organize them for the unexpected events that alter the sequences, the rhythms, the scheduled or programmed behaviors. A great worry of our families therefore is to socialize children to a profitable use of the *waiting time*, and by anticipating their tasks and activities.

Besides, to suggest time anticipations parents repeatedly propose to their children different ways to "take their own time", balancing the double experiences of temporality (qualitative *versus* quantitative) and respecting children's school schedules, family vacations programs, agendas, appointments, etc.

These conversational data are not aimed at producing any generalization. However, from our further observations carried out with other families of the Italian corpus, is possible to retain that such practices are fairly frequent in other families too.

A provisional comment may be that the activities of time generalisation through conversation allow children to interiorize their personal time. However, it also engenders the awareness that there is a family time to which they could participate actively. Conversational construction of personal time as well as family time plays an important role in featuring children's identity as members of their social group.

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